

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CENTRAL  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY

ACCESSION NO. 30973

CALL No. Sa2v/Blo/Edg.

D.G.A. 79







# SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

## LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

EDITED BY

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING

*Ohio State University*

HANS KURATH

*Ohio State University*

SAMUEL MOORE

*University of Michigan*

EDWARD SAPIR

*University of Chicago*

---

VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES

Volume II, 1932

---

# VEDIC VARIANTS

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

PUBLISHED WITH THE AID OF THE  
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

1932







# VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated  
Mantras of the Veda



BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

*Late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology  
in The Johns Hopkins University*

AND

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Salisbury Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology  
in Yale University*

30973

Volume II  
PHONETICS

Sa 2V  
Blo/Edg

92849  
229/32

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE  
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
PHILADELPHIA

1932



CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.  
Acc. No. 30973  
Date 9. 4. 57  
Call No. S22v  
Bloo/Edg

COMPOSED AND PRINTED AT THE  
WAVERLY PRESS, INC.  
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

17386  
22/128

# CONTENTS

Preface.....	11
Abbreviations and Symbols.....	13
Chapter I. Introductory, §§1-43.....	15
Principles of procedure, §§1-5.....	15
Summary of contents, §§6-19.....	17
Prakritie influences, §§20-43.....	20
Chapter II. Surd and Sonant Mutes, §§44-79.....	26
<i>k</i> and <i>g</i> , §§45-9.....	26
<i>c</i> and <i>j</i> , §§50-7.....	31
<i>l</i> and <i>d</i> , §58.....	35
<i>t</i> and <i>d</i> , §§59-68.....	35
<i>p</i> and <i>b</i> , §69.....	42
<i>kh</i> and <i>gh</i> , §70.....	42
<i>th</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§71-8.....	43
<i>ph</i> and <i>bh</i> , §79.....	46
Chapter III. Aspirates and Non-aspirates and <i>h</i> , §§80-124.....	47
<i>k</i> and <i>kh</i> , §81.....	47
<i>g</i> and <i>gh</i> , §82.....	47
<i>g(k)</i> and <i>gh</i> , §83.....	48
<i>c</i> and <i>ch</i> , §84.....	48
<i>j</i> and <i>jh</i> , §85.....	48
<i>l</i> and <i>lh</i> , §§86-8.....	48
<i>t</i> and <i>th</i> , §§89-96.....	50
<i>t</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§97-8.....	55
<i>d</i> and <i>dh</i> , §§99-110.....	56
<i>p</i> and <i>ph</i> , §111.....	63
<i>p</i> and <i>bh</i> , §§112-4.....	64
Aspirate mutes and <i>h</i> , §§115-124.....	65
Chapter IV. Interchanges of the Mute Series, §§125-81.....	70
1. Gutturals and Palatals, §§125-34.....	70
2. Gutturals and Linguals, §135.....	73
3. Gutturals and Dentals, §§136-47.....	73
4. Gutturals and Labials, §§148-53.....	79
5. Palatals and Dentals, §§154-61.....	83
6. Palatals and Labials, §162.....	86



7. Linguals and Dentals, §§163-70.....	86
8. Dentals and Labials, §§171-81.....	90
Chapter V. Interchanges concerning Palatals, §§182-96.....	96
1. <i>ch</i> and <i>kṣ</i> , <i>ts</i> , <i>ps</i> , §§183-6.....	96
2. <i>ṣy</i> and <i>ṣc</i> or <i>s(h)</i> plus sibilant, §§187-9.....	97
3. <i>kṣ</i> , <i>kṣ̣</i> , and <i>khṣ</i> , §§190-1.....	99
4. <i>j</i> and <i>y</i> , §§192-3.....	100
5. Palatal stops and <i>ś(y)</i> , §§194-5.....	101
6. Miscellaneous ( <i>j</i> and <i>h</i> , <i>kṣ</i> and <i>bj</i> ), §196.....	103
Chapter VI. Labial Mutes, <i>v</i> , and <i>m</i> , §§197-242.....	104
<i>p(ph)</i> and <i>v</i> , §§198-202.....	104
<i>p</i> and <i>m</i> , §§203-5.....	108
<i>b</i> and <i>v</i> , §§206-19.....	109
<i>bh</i> and <i>v</i> , §§220-2.....	114
<i>v</i> and <i>m</i> , §§223-40.....	115
<i>b</i> and <i>m</i> , §241.....	124
<i>bh</i> and <i>m</i> , §242.....	125
Chapter VII. Interchange of <i>y</i> , <i>r(d)</i> , <i>l(d)</i> , <i>v</i> , and <i>h</i> , §§243-73.....	126
<i>y</i> and <i>r</i> , §244.....	126
<i>y</i> and <i>l</i> , §245.....	127
<i>y</i> and <i>v</i> , §§246-55.....	127
<i>y</i> and <i>h</i> , §256.....	134
<i>r</i> and <i>l</i> , §§257-65.....	134
<i>r</i> and <i>v</i> , §§266-8.....	138
<i>r</i> , <i>v</i> and <i>h</i> , §269.....	140
<i>l</i> and <i>d</i> , §§270-1.....	140
<i>r</i> and <i>d</i> , §272.....	141
<i>r</i> and <i>d</i> , §272a.....	142
<i>l</i> , <i>d</i> , and <i>y</i> , §273.....	143
Chapter VIII. The Sibilants, §§274-99.....	144
<i>ś</i> and <i>s</i> , §§275-87.....	144
<i>ṣ</i> and <i>ṣ̣</i> , §§288-92.....	149
<i>ṣ̣</i> and <i>s</i> , §§293-4.....	152
<i>kh</i> , <i>kṣ</i> , and sibilants, §§295-7.....	153
<i>s(ṣ)</i> and <i>h</i> , §§298-9.....	153
Chapter IX. Presence or absence of Nasals, Semi-vowels, Liquids, Sibilants, visarga, and <i>h</i> , §§300-87.....	155
1. Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra, §§300-12.....	155
2. Presence or absence of <i>y</i> , §§313-47.....	160
3. Presence or absence of <i>r</i> , §§348-57.....	175

4. Presence or absence of <i>r</i> , §§358-71	181
5. Presence or absence of <i>s</i> , §§372-7	189
6. Presence or absence of visarga, §§378-84	192
7. Presence or absence of <i>h</i> , §§385-7	199
Chapter X. Consonant Groups, §§388-421	201
1. Double and single consonants, §§389-405	201
2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant, §§406-16	209
3. Simplification of consonant groups, §§417-21	212
Chapter XI. Variations between short and long <i>a</i> , §§422-512	216
1. Final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , §§426-77	217
(a) absolutely final short <i>a</i> rhythmically lengthened, §§428-49	217
(b) absolutely final <i>a</i> varying otherwise with <i>ā</i> , §§450-61	223
(c) stem-final short <i>a</i> in compounds, etc., lengthened, §§462-8	227
(d) other final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , §§469-77	230
2. Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in verb inflection, §§478-82	233
3. Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in noun formation, §§483-96	234
4. Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , in noun declension, §§497-507	242
5. Non-final <i>a</i> and <i>ā</i> , lexical and miscellaneous, §§508-12	245
Chapter XII. Variations between long and short <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> , §§513-69	249
1. Final short <i>i</i> phonetically lengthened, §§514-21	249
2. Final <i>i</i> in the seam of compounds, phonetically shortened, §§522-4	252
3. Miscellaneous final <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §525	252
4. Noun stems in <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§526-30	253
5. <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> in verb forms and in dissyllabic bases, §§531-40	256
6. Noun suffixes containing <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§541-3	258
7. Miscellaneous <i>i</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§544-5	259
8. Final short <i>u</i> lengthened, §§546-52	260
9. Final <i>ū</i> shortened, §553	262
10. <i>u</i> and <i>ū</i> in noun formation and inflection, §§554-7	263
11. Other <i>u</i> and <i>ū</i> , §§558-69	264
Chapter XIII. Qualitative Interchanges of <i>a</i> , <i>i</i> , and <i>u</i> vowels, §§570-628	269
1. Short <i>a</i> and <i>i</i> , §§570-96	269
In noun formation, §§585-96	275
2. <i>ā</i> and <i>ī</i> , §§597-98a	279
3. <i>a</i> and <i>i</i> with shift of quantity, §§599-600	281



4. Short <i>a</i> and <i>u</i> , §§601-18.	282
5. Other <i>a</i> and <i>u</i> vowels, §§619-21.	291
6. Short <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> , §§622-7.	291
7. <i>ī</i> and <i>ū</i> ( <i>u</i> ), §628.	294
Chapter XIV. Vocalic Liquids and Other Vowels, §§629-84.	295
1. <i>r</i> and <i>a</i> ( <i>ā</i> ), §§631-4.	295
2. <i>r</i> and <i>i</i> ( <i>ī</i> ), §§635-40.	297
3. <i>r</i> ( <i>ṛ</i> ) and <i>u</i> ( <i>ū</i> ), §§641-4.	300
4. <i>l</i> and <i>u</i> , §645.	301
5. <i>r</i> and <i>o</i> , §646.	302
6. <i>r</i> and <i>ar</i> , §§647-51.	302
7. <i>r</i> and <i>ār</i> , §652.	304
8. <i>r</i> and <i>īr</i> , <i>ur</i> , <i>ūr</i> , §§653-5.	304
9. <i>r</i> and <i>ra</i> , <i>rā</i> , §§656-65.	305
10. <i>r</i> and <i>ri</i> , <i>rī</i> , §§666-77.	308
11. <i>r</i> and <i>ru</i> , §§678-84.	311
Chapter XV. The <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> Diphthongs and Samprasāraṇa, §§685-750.	314
1. <i>i</i> and <i>e</i> , §§686-94.	314
2. <i>ī</i> and <i>e</i> , §§695-8.	317
3. <i>i</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§699-700.	319
4. <i>ī</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§701-2.	320
5. <i>e</i> and <i>ai</i> , §§703-12.	321
6. <i>u</i> and <i>o</i> , §§713-9.	326
7. <i>ū</i> and <i>o</i> , §§720-3.	329
8. <i>u</i> and <i>au</i> , §724.	330
9. <i>ū</i> and <i>au</i> , §§725-7.	331
10. <i>o</i> and <i>au</i> , §§728-32.	331
11. Samprasāraṇa: <i>i</i> ( <i>ī</i> ) and <i>ya</i> ( <i>yā</i> ), etc., §§733-8.	333
12. Samprasāraṇa: <i>u</i> ( <i>ū</i> ) and <i>na</i> ( <i>nā</i> ), etc., §§739-43.	335
13. <i>aya</i> and <i>e</i> , and the like, §§744-7.	338
14. <i>ava</i> and <i>o</i> , and the like, §§748-50.	339
Chapter XVI. Insertion or Expulsion of Vowels, §§751-98.	341
1. Epenthesis of vowel between two consonants, §§751-65.	341
2. Writing of <i>iy</i> , <i>uv</i> , for <i>y</i> , <i>v</i> , §§766-98.	344
A. final, before vowels, §§774-8.	346
B. non-final, in radical (initial) syllables, §§779-83.	348
C. suffixal <i>y</i> in noun formation, written <i>iy</i> , §§784-7.	349
D. stem final of nouns in <i>i</i> or <i>u</i> , §§788-93.	351
E. in verb forms, §§794-8.	354



Chapter XVII. Metathesis, Haplology, and Dittology, §§799-813.	357
1. Metathesis, §§799-806.	357
2. Haplology, §§807-9.	360
3. Dittology, §§810-1.	362
4. Haplology or dittology, §§812-3.	364
Chapter XVIII. False Divisions and Patch Words, §§814-50.	366
1. Compound words divided, without change, §§815-7.	366
2. Compound words divided, with change in prior member, §§818-9.	368
3. Compound words divided, with change in second member, §§820-1.	370
4. Last syllable of longer word replaced by patch word, §§822-7.	372
5. First syllable of longer word replaced by patch word, §§828-9.	377
6. Dissyllabic words resolved into two light words, §§830-1.	379
7. Longer non-compounds resolved into several words, §§832-3.	381
8. Different divisions between several independent words, §§834-40.	383
(a) Different resolutions of final-initial vowels, §§835-6.	384
(b) Transference of final-initial consonant, §837.	386
(c) Further false divisions, §§838-40.	387
9. Patch words, §§841-50.	390
Chapter XIX. Rime Words, §§851-7.	395
Chapter XX. Graphic Variants, §§858-78.	400
<i>n</i> and <i>r</i> , §§860-5.	400
<i>c</i> and <i>v</i> , §866.	403
<i>p</i> and <i>y</i> , §867.	404
<i>gh</i> and <i>dy</i> , §868.	406
<i>d</i> and <i>v</i> , §869.	406
<i>s</i> and <i>m</i> , §870.	407
<i>t</i> and <i>n</i> , §871.	408
<i>z</i> and <i>p</i> , §872.	408
<i>ā</i> and <i>prā</i> , §873.	409
Others, §§874-8.	409
Chapter XXI. Sandhi, §§879-906.	412
Final <i>au</i> and <i>o</i> before vowels, §§885-90.	414
Initial <i>a</i> after final <i>e</i> and <i>o</i> , §§891-912.	419
Sandhi of <i>a</i> vowels and <i>r</i> , §§913-9.	432
Sandhi of final <i>n</i> , §§920-44.	435
before vowels, §§921-8.	435
before consonants, §§929-44.	438

Change of <i>n</i> to <i>ṇ</i> , §§945-54.....	443
Final <i>s</i> after non <i>a</i> vowels, before initial <i>l</i> , §§955-8.....	447
Final <i>s</i> before initial <i>k</i> and <i>p</i> , §§959-67.....	449
Final <i>r</i> before initial <i>k</i> and <i>p</i> , §968.....	454
Final <i>s</i> before sibilant (plus vowel), §§969-71.....	454
Final <i>s</i> before sibilant plus consonant, §§972-80.....	455
plus surd, §§974-7.....	456
plus sonant, §§978-80.....	458
Initial <i>s</i> varying with <i>ṣ</i> , §§981-8.....	460
Secondary crasis and hiatus, §§989-96.....	463
Index of Sounds, Sound Groups, and Letters.....	471
Sanskrit Index.....	474
Subject Index.....	480
Index of Mantras.....	482



## PREFACE

This second volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* deals primarily with Phonetics; included also are graphic variations, false divisions between words, and rime words. It is the largest volume of the series, and probably the most interesting and important.

The general plan and objects of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* have been described in the Preface to Volume I, *The Verb* (Philadelphia, 1930); which also stated the approximate extent to which each of the co-authors participated in the work. The greater part of the first volume was Bloomfield's. In this volume my own share is larger. Nevertheless the first nine chapters owe much to Bloomfield, who prepared a draft of their text on the basis of preliminary studies made by me. I have preserved as much as possible of Bloomfield's language in these chapters: those who know his inimitable style will find traces of it at many points in them. To my regret, he never continued this work beyond the ninth chapter. In the remainder his participation was nearly or quite limited to the gathering of preliminary list of materials. This will be true, also, of all the remaining volumes of the series, to which he contributed only an occasional marginal note, aside from the preliminary lists.

Cordial thanks are again due to the *LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA* and to the *AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES*, which by their continued generosity have made possible the publication of this second volume of the series.

Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Sterling Fellow and Research Associate in Yale University, has read the proofs of this volume and made a number of useful suggestions. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Dr. Emeneau is collaborating much more extensively in the preparation of Volume III, on Noun Inflection. With his able and vigorous co-operation it is now (in April, 1932) nearly completed, and we hope to issue it soon. Dr. Emeneau's name will appear, most deservedly, on its covers and title-page as co-author.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.





## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

These are the same as those used in Volume I, with the addition of VV = VEDIC VARIANTS (VV I = the first volume, on The Verb). Most of them, it is believed, are self-explanatory. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance. *RVRep.* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

The asterisk \* is used to indicate a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute; that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.





## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY

### PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

§1. An examination of our materials shows that many, perhaps most, of the cases here treated under the general head of 'phonetic variations' are accompanied by, or result in, a lexical or morphological change at the same time. Thus, beginning with RV., the two words *vācam* and *vājam* interchange in:

*pra vācam* (9. 35. 4a *vājam*) *indur iyyati* RV. 9. 12. 6a, 35. 4a,  
'Soma sends forth speech (substance).' Obviously, there is here a change, involving a single sound, from one very familiar Vedic word to another equally familiar, the two having no etymological connexion whatsoever. Tho there is good reason to believe the reading *vācam* is the primary one (cf. *RVRep.* 410), the alteration makes good sense and is intentional. Yet when we find this same interchange occurring independently in a considerable number of cases, we cannot doubt that rime and phonetic confusion—both phenomena of sound, rather than sense—hold shares in the transaction, or, more precisely, constitute the prime motive in the shift.

§2. More purely phonetic, yet not devoid of lexical significance, is the following variation, which also involves interchange of *c* and *j*:

*prāñco agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *ṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.,  
'We have gone forward (swiftly) to dancing and mirth.' For some reason *prāñco*, surely intelligible and fit, has suggested to the Taittiriya the more sophisticated, or tenser, reading *pra* + *añjas* 'forward swiftly' (*añjas*, RV.). The commentator's *prāñjah* = *prāñcaḥ* is negligible; TA. must have been familiar with *añjas* in the sense of 'swiftly'.

§3. We find, however, a great many phonetic changes which carry a certain word or expression to the danger-line of unintelligibility, without necessarily reaching the point of senseless corruption. In these cases the secondary reading appears inappropriate to its context, or at least, its motive escapes our appreciation. And yet it would be dangerous to deny the resulting lexical change as a real fact of the tradition of a given school. The study of Vedic tradition must not be content with reconstructing or defining the original body of mantras, by detecting and recording secondary fancies, adaptations, and corruptions. These

secondary readings have their own right to exist; they are, as a rule, the genuine readings of their respective schools. It is our duty to sketch the development of the mantras in all the Vedic schools, assigning, where possible, causes for the changes, but rejecting no unexplained or apparently unmotivated change, however it may seem to conflict with what seems to us good mantra sense. Thus:

*ud usriyāḥ sṛjate* (TB, *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB.,

'The sun sends forth (accompanies, attends) his ruddy rays all together.' (The TB. comm. seems to come around tortuously to the sense of the other schools: *utsacata udgatasteena sambaddhān karoti prasāragatity arthah.*) The TB. reading is inappropriate; but neither the theory of a quasi-Prakritic substitution of *a* for *r*, nor that of interchange between surd and sonant (elsewhere a real phonetic change), alters the fact that the TB. understood the word as a form of *sac*, and had lost sight of the root *sṛj*, whatever meaning it attached to *sac*. Note, in passing, that the TB. reading results in a kind of alliteration, *sacate* . . . *sacā*. Thus the phonetic considerations involved are complicated by the (at least possible) regressively assimilatory influence of the word *sacā* on the original *sṛjate*. Yet in its final outcome the change is lexical, tho unquestionably related to (and perhaps started by) faulty hearing of sounds. Cf. Winternitz in his edition of ApMB., Introduction, xv ff., and xxx.

§4. Clearly, then, such variants are of interest and importance for Vedic phonology. Concretely speaking: If we are collecting examples of the quasi-Prakritic shift of *r* to *a*, we shall, of course, begin with such a variant as this:

*ava sma durhaṇyataḥ* (SV, *durhṛṇ°*) RV. SV.

Here the RV. has an obvious Prakritism which the SV. 'corrects' by substituting the Sanskritic *durhṛṇ°*. This does not mean that the SV. knows more Sanskrit than the RV.; the RV. itself knows the stem *durhṛṇ-* (1. 84. 16; 7. 59. 8). It is, however, a purely phonetic variation. On the other hand, in the variant:

*etān saṅkṛṣya* (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya* or °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.,

who can decide definitely whether the *a* or *u* for *r* is purely phonetic (Prakritic), or lexical? Böhtlingk in fact assumes an improbable *saṅkuṣya* from the root *kuṣ*. Be this as it may, if we can discern in the Veda signs of a Prakritic change of *r* to *a*, then the substitution of *sacate* for *sṛjate*, lexically different tho the two words be, bears in some fashion and in some degree upon the matter of Vedic Prakritism. But it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between purely phonetic and



lexical shifts. Our detailed consideration of the variants tries to do this as far as possible, holding itself very free from imposing upon the materials personal theories and predilections.

§5. Our procedure has been to select all sound interchanges which could possibly have phonetic interest, and then to gather all variants which show these sound interchanges, irrespective of the contributory influence of lexical and other moments. At the same time we have borne in mind the greater interest and value which, for the purposes of this study, must attach to those variants which are purely phonetic—which show different phonetic forms of what must be regarded as lexically the same word. By this procedure we are enabled to present here a new mass and a new class of materials for the study of Vedic phonetics, which are likely to become a permanent factor in future Vedic grammar.

#### SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

§6. We begin with interchanges between voiced and voiceless consonants, quite numerous and often suggestive of Prakritic phonetics. Next, interchanges between aspirates and non-aspirates, few and mostly lexical in character. Then variations between aspirate stops and *h*, mostly concerning *h* and *bh*, and in fact mostly interchanges between *grah* and *grah*:

§7. Next, interchanges in the articulation-series, numerous and extremely interesting. The little section concerning palatals is important out of all proportion to its size (notably the quasi-Prakritic variations between *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*, and *ch*). The numerous variations of labial stops with *m* and *v* are partly graphic (*b* and *v*, *p* and *v*), partly morphological (suffixes containing *m* and *v*), partly lexical, but to a large extent purely phonetic (especially in the variation between *b* and *v*, a very familiar phenomenon).

§8. The variations between semi-vowels and liquids differ widely from one another in character. Those between *y* and *r*, *l*, *h* are not many nor very significant. Those between *y* and *v* are more numerous and to some extent quite curious, pointing to phonetic relations between these two sounds hitherto not sufficiently emphasized. The tendency of the Taittiriya school to prefer *v* to *y* is paralleled by its preference in some cases of the vowel *u* to the vowel *i*. The only other important subdivisions of this section are the variants between *r* and *l* (numerous, and almost purely phonetic), and those between *ḍ* and *l*, or *ḍh* and *lh* (numerous, but mainly a matter of cut-and-dried school usage).

§9. With the sibilants we find a very large number of variants between



ś and s; a much smaller number between ś and ṣ; and a very small number between s and ṣ. The first two groups contain a considerable number of purely phonetic variants. Between s and h occur only lexical variants and corruptions, not numerous, but not lacking in interest.

§10. Next, a section on insertion or omission of consonants: first of nasals and *anuvāra*, cases which show a marked tendency to harmonize with a shift in quantity of the preceding vowel. Then of y, very numerous but mostly morphological (e.g. words identical in meaning but containing or lacking suffixal y). But there are groups of phonetic interest, such as that concerning y between vowels as sandhi-consonant or 'hiatus-tilger', and y after palatals, or after two consonants. Presence or absence of r does not display much interest, but that of v includes some cases of v initial before vowels, partly as 'hiatus-tilger' after a vowel. Cases of presence or absence of h and s mostly concern initial s before stops, and initial h before vowels (a sort of psilosis); those of *visarga* point to the light pronunciation of that sound as word-final.

§11. The consonantal variants are concluded with sections on single and double consonants, on assimilation of consonants (with suggestions of Prakritism), and on simplification of consonant groups.

§12. The treatment of the vowels begins with the variations in quantity of simple vowels. Most important and numerous are those between a and ā, especially the rhythmic lengthening of final a. Much light is thrown on the meaning of this phenomenon; our conclusions can hardly be stated in a few words and can best be deduced from the section itself. The variants between i and ī and between u and ū are in general parallel to those between a and ā, but much less numerous. The numerous shifts in quality between a, i, and u vowels are mostly morphological or lexical in character. On the other hand those between vocalic liquids and a, i, or u vowels are largely Prakritic, and of great interest; most numerous are those between r and a. The variations between diphthongs and simple vowels, and between long and short diphthongs, while mainly morphological (varying grades of ablaut, and presence or absence of the vṛiddhi of secondary derivation), harbor also some phonetic or dialectic differences.

§13. The variations between r and ar or ār, more rarely r and īr(īr) or ur(ūr), mainly concern ablaut, and involve also dialectic and lexical shifts. The phenomena of '*samprasāraṇa*' show that the variations of ea(eā) with u vowels, of ya(yā) with i vowels, and of ra(rā) with r are mainly morphological or lexical; on the other hand variations of ri(rī)

and *ru(rā)* with *r* show Prakritic tendencies. Prakritism is, of course, concerned in the little group of variants between *aya* and *e*, and *ava* and *o*.

§14. Next comes a section on insertion or expulsion of vowels. Most commonly the vowel (generally *i*) is secondarily inserted, contrary to the meter, either before or after a liquid (anaptyxis); the insertion is especially common after *r* and before a sibilant or *h*. Only superficially do these cases resemble the next and last vocalic section, which concerns the writing of *iy* and *ue* for *y* and *r*, which is shown to be largely an attempt to represent in writing the vocalic pronunciation of *y* and *r* (as *i* and *u*).

§15. Leaving now the behavior of individual sounds, there is a considerable variety of phenomena which concern groups of sounds. We take up first metathesis: of consonants (transposition of a single consonant without change of other sounds, interchange in position of two consonants, adjoining or not adjoining); then metathesis of vowel and adjoining semivowel. This is followed by an interesting group of variants concerning haplogy and dittology.

§16. Next, a large section dealing with differences in the division of words, which may perhaps hardly be called strictly phonetic, but which are interesting and important because they show, more than possibly any other kind of interchange, the extent of the breakdown during Vedic tradition of both sense and sound values. The point is reinforced by a miscellaneous collection of 'patch-words', teaching the same general lesson.

§17. A class of rime-words also throws light on the methods of text tradition. On the slender basis of a vaguer kind of assonance, rather than of real phonetic interchange, words which are easily subject to association are substituted one for another. There is no rubric in which the details of causation can be watched and accounted for more profitably.

§18. Finally, a considerable number of variants may be based on graphic similarities. Doubtless a careful study of Indian paleography would suggest much more than we are able to state in this section. Our selections are of the more obvious and simple kind; they seem, however, to suggest the great age to which graphic corruptions in Vedic tradition may go back.

§19. The variants exclusively concerned with external sandhi in a narrow sense constitute the last chapter of this volume, a large and important one. A summary of its contents will be found in its introductory section.



## PRAKRITIC INFLUENCES

§20. We have at this point refrained from preliminary illustrations in the set rubrics which have established themselves under our hands. There is, however, one kind of interchange which runs as a red thread thru Vedic tradition, and which is so important that it should receive special treatment and emphasis. We refer to shifts which suggest possible dialectic influence from popular speech, by their resemblance to the phonetics of the later Middle-Indic dialects. (Cf. especially Wackernagel I, p. XVIII, with references there quoted; and for a brief preliminary outline of our materials, Edgerton in *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 25 ff.) The large mass of variants of this kind, clearly pointing to extensive influence of Middle-Indic phonetics in the earliest periods of the language, seems to us one of the most important results of this volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The principle, to be sure, is not new. But it has never before been illustrated so extensively; and the special character of the illustrations, namely the occurrence of double forms of the variants, with and without Prakritic phonetics, makes them especially valuable and interesting. Moreover, some of the rubrics here included are, we believe, now presented for the first time in Vedic phonology. We find, all in all, the most definite proof of phonetic changes not only in the direction of Prakritism, but also (no less interesting) in the reverse direction, 'hyper-Sanskritism,' which latter indicates a rather definite consciousness, on the part of the handlers of the texts, of the antithesis between the phonetics of the high speech and of the popular dialects.

§21. Taking up such variations in the order of their occurrence in our book, we find at the very outset a large number of variations between *aurds* and *sonants*, some of which seem to defy lexical explanation, and to be capable of interpretation only as quasi-Prakritic phonetic variants. (See Chapter II, especially §§47-9, 53, 59, 66, 69.) Thus:

*pikaḥ* (KSA. *piḡaḥ*) *kṛvīṅkā nīlaśirṣṇī te 'ryamaḥ* (KSA. *'ryamaḥ*) TS.

KSA. No form but *pika* is known outside of this KSA. passage.

*citrā etagē* (TB. *edagē*) *anumādyāsah* RV. MS. TB. A pure Prakritism in TB.; the comm. does not explain the form. Cf. the next, in which MS. seems to have a hyper-Sanskritism, the reverse of this.

*dīkām devy* (MS. *terv*) *avatu no ghṛtācī* TS. MS. All mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on *terv*; if it means anything at all, it would seem to be a laletic (nursery) word for 'mother'. But it is doubtless merely a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism. Cf. *māṛk* (for *māṛk*) TA. 1.5.1, and §66.



*khajāpo 'jopakāśinī* ApMB.: *hajābojopakāśinī* HG. Uncertain, because the words concerned are barbarous and obscure.

§22. The variations between surd and sonant aspirates are both much fewer, and less certain in their relation to Prakritism; we may however quote two cases (see §§70, 76-7):

*mā nah kaścit prakhān* (ApŚ. *praghān*) . . . KS. ApŚ.  
*svāyān tanū* (ApMB.† MG.† *tanūn*) *ṛtve* (RV.† *ṛtve*) *nādhāmānām*  
 (ApMB. *nātha*°, MG. *bādha*°) RV, ApMB. MG.

§23. Under aspirates and *h* occur a few forms which might be connected with the later Prakritic tendency to substitute *h* for aspirate mutes. Dialectic in a broad sense this change certainly is; but see Wackernagel I p. 252f., who holds that *h* regularly replaced *dh* and *bh* in the RV. dialect after (or initially before) an unaccented vowel. Cf. Ascoli, KZ 17. 258ff.:

*asaṃhayan* [perhaps for *asamkhyeyam*?] *parābhavan* JB.: *asamkhyeyam* *parā*° AV. See §121.

*grdhrah śitīkakṣī vārdhrāṇasas te divyāḥ* (KSA. *vārkhāṇasas te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. So the single ma. of KSA.; v. Schroeder emends to *vārdhrī*°; the form with *h* for *dh* is otherwise unknown, but we should incline to keep the ms. reading. See §122.

*kakubham* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *kakuhām*) *rūpam ṛṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣa*°) *rocato* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. The adjective *kakuhā* (with regular *h* according to Wackernagel's law) occurs in RV., where *kakubha* is not known. See §120.

§24. Under Palatals and Dentals (§§154-61, see especially 156, 159) are found some variations between *d* and *j* before *y*, with obvious Prakritic bearings; the second example we are about to quote shows an interesting hyper-Sanskritism in HG.:

*śahasriyo dyotatām* (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*, MS. °*ṛīyo jyotatām*) . . . VS, TS, MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*ava jyām iva dhanevanah* AV. Vait. ApMB.: *ava dyām iva dhanevānah* HG.

§25. On Linguals and Dentals see our discussion below, §163:

*avalasya* (SV. *avāṭasya*) *visarjane* RV, SV. We believe (for reasons set forth §164) that *avāṭa*, 'well', is a pure Prakritism; and that, on the evidence of the variants, Prakritic influence in this section of Vedic phonetics has not been sufficiently recognized heretofore.

§26. The miscellaneous group of interchanges concerning palatals (Chapter V) contains a number of Prakritic phenomena (cf. Wackernagel I §135). Thus there are the familiar but very interesting cases of *ch* for *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps* (§§183-6); in most of our variants lexical considerations enter in, but note the following:

*achalābhīh* (KSA. *acharā*<sup>o</sup>, MS. *atsarā*<sup>o</sup> in p.p., in s.p. *matsarā*<sup>o</sup>, VS. *ṛkṣalā*<sup>o</sup>) *kapinjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. The same word appears as *ṛcharā* in AV. 10. 9. 23. Either MS. or VS. (or both?) must have hyper-Sanskritic back-formations.

§27. The following may be quoted as a probable example of dialectic *khy* for *kṣ* (§§190-1). Tho the Tait. form is none too clear, it seems that the ŚŚ. has a corruption of it:

*idhmasyeva prakṣyatalāh* (ŚŚ. *prakhya*<sup>o</sup>) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

§28. There are a number of cases of mutual interchange between *j* and *y* (§§192-3), mostly more or less justifiable lexically. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b. In the following example we have a proper name, and may infer that one or the other form is a dialectic corruption of its rival:

*saṃjāmim* (ŚG. *saṃyāmim*; with both sc. *tarpayāmim*) AG. ŚG.—Cf. AV. 19. 34. 2a, *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśīh* (mss., wrongly emended in edition), for which read *yāh* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*, or *yā grtsyas*; see Whitney's note to Transl., and our §192.

§29. The interchange between *v* and *m* may be Prakritic, cf. Wackernagel I p. 197; it is fairly frequent (see particularly §§223-5). That between *b* and *v* (§§206-19) is certainly dialectic in a wide sense, whether properly Prakritic or not; cf. Wackernagel I p. 183f.:

*uc chmañcasva* (TA. *chmañcasva*) *prthivī mā nī bādhatāh* (TA. *vi bādhitāh*) RV. AV. TA.

*yatra bāṇāh* (VS. *vāṇāh*) *sampatantī* RV. SV. VS. TS. AG. Both *b* and *v* are found in the RV. in this word; it is not known which is original.

§30. The thoro confusion of the sibilants in the Middle Indic dialects makes it plausible to suppose that the extensive confusion of them even in the Vedic texts is of like nature (cf. Wackernagel I p. 225f.). A few examples out of many may be quoted here; for *ś* and *s* see especially §§274-9:

*vi srutayo* (AŚ. *visrutayo*, ŚŚ. *viśru*<sup>o</sup>) *yathā pathāh* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. And other cases of *śru* for *sru* (so that BR. even postulate a 'root' *śru*, 'flow!'). Here *s* is original and *ś* secondary. The contrary is the case in the next:

*kukeṣu me* (AV. *sukeṣu te*) *harimāṇam* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

§31. Much less numerous are the variations between *ś* and *s*; yet they are not rare, and are to some extent at least purely phonetic (see §§288-90):

*nainad deśā āpnutan pūrvam arṣat* (VS. *arṣat*) VS. VSK. IśaU. The proper form is *arṣat*; VS. comm. *ṛṣa gatan*.



§32. There are very few variations between *s* and *ś* (§294):

*ye vṛkṣeṣu* (KS. *vaneṣu*) *śaśpiṇḍjardh* (TS. *śaśpi*<sup>o</sup>) VS. TS. MS. KS.

Thought of the word *śaśya* doubtless influenced TS., and cf. *śaśpa* for the other form (a kind of haplology in each case); see §278.

§33. The later confusion between *kh* and *ś* (perhaps scarcely to be called 'Prakritic' in a strict sense; cf. Wackernagel I p. 136) finds surprisingly little representation here; in fact we have noted only one case, and that an uninterpretable word (§295):

*kaṣṭkāya svāhā* TA. TAA.: *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU.

§34. There are however a couple of interesting cases of variation between *ś* and *kh*, which must be similar in character; see §296 below.

§35. Under presence or absence of nasals and *anusvāra* occur some variations which remind us of Pali-Prakrit *śīha* for *śīha* and the like, altho usually lexical considerations enter in (cf. §300):

*pūṣṇe 'āghṛṇaye svāhā* TA.: *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em.; mss. *āpṛṇaye*) *svāhā* MŚ. *āghṛṇi* is regular.

§36. Under presence or absence of *y* we find some interesting cases which remind us of the wide-spread use of an unetymological *y* between two vowels as a 'hiatus-tilger' (§§338-44). To be sure, the forms are all grammatically or lexically diverse; but a similar phonetic tendency is surely present. It may be added that there are traces of a similar use of *v*, altho again the variant forms are lexically justifiable (§§358ff.):

*vaiśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jālam agnim* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. The secondary and not very intelligent reading of TS.

shows a tendency to avoid hiatus by use of the glide-sound *y*.

§37. In Pali and Prakrit we find rather free interchange between long or nasalised vowel plus single consonant and short vowel plus double consonant, without much regard for etymology. The conditions are best stated by Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6. Traces of a similar tendency may be detected among the variants (§§393-8), tho again complicated by other considerations:

*agne samrādī iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyāi*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS.

ŚB. TB. (See §396.) While the two parallel stems *rai* and *rayi* are of course concerned here, the result resembles the Middle Indic phonetic change referred to.

§38. There are also (§§406-16) traces of the Prakritic assimilation of two adjoining consonants; this is especially marked when one of the consonants is a semi-vowel or liquid, or (as in the following instance) the two are semi-vowel and liquid:

*abhīṇe khīlye* (TB. *khille*) *nidadhāti devayam* RV. AV. TB. This is a



purely phonetic, Prakritie variant; TB. can mean nothing but an equivalent of *khilye* (comm. *khilibhūte*).

§39. Of the vocalic sections, the first to claim attention here is that on the interchange of vocalic liquids and other vowels (§§629-45). The Prakritie nature of this change is obvious. These variants are quite numerous, and, especially between *r* and *a*, contain not a few genuine phonetic variations:

*ava sma durhaṇḍāṭaḥ* (SV. *durhṛṇḍ°*) RV. SV. The SV. restores Sanskritie vocalism, as against the Prakritie form of RV.

*tejo yaśasvi sthviram samiddham* (ŚG. *saṃyḍḍham*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. Here ŚG. alone has the 'correct' Sanskrit form, and even it has a v. l. *saṃiddham* (perhaps felt as 'inflamed', with *tejas*?).

*purandaro gotrabhid* (MS. *°bhr̥d*, TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. A hyper-Sanskritism in MS; see §636.

*tvastṛmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvastṛi°*, ApŚ. *tvastu°*) *tva sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*saṃvatsara ṛtubhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ* (KS. *°bhiḥ cākṛpānaḥ*, ApŚ. *°bhiḥ cākupānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ.

§40. Various Prakrit dialects show occasional forms with *ri* or *ru* for Sanskrit *r*; and the modern vernacular pronunciation of Sanskrit *r* as *ri* or (e.g. Marāṭhī) *ru* should be remembered in this connexion. Among the variants *ru* for *r* shows a tendency to be associated with labial consonants. Besides *tvastṛmantas* (*tvastṛi°*) etc., §39, we may quote from §§666-84:

*tr̥ṣṇayavaso* (MS. *tr̥ṣṇu°*) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS. The adverb *tr̥ṣṇu* is the only possible form here; the variant of MS. is purely phonetic. *bhr̥mim* (TB. *bhrumim*) *dhamanto apa gā avṛṇata* RV. TB. The mss. of TB. seem to be unanimous on *bhrumim*, an otherwise unknown form.

*pruṣvā akṛubhiḥ* VS. MS.: *akṛubhiḥ pruṣvām* (TS. *pr̥ṣ°*) TS. KSA. The form *pr̥ṣvā* occurs a number of times in Tait. texts; it may be called a hyper-Sanskritism for *pruṣvā*.

§41. Coming next to the diphthongs, variations between long and short diphthongs (§§703-12, 728-32) naturally remind us of the fact that all long diphthongs are shortened in Middle Indie. Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

*anārāya kevaritam* VS.: *pār̥yāya kaivartam* TB. The usual form is *kai°*. *sukurīrā svopaśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS. Several mss. of MS. and its p.p. read *svaupāśā*.

§42. The familiar Prakritie reduction of *aya* to *e* and *ara* to *o* is paralleled by our §§744-9, e.g.:

*namaḥ kiṁśilāya ca kṣayaṇāya* (MS. *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.  
*kṣeṇa* is otherwise unknown.

*to-to* (MS. KS. MŚ. *tava-tava*, TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.  
 ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§43. The insertion of an epenthetic vowel, generally *i*, between two consonants, usually a liquid and a sibilant or *h*, is likewise related to Prakrit phonetics (§§751-65):

*tan naḥ paṣṣad* (MS. *paṛiṣad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS. MS. Cf. Wackernagel  
 I p. 57.



## CHAPTER II. SURD AND SONANT MUTES

§44. These are treated in the following order: *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *ṭ* and *ḍ*, *t* and *d*, *p* and *b*, *kh* and *gh*, *th* and *dh*. (For *g* and *kh* see §82; *t* and *dh*, §97f.; *p* and *bh*, §§112-14.) In general the purely phonetic variants are much rarer than those which involve lexical change. They concern, too, for the most part rare words, so that it is often uncertain whether the voiced or voiceless sound is more original, unless the theory of Prakritie influence is sufficient to establish greater probability for the voiceless. It does seem to be true that, especially under purely phonetic variations of *k* and *g*, there is a preponderance of the cases in which *k* appears to be original.

### *k* and *g*

§45. We shall begin with the forms which clearly involve real lexical changes along with the phonetic changes, and first of all with cases where both readings make good sense. In these the question of priority is often peculiarly delicate; both variants may be assumed to represent the conscious intentions of their schools:

*athāham anukāminī* (MŚ. °*gāminī*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. How near these expressions are to one another may be seen from AV. I. 34, 5cd, *yathā mān kāmīny aso yathā man nāpagaś asah*. Yet MŚ. (all miss.) is no doubt secondary.

*grṇatā naḥ sviṣṭaye* AV.; *krṇutam naḥ sviṣṭim* (MS. KS. °*ṭam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Sing for us unto well-being'; 'make well being for us.' The meter of AV. is easier, but the *āprī* hymn where it occurs is in a state of corruption so great (cf. Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54; Keith, *HOS* 18, clxi) as to throw doubt upon its version of this pāda, easier tho it be. The word *grṇatā* is preceded by *grṇata* (other forms of *grṇ*° in the other Saṃhitās); this suggests that *grṇatā* is a secondary corruption, due not wholly and perhaps not primarily to the tendency here considered.

*mitrāvaruṇā karadāhnaḥ* (MS. °*hna*) *cikittū* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikittam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *cikittnū* of TS (presumably 'intelligent', the not quoted in the lexicons) and *jigatnū* of KS. ('swift') are both reasonable. See RV. 7. 65. 1, where *jigatnu* is precisely an epithet of Mitra and Varuṇa (wrongly Oldenberg, *Noten* 2. 50).



*namah kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ* MS. KS.: *namo grtsebhyo grtapatibhyaś* . . . VS. TS. See §185.

*tato na vicikitsati* (VSK. ĪśU. *vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ĪśU.: *na tato vijugupsate* KU.: *nā tadā vicikitsati* ŚB. BṛhU. 'Then he no more doubts', or, 'then (therefrom) he does not shrink away.' Two familiar verb-forms, both appropriate. The Kāṇva recension of BṛhU. has *jugupsate*. Cf. AV. 13, 2, 15b.

*dhīpsyant vā samcakara janebhyaḥ* MS.: *yad vīdāsyant samjagāra janebhyaḥ* TB.: *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyaḥ* TA. Cf. *dāsyann adāsyann uta sam grṇāmi* (TA. and AVPPP. *uta vā kariṣyan*) AV. TA.: *adāsyann agna uta sam grṇāmi* AV. In all these passages *sam-gr* seems to mean 'devour, eat', the doubt has been cast on this interpretation (see Whitney on AV. 6. 71. 3 and 6. 119. 1). If 'devour' is right, *sam-cakara* 'collect' is secondary, tho in the outcome not very far from the original meaning.

§46. We list next cases in which the priority of one reading is emphasized by the fact that the secondary form, tho correct enough considered as an individual entity out of its context, fits that context more or less poorly, so that the term corruption begins to be more or less applicable to it. Here belong, first, several interchanges between the roots *kṛ* and *gam*:

*ukhām* (ApŚ. *garbham*) *śravanīm agadām akarma* (KŚ. *āganma*) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'We have made the leaking *ukhā* diseaseless.' Tho *aganma* may serve at a pinch, *akarma* seems to be the true reading; see VV I p. 211.

*urvīḥ gavyāḥ pariśadam no akran* AV.: *ūrvāḥ gavyāḥ pariśadanto agman* RV. KS. The original RV., 'surrounding it they penetrated into the stable of the cows,' is done over in AV., 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine' (Whitney).

*vadhūr jajāna* (AV. *jigāya*, MS. KS. *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. ŚG. See Whitney on AV. 3. 10. 4 for a collection of Hindu guesses on the meaning of *navagaj*; the European guesses are scarcely better. ŚG. tries a sort of hyper-Sanskritism, rationalizing a tradition which it did not understand.

*īmam loṣam* (TA. *lokaḥ*) *nīdadhan mo ahaṣi riṣam* RV. AV. TA. 'Depositing this clod of earth, may I suffer no injury.' TA. *lokaḥ* (after *īmam*, this follows so naturally!) makes no sense here. The comm. in fact interprets it as *loṣam* (= *loṣam*), etymologizing monstrously (*lokyate drīyate iti loko loṣaḥ!*). Some mss. and the comm. of AV. read like TA., however.

*pary āgāraṁ* (AŚ, ākāraṁ) *punaḥ-punaḥ* AV. AŚ, ŚŚ. Only *āgāraṁ* makes sense; something (a drum?) is being beaten 'about the house', not 'about the form.' The preceding (in AV., preceding but one) pāda is *yadī* (*yadīm*, *lelim*) *hanat kathamī hanat*.

*indrāpāsya phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyasya śephām alikam...* HG.

The correct reading is certainly *phaligam*.

*mano jagāma dūrakam* (PB. *dūragāh*) RV. PB. The latter is a far-reaching recast of RV, where *dūrakam* belongs with *manas*; *dūragāh* (in itself a perfectly good word) can only be construed by violently detaching it to go with the subject of the next pāda, *tan ma āvartayā punaḥ*. This, according to the PB. comm., who so construes, is Soma (whom the epithet *dūragāh* does not fit at all). *rājānaḥ satyaṁ kṛṇvānāḥ* (AV. *grhṇānāḥ*, but Ppp. *kṛvāno*) RV. AV. Whitney, who renders 'apprehending truth', notes that the other reading is better.

*tasya rathagṛtsaś* (MS. °*grtsnaś*, KS. °*grtsaś*) *ca rathavajās ca senānigrāmanyyau* (TS. *senānir*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The word *ratha*° is a proper name, 'chariot-clever'; °*grtsa* is probably a corruption of the first stage, leading over to °*grtsna*, which does not fit.

*abhār gr̥ṣṭinām* (AV.\* *āpīnām* mss., R-Wh. *vaśānām*, false emendation withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.; ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *āpīnām*; HG. *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipā u* (HG. ApMB. °*pāvā*) AV. (bis) HG. ApMB.: *bhavē kṛṣṭinām* (AV. *gr̥*°, but Ppp. *kṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5; Roth, ZDMG 48. 110. The word must mean 'people'; 'heifers' is nonsense (see Sāyana's ludicrous attempt to justify it).

*prāṇān samkrośaiḥ* MS.: *samkrośān prāṇaiḥ* (VS. °*krośaiḥ prāṇān*) VS. TS.: *samghoṣān* (ms. °*goṣān*) *prāṇaiḥ* KSA. Here what was originally probably a mere corruption in KSA. (s for ś, loss of r) becomes, if we accept the emendation, a lexical variant.

§47. We come now to cases where the new reading produces a word or combination of words which seem to defy interpretation. At the same time the putatively original forms are themselves apt to be not above suspicion. The cases concern great textual decay, and belong largely to the Yajurveda schools:

*nikīrya tubhyam abhya āsam* Vait.: *nikīrya tubhyam madhye* ApŚ.: *nigīrya tubhyam madhvah* MŚ.: *nigīrya sarvā ādhiḥ* KŚ. The passages are unintelligible; *kir*, 'scatter', does not seem to be recorded in composition with *ni*, which points, perhaps, to *nigīrya* 'swallowing down' (note *madhvah* in MŚ.).



*lena samhanu kṛyasti* AV.; *lena sann anugrhyāsi* HG. The meaning of AV. is uncertain (perhaps corrupt, see Whitney's note). The individually irreproachable words of HG. mouth over an uncomprehended text. Cf. §386.

*arepasah sacetasah* (etc.) *svasire manyumattamās* (SV, ApŚ. \**mantās*) *cite goh* (SV, *citā goh*, ApŚ. *cidākoh*) SV, AV, ApŚ. MŚ. *cidākoh*, with metathesis of voice-quality, as if from a stem \**cidāku*, is corrupt.

*śakma yat te goh* MS. KS.; *sagme* (TS. *samyat*) *te goh* VS. TS. ŚB. 'What power of (over) the cow is thine', MS. KS., perhaps correctly and originally. In VS. ŚB. *sagme* looks indeed like a Prakritism for *śakma*. But on account of the different cases it is doubtful whether it is felt as having the same meaning (cf. however the adjective *śagma*, from root *śak*). It seems, rather, vaguely connected with *sa* and the root *gam*. VS. comm., followed by Griffith, *sagme yajamāne* (!), *goh gauh* (very simple!). BR. read in TS. *sampātte* with one ms. (p.p. *samyāt, te*), but the comm., followed by Weber, IS. 13. 107, takes *samyāt* as = *śamyak*. So also Keith ('to match thy cow'). BR. regard *sampātte* as = *sagme*, both meaning 'Einswerden im Handel'; they render: 'wenn du auf eine Kuh eingehst'. They therefore derive *sagma* from *sa* and *gam*.

*rudra yat te krayi* (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asī* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. These various names of Rudra are all equally unintelligible. The reading *giri-* is especially sophisticated, having in mind Rudra's mountain habitat.

*idam ahañ sarpañām dandaśūkāñām grīvā upa grathnāmi* (MŚ. mss. *kṛtnāmi*; Knauer conjectures *kṛnatmi*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I now tie up the necks of the stinging serpents.' But *kṛtnāmi* is not *kṛnatmi*, and the MŚ. may have merely a corruption of TS., in spite of Knauer's belief that the mantra was not taken from TS. Somewhat the reverse of this is found in *pumāñ enām* etc., §48.

Cf. also *jāgrtsyas tripañcāśih* etc., §192.

§48. In the remaining cases the possibility of real lexical change becomes fainter. We believe that we are now dealing with what are essentially nothing but phonetic shifts, if not pure corruptions:

*invakā* (MS. \**gā*) *nakṣatram* MS. KS. This name for the constellation Mr̥gaśīrṣa is recorded in its *g* form only here, and in its *k* form according to BR. (V. 1144) only once more (TB. 1. 5. 1. 1). The priority of *invakā*, 'pervading', is hardly to be questioned, but MS. may have felt the word as a compound of *inea* plus *ga*, *gā*.

*sā prasūr* (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. HG. ApMB. *dhenukā* is a pet-word to *dhenu* 'milch cow'. In *dhenugā* there may be a touch of popular etymology, a hint of the stem *go*, 'cow', but the form is essentially Prakritic.

*āśuh kāṣṭhām ivāśaran* (read °*ram* with comm., Ppp., Whitney, and Bloomfield) AV. 2. 14. 5b. All mss. *gāṣṭhām*; *kā*° is emendation. Ppp. also (ms.) *gā*° (em. Barret, JAOS 30. 193, *kā*°); comm. *glāṣṭhām*. *pikah* (KSA. *piḡah*) *kṛiṇkā nīlāśirṇā te* 'ryamṇa (KSA. °*mṇah*) TS. KSA. The word is always *pika*, except here.

*śṛkāhastā* (TS. KS. *śṛkācanto*, MS. *śṛgavanto*, one ms. *śṛka*°) *nīṣaṅginah* VS. TS. MS. KS. The stem concerned is always *śṛka* 'spear', except in this and the following passage, and in a lexical quotation, perhaps based on these readings.

*namah śṛkāyibhyo* (TS. *śṛkāyibhyo*, MS. *śṛgāyibhyo*) *jighāṁsadbhyah* VS. TS. MS. KS. See preceding.

*vīṇāgaṇakino* (ŚB. °*gino*) *devair imam yajamānam saṁgāyata* ŚB. ApŚ. Also: *vīṇāgaṇakinah pūrvaiḥ saha sukrīdbhī rājabhīr imam yajamānam saṁgāyata* ApŚ.; *vīṇāgaṇaginah purāṇair imam yajamānam rājabhīḥ sūdhukrīdbhīḥ saṁgāyata* ŚB. Cf. further KŚ. 20. 3. 2. Altho the compound *vīṇā*° does not occur outside these passages, its meaning is plain ('master of a band of lute-players'), and it seems that it must contain *-gaṇaka*, with suffixal *ka*. Perhaps the *g* is due to assimilation to the preceding *g*, or to sophistication from the root *gā*, 'sing' (so comm. on ŚB. and KŚ., both of which implausibly understand *vīṇā-gaṇa* as meaning 'a quantity of [various kinds of] lutes'); cf. Conc. under *gāyatam* . . .

*puṇjikasthalā* (KS.† *puṇjiga*°) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu*°) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This name of an Apsaras appears in later literature, always with *k*.

*pumān enam tanuta ut kṛṇatti* RV.; *pumān enad vayatṛ ud grṇatti* AV. See Whitney's note on AV. 10. 7. 43. *grṇatti* is doubtless a mere corruption, promoted by confusion with the root *grath*, *granth* 'tie', which with *ut* is nearly synonymous with *ut-kṛt*. More or less the reverse of this shift is found above, §47, *idam aham* etc.

§49. In the following variants there is for the most part little evidence to support the greater originality of either *k* or *g*; the words are almost or quite ἀπὸ λεγόμενα:

*vīṇām kuḥābhyām* (KSA. *gu*°) TS. KSA. A part of the horse's body. For *ku*° the TS. comm. says, *hastayor madhyasamudhī* (cf. *vīṇa-kuḥ*). The other form suggests perhaps *guhya*, 'pudenda'. Neither is recorded lexically.



*pratīkramanām kuṣṭhābhyām* (KS. *gu*<sup>o</sup>) TS. KSA.: *akramanām ku*<sup>\*</sup> MS.

Both otherwise unknown; like the preceding they designate a part of the horse's body. Bhāskara, *hastāparārdhamāni*; Keith, 'the two centres of the loins'. Cf. *kuṣṭhikā*, 'dew-claw, spur', etc.

*agne kahya* MS. KS. MŚ.: (*agne*) *gahya* TS. Neither in lexs., and neither interpretable. Keith, not plausibly, 'abysmal' (thinking of *gāhya*).

*salilāḥ saligaḥ sugaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣāṇā vyantu svāhā* MS. KS.: *lekāḥ salekāḥ zulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣāṇā vyantu* TS. ApŚ. All isolated and uninterpretable.

*grāmyamañkīradāsakau* ApŚ.: *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MŚ.: *vyāghram mañgīradāsa gauḥ* Vait. In Vait. read *mañgīradāsagau*, or possibly with Caland, *°dāsakau*. Two proper names, Mañgīra or Mañkīra, and Dāsaka (or Dās<sup>o</sup>), are involved.

*namo vaḥ kīrikebhyo* (MS. MŚ. *namo girikebhyo*) *devānām hṛdayebhyah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. In such a formula, of the Śatarudriya, either epithet remains doubtful, tho *gīrika*, of course, suggests 'mountain-born' like *gīriśa* etc. The possibility of different lexical interpretations may be admitted, but the variation is probably purely phonetic.

*uruka urukasya* (ApŚ. *uruga urugasya*) *te vedaḥ vayan sam bhuktena gamemahi* (MS. *°mahy agne grhapate*) MS. ApŚ. Neither form is in the lexs.; *uruga* may be felt as *uru-ga*, 'wide-going' (so Caland). Is *uruka* some bird of good omen?

*vi te bhīnadmi takarīm* (KS. *°rīm*, AVPpp. [Roth] *tagarīm*, AV. *mehanam*) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. There is no evidence as to the meaning of *takarī* (*°rī*, *tag*<sup>\*</sup>) except the context and the variant *mehanam*; and none whatever as to its derivation or original form.

### c and j

§50. Prakritic interchanges between the two sounds go in both directions (Pischel, §202). This of itself makes difficult the appraisal of their phonetic aspect in the variants. Moreover all variations produce passably good words of different origin or etymology, so that priority must be determined by sense, or by the established superiority of one or the other text. We are unable to discover anything like a concerted movement, either from *c* to *j* or vice versa. But on the whole we have the impression that the main current is from *c* to *j*, and that it is Prakritic in character (*prāñjo* from *prāñco*, *ud-aj* from *ud-ac*).

§51. Most notable and extensive is the riming interchange between

the forms *vācam* and *vājam*. Tho not synonyms, they are both familiar in ritualistic language as words of good and useful meaning. Their interchange begins in the RV. itself:

*pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati* RV. (both)

Here there seems reason to regard *vācam* as prior; see *RVRep.* 410. In the next following cases *vācam* is also original:

*vācaspatir no adya vājam svadatu* VSK.: *vācaspatir vācam* (VS.\*† 9.1, ŚB.\*† 5. 1. 1. 16 *vājam*) *naḥ svadatu* VS. KS. ŚB. SMB.: *vācaspatir vācam adya svadati* (MS. °tu) *naḥ* (TB. *te*, Poona ed. *naḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TB. The word *vācaspatir*, with the preponderance of texts, shows that *vājam* is secondary.

*pavitravantaḥ pari vācam* (TA. *vājam*) *āsate* RV. TA. N. The older *vācam* refers either to the sound of the soma-drops (Grassmann) or to the hymns of the officiating priests (Ludwig).

*premaṁ vājam vājasāte avantu* AV.: *premaṁ vācam viśvām avantu viśve* TS. MS. KS. In all texts the preceding pāda reads: *marutāṁ manee adhi no* (AV. *me*) *bruvantu*. The Maruts seem here to be regarded as singing priests (RV. 3. 14. 1, 5. 29, 3, 10. 78, 1), who may well help the *vāc* of human priests. AV. is a banal recast.

*vācam asme nī yacha devāyuvam* VS. ŚB.: *vājam asmin nī dhehi devāyuvam* MS.: *tapojām vācam asme nī yacha devāyuvam* TA. In MS. a specious lectio facillior; *tapojām* in TA., as well as the *vip-rāṇām devayā vācas* of RV. 5. 76. 1, prove that the other texts are right.

§52. In the remaining cases it seems likely that *vājam* is the original word:

*sā dikṣitā sanavo vājam asme* (MŚ. *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ.: *sā saṁnaddhā sanuḥi vājam emam* (MG. *sanuḥi bhāgadheyam*) AV.† MG. 'Do thou (O woman), consecrated, win strength (holy speech) for him (from (this), or the like. *bhāgadheyam* is a sort of synonym of *vājam*. In MŚ. *asmāt* refers to the girdle with which the Pratiprasthātṛ binds the woman as he recites this verse (*itī pratiprasthātā yoktreṇa patnīm saṁnahyati*); *vācam* is simple but secondary.

*īndraṁ vājam vī mucyadhnam* TS. KS. TB.: *īndrāya vācam vī mucyadhnam* MS. MŚ. The verb on which the first two words of this quasi-pāda depend is *ajījapula*; cf. *ajījapatendram vājam* VS. ŚB. As the interested person is a king, *vājam* is clearly required; *vācam*, 'prayer' or 'Sarasvatī', is far-fetched. Cf. *vājajic* . . . and *vājajityāyā* . . . in Cone.

*asredhanta itana vājam aha* RV.: *adroghāvītā vācam aha* AV. The



poor meter and general corruption of AV. (in which RV. 3. 14. 6 is somehow involved) make it unintelligible; see Whitney's note. The *vācam* would fit fairly well, RV. is original at all points.

Analogous to these is one variant between *vacasā* and *ojasā*;

*sam eta vīsvā* (AV. † *vīsvē*) *vacasā* (SV. *ojasā*) *patih divah* AV. SV.—Ppp. evidently means to read *ojasā*; its text, as quoted by Roth, has *vīsvā oham ā*. This supports SV., tho the otherwise corrupt Śaunakīya text makes as good sense as its rivals: 'Go all together to the lord of heaven (the sun) mightily (with prayer).' See, however, above under *vācam asme* . . . §51.

§53. There are next a pair of riming variants in which *ud-ac*, 'draw out' ('schöpfen', of liquids) seems to vary with *ud-aj*. This is the nearest approach to purely phonetic or Prakritic change, tho *ud-aj* may at a pinch be a fairly good synonym: 'drive out' in the sense of 'obtain, acquire'. Thus in RV. 1. 95. 7 *uc chukram atkam ajate simasmāt*, which we take with Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* 2. 189, to mean 'he draws out (derives) from himself a bright garment'. Otherwise *ud-aj* is the favorite word for driving cattle (often mythical) from their stable, which comes metaphorically even closer to *ud-ac*:

*antraghnūr ud ajante* (ApMB. *acante*) *āpah* AV. ApMB. 'Let them draw forth waters that slay not heroic sons'; cf. *vyukṣat krūram ud acante āpah* ApMB. 1. 1. 7. Weber, *Ind. St.* 5. 198, and Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 39 go the length of emending *ajante* to *acante*, which is doubtful practice (cf. §3). But probably the mantra was first composed with *acante*, despite RV. 1. 95. 7 above.

*samudrād udajani vaḥ* (ApŚ. *udacam iva*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. Here MS. is probably secondary or corrupt, but possibly understands a form of root *jan*, 'was born out of the ocean'.

§54. There are two cases in which derivatives of roots *can* and *jan* vary; it seems that they divide the honors of originality:

*caniṣṭhad* (SV. *ja<sup>o</sup>*) *agne aṅgīrah* RV. SV. Little can be done with the anomalous *caniṣṭhad* (Whitney, *Grammar*, §906b, Oldenberg, *Noten*, on S. 74. 11); less with *janiṣṭhad*; tho the ideas of either 'giving delight' or 'arousing' are well enough.

*sāvitro 'si canadhāh* (MS. *janadhāyāh*) VS. MS. ŚB. Cf. *tutko 'si janadhāyāh* (PB. *°yah*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *stuto 'si janadhāh* TB. ApŚ. 'Thou art Savitar's joy-giver (creature-nourisher).' The preponderance of texts favors *jana-*; there is no other criterion; both are reasonable enough.

§55. In two other individual cases the change is clearly from *c* to *j*, tho in both the forms with *j* are tolerably defensible:

*prāñco agāmā* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA. See §2. *devēbhyaḥ tō devāyuvān* (KS. *devāyuvān*) *prṇacmi* (so MS. by emendation, mss. mostly *prṇajmi*! ApŚ. *prṇajmi*) *yajñasyāyuse* MS. KS. ApŚ. MS. *prṇajmi* (all mss. of ApŚ.) is supported by Dhātup. and by *anavapṛṇṇa* RV. 1. 152. 4, which is placed by Wackernagel I p. 117 and doubtfully by Whitney (*Roots*) under *prc*. See however Scheftelowitz, *IF.* 33. 136, and Neisser, *ZWsch. d. RV.* 1. 33 (root \**parcg*). But the matter is uncertain; the forms with *g, j* may be based on root *prc*, and due to proportional analogy with other 7th-class roots in *j*, which have *k* by internal sandhi in certain forms (e.g., *bhanakti*; *bhagna*; *bhanajmi* = *prṇakti*; *prṇa*; *prṇajmi*). —In this connexion also:

*upa mā jakṣur* (!) *upa mā mantṣā* KŚ. 13. 2. 19, where *jakṣur* is either misprint or Prakritic anomaly for *cakṣur*.

§56. In several cases the variation between *c* and *j* is in the reduplication of roots in *k* and *g*, which latter it really concerns; see §45. *mātrāvurūṇā śaradāhnaṁ* (MS. \**hnā*) *cikittā* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnā*, AŚ. *cikittam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*tato na vicikitsati* (*vijugupsate*), etc.

*dhīpsyam vā samcukara jānebhyah*, etc.

§57. The remaining cases are miscellaneous:

*somaḥ sutah pūyate aṇyamānah* (SV. *sula rcyate pūyamānah*) RV. SV.

Here the original form of root *aj* (*añj*), 'adorn', is replaced in SV. by *rc*, 'praise'; a lexical change with hyper-Sanskritic tendency. *tvē kratum api vrñjanti viśce* (AV. \**prñcanti bhūri*) RV. AV. (both) SV. TS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'In thee they all set (mingle) their mind.' The combination *api aprāk* once more AV. 10. 4. 26, and nowhere else. For *api varj* (original) see Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 35. 281.

*agne vyacasva* (RV. MS. *yajasva*) *rodasī urūcī* RV. AV. MS. 'O Agni, make sacrifice to (embrace) the wide heaven and earth.' AV. has a contaminated lectio facillior; cf. RV. 10. 111. 2 *mahāntī cit sam vīvyācī rajānsi*, and the converse, RV. 8. 12. 24, *na yam vivikto rodasī*; or 10. 112. 4, *yasya . . . mahimānam . . . ime mahī rodasī nāviviktām*.

*divas* (SV. *divah*) *prsthām udhī tiṣṭhanti celasā* (SV. † *rohanti tejasa*) RV. SV. With metathesis of *c(j)* and *t*.

*ud usriyāh ṛjate* (TB. *sacate*) *sūryah sacā* RV. SV. TB. See §3.

*andhanasyam vasanam carigyu* (ApMB. HG. *jā°*, PG. *jariṣṇuḥ*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. As an epithet of a garment, *jariṣṇu* would mean possibly 'much worn' or the like; as an epithet of the subject,



*aham* (PG.), possibly 'attaining or destined for old age'. To us (contrary to the opinions of Kirste and Oldenberg on HG.) *ja*<sup>o</sup> seems, with the majority of the texts, the original reading, rather than ŚG. *carigṇu* (Oldenberg, 'wallend').

*jāmin* (KS.† *camī*) *mā hīṣār amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *ḥayānā* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *mā jāmin moḥir amuyā ḥayānām* AV.—The KS. reading (of a single *ma*.) should certainly be corrected to *jāmin*.

*gharman triṣug vi rājati* (ŚŚ, *rocate*) VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Hardly belongs here; *rocate* is a perfect synonym of *rājati*.

*yuktāḥ tistro vimrjah* (comm. *vibhrjah*) *sūryasya* PB.: *yunajmī tistro viprcāḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *viṣṭāḥ sūryaḥ save* [or, *savaḥ*]) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. In PB. the comm. has two equally fatuous guesses on *vibhrjah* 'dividers' (of the sun). But there is little more sense in *viprcāḥ*, apparently 'separators' (of the sun); it seems to be applied collectively to *pythivī*, *vāyu*, and *vāc*. It can hardly mean 'separate, distinct' as BR. take it. Keith, doubtfully, 'spaces'; Caland and Henry, *Agniśtoma*, 128, equally doubtfully, 'épouses'.

*gīrā ca* (AV. *virājah*) *krūṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The AV. reading shows far-reaching adaptation to a secondary purpose, as it seems also to include with most of SPP.'s mss. (and his oral reciters) and the comm. *śnuṣṭiḥ* for *bru*<sup>a</sup>. Whitney adopts *śnu*<sup>a</sup>, which Ppp. also intends with its *sunigṣas* (Barret, *JAOS* 30, 207). See §365.

*purā jatvibhya* (TA. ApMB. *jatvibhya*, MS. *cakṛbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyah*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °*da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. The original is obscure enough; but MS. is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible. Note its loss of final *h* (§384).

#### *t* and *d*

§58. We have found practically no variants here; the one recorded involves plausible but secondary change from 1st to 3d person in a verb form (VV I p. 217):

*vikṣvāraṇam namasā gīrbhir tde* (ApMB. *tte*) RV. ApMB.

#### *t* and *d*

§59. Here we find, first, a number of cases in which *d* is substituted for *t* as what seems to be a purely phonetic, Prakritic change, real lexical difference being scarcely, or only in a very strained way, conceivable:

*citrā etagṇā* (TB, *etā*<sup>o</sup>) *anumādyāsaḥ* RV. MS. TB. The comm. on TB.

ignores the word. The etymology of *etagea* (AJP. 17. 426) furnishes no opportunity for the change.

*pārāvataghnīm* (TB. °*daghnīm*) *avase suryktibhiḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. N. *pārāvataghnīm* (sc. *saravatīm*), either 'slaying the distant (enemy)', or 'slaying from a distance'. TB. comm. has a labored and worthless explanation. If the text had anything in mind it must have analyzed *pāra* + *avadaghnīm*, root *dagh*, something like 'reaching across' (*pāra*, 'further bank').

*sa im pāhi ya rjīṣi tarutrah* (VaradapU. *tarudrah*) RV. AB. GB. TB. NṛpU. VaradapU. Perhaps vague popular etymology in *tarudrah*, as if 'tree-cleaving'.

*ime 'rātsur ime subhūtam* (MŚ. *sūdam*!) *akran* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter (quoted by Knauer from an unpublished part of the text) evidently intends *subhūdam*, for *subhūtam*, since it is followed immediately by:

*ima udvāṣikāriṇa* (MŚ. *imā uddhāsicāriṇa*) *ime durbhūtam* (MŚ. °*dam*) *akran* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

*agotām anapatyātām* (vulgate with most mss. *anapadyātām*) AV. 4. 17. 6b. Some mss. and the comm. read *anapatyātām*, which must be intended, as guaranteed by its juxtaposition with *agotām*. Cf. RV. 3. 54. 18 *yuyota nō anapatyāni ... paśumān astu gātuḥ*.

*yadā rākhātyan vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yadā rāghaṣi varadaḥ* Vait.: *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §§70, 272a. Vait. is thoroly Prakritic.

§60. In the next following cases lexical considerations enter more forcibly, yet the change continues to be from primary *t* to secondary *d*: *vayam hi vām purutamāso* (AV. °*dam*°) *āśvinā* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Is the epithet (here applied to the poets, *kāru*, but in juxtaposition to the word *āśvinā*) a bungled reminiscence of its application to the Aśvins in RV. 7. 73. 1 (*purudansā purutamā*)? Roth, ZDMG. 48. 107, and Whitney on AV. 7. 73. 1, consider the AV. form, 'having many houses', corrupt.

*mā me hārdi tviṣā* (MŚ. *hārdim tviṣā*) *vadhīḥ* TS. MŚ. A replica of RV. 8. 79. See *mā no hārdi* etc.; *tviṣā* is lect. fac.

*sato vah pitaro deṣma* VS.: *sado* etc. ApŚ. SMB. GG. In VS. 'of what is ours, O Fathers, we will give to you.' The others with lect. fac., 'a seat, O Fathers' etc.; this is facilitated by the quasi-synonym *grha* in the preceding pāda: *grhān naḥ pitaro datta*. Cf. the next.

*mukham sad asya kira si satena* (TB. *sadena*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The texts all intend *sad asya* (so MS. p.p. and VS. comm.); TB. comm. apparently reads *sam asya*. VS. comm. takes *satena* from a stem



*sata*, said to be a sacrificial implement, and says that the stem *sat* (in *sad*) = *sata*, 'chāndasaḥ'. TB, *sadena*, taken by its comm. to mean 'seat', may be a sort of phonetic perseverance, matching *sad-asya*. Cf. *prec.*

*śirā rudasya* (VSK. *śira rāsya*, TS. and v.l. of MS. *śirā rudasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

*gāva upāvotāvalam* (SV. *upa valāvate*) RV. SV. VS. In SV. a form of *upa-vad*; in the others, of *upa-av*. SV. is uninterpretable; its verb is singular, but the subject can only be *gāvaḥ*.

*vasāra āpo abhi gā udāsaran* (SV. *udāsaran*) RV. SV. In SV. a form of *ud-ā-sr* (quotable nowhere else) is substituted for the original, *uta+asarin*.

*ya ātrṇatly* (ViDh. *ātrṇoty*, SamhitopB. *ātrṇoty*) *avidathena* (VāDh. *avidathena*) *karṇau* SamhitopB. VāDh. ViDh. N. *avidathena* can at a pinch mean 'unsacrificial' or 'not according to rule', but the use of the hieratic *vidatha* is very questionable at this stage. The reading is simply Prakritic or corrupt.

*yathāpāḥ pravatā yanti* TA. TU. Kauś.: *yathā yanti prapadaḥ* SMB. The latter is secondary; Jürgensen, 'wie die Wege geben'. In his note he suggests *pratipadaḥ*, which is not enticing in view of the variant.

*agne tān vettha yadi te jātavedaḥ* HG. ApMB.: *trāṇ vettha yati te jātavedaḥ* RV. VS. *yadi*, 'if', is lect. fac.

*ā vatso jagatā* (AG. *jāyatām*, PG. *jagadaih*) *saha* AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *jagadaih* (comm. 'guards', *anugai rakṣakāih*) is certainly poor and secondary. The comm. however is probably right in his interpretation, as the next variant interestingly shows:

*īśānam jagadaih saha* PG.: *īśāno jagatas patiḥ* AV. TS. KS. ApMB. The context is different; the two pādas are hardly variants of each other. PG. comm. *jagadaih, anucaraih*. Cf. *prec.*

*hīteḥ na ūrjam pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ* (AV. *prapadāt pathiṣṭhaḥ*) RV. AV. MG. In RV., 'leaving us food may it fly forth, most swift-flying.' AV., doubtless intentionally, 'leaving us food, may it set out, being on the road', which seems to make possible sense, tho it is secondary. (Whitney, however, abandons it and translates the RV. version).

*vanā vananti dhṛṣatā* (MŚ. mss. °dā; one, *dhṛṣadā*) *rujantaḥ* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. The corruption of MŚ. mss. is due to thought of *dhṛṣad*, 'mill-stone'. RV. 8. 49 (Vāl. 1). 4 may have *dhṛṣat* in this sense. But see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on this passage.

*amocī* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB. *avartī* 'distress' seems likely to be original.

*ā sūtrāṇe* (MS. KS. *bhūyisṭhadārne*) *sumatīm āgrānāḥ* AV. MS. KS.; *oṣisṭhadārne sumatīm grānāḥ* TS. See §355.

In a couple of cases involving adverbs in *d* and *t* the *t* seems older; they are grouped below, §68, with similar cases in which *d* is older.

§61. In the next group we find different division of the words; but the change is still from *t* to *d* (cf. §65):

*pathā madhumatā bhāran* (MS. *madhumad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB.

Either reading is interpretable; in VS. TB. *madhu*<sup>2</sup> goes with *pathā*, in MS. with the object of *ābharan*. We judge that the former is probably original; cf. RV. 10. 24. 6 *madhumam me purīṇyaṇāḥ madhumat punar āyanam*.

*yena bhūyaś carāty* (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *cā rātryām*) AG. ApMB.

MG.: *yena bhūriś carā dīcam* PG. The original form is that of ApMB. MG., of which AG. is a corruption. PG. changes the verb from 3d to 2d person, *carās* (VV I p. 235); this is connected with the further change that introduces *dīcam*.

*tvam no devatālaye* (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. SV.—Ppp. reads *devatālaye*, indicating that AV. (Ś.) is secondary. It makes, however, a sort of crude sense: 'do thou, O god, (stir) us (up) unto giving.'

*arepasah sacetasah . . . cite goḥ* (*citā goḥ, cidākoḥ*), see §47. Note the metathesis of surl and sonant qualities in the two consonants (*t-g, d-k*).

*jīvan eva prati tat te* (so Jørgensen for SMB.; v. 1. *pratidatte*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. *dadāmi*) TA. SMB.†: *jīvan eva pratidatte dadāmi* MŚ.

The latter is corrupt.

§62. The cases in which the change is, certainly or presumably, from *d* to *t* do not impress one so much with the presence of a purely phonetic movement. They consist either of downright blunders, or of variations in which either reading makes fair sense but the *t* forms represent a later or easier reading. Thus in the first case the *t* is a palpable blunder that turns an impeccable passage into a group of unintelligible syllables:

*ahā neta* (GB. *netar a-*, ŚŚ. *ahād eta*) *sann avicetanāni* AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ.:

*ahā ned asann apurogarāni* (so divide) JB.—This is followed by:

*yajñā* (JB. Caland, *yajñā*) *netā sann apurogavāsah* (JB. Caland, *avice-*

*tanāsah*) AV. AB. GB. JB.: *yajñād eta sann apurogavāsah* ŚŚ.

Gaastera reads GB. as: *yajñā netar asann apuro*<sup>o</sup>; and so in the prec., read in GB. *netar asann*. Weber, *Ind. St.* 9. 306, suggests correctly *ned asann* for AV, etc. The true form of the two pādas is; *ahā ned asann avī*<sup>o</sup>, *yajñā ned asann apuro*<sup>o</sup>, 'lest the days be without distinction, lest the sacrifices be without a leader.' So



Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 24f., who quotes JB. as reading thus, except for the interchange of the two adjectives. AV. and ŚŚ. are hopeless; but GB. (as read by Gaastra) makes possible sense.

§63. But in other cases, as indeed in one secondary form of the preceding (that of GB.), either reading makes reasonable sense, tho for various reasons we believe that the *d* is older:

*pari doṣād udarpitah* KŚ.: *paritoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ. Preceded in KŚ. by *yo me 'dya payaso rasah*; in ApŚ. by *yan me 'tra payasah*. It is an expiatory formula after a nocturnal emission. Caland adopts *pari doṣād* ('without [*pari*; se. my] fault') from KŚ., and reads *udarpitah*. We agree with him that this is the original reading, but consider that he is wrong in emending ApŚ. to accord with it; *paritoṣāt*, 'thru excessive gratification', tho a slipshod lect. fac., is clearly what ApŚ. intended.

*godhāyasam vi dhanasair udardah* (TB. *atardat*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The antique and rare *adardah* (3d sing. imperf. intensive of *dar*) puzzles TB. sufficiently to provoke the synonym *atardat*.

*priyo me hṛdo* (MŚ. *hīto*, v. l. *hūto*) 'si (MŚ.† *bhava*) TS. MŚ. The latter is simply a lect. fac.

*sapta rājāno ya udābhīṣiktāh* KS. AA.: *anu sapta rājāno ya utābhīṣiktāh* TB. The TB. stumbles over *udā*, 'with water', and eases it up to the colorless adverb *uta*.

*yās ca* (AV. *yā*) *devīr* (SMB. *devyo*, PG. *devīs*) *antān* (AV. *antān*, PG. *tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (PG. SMB. *tatantha*) AV. PG. SMB. ApMB.: *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatananta* (so em.; mss. *tatantha*) MG. The reading *tatantha* could only intend a monstrously augmented form *atalantha*, because of the preceding *abhito* (note sandhi). Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 108, considers it obvious that *tatantha* is a corruption for '*dadanta*'. In PG., however, the corruption has become infectious, because there *antān* is further changed to *tantūn* under the influence of *tatantha*. The comm. on PG. (see note in Stenzler's translation) treats the muddle of the text as Vedic license. Cf. VV I p. 139f.

*yatrādhi sūra udīto vibhātī* (TS. *udītau vṛtī*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yasminn adhi vitatah sūra eti* MS. KS. Of course RV. is original; but *vitatah* is found also in the AV. version, *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitvā*.

*vidad yadī* (MŚ.† *yadī*, TB. ApŚ. *yatī*) *saramā ruṇam* (MŚ.† *saramā-ruṇam*) *adreh* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The original *yadī* (*yadī*), 'when', is corrupted into a fem. pple. *yatī* (TB. comm.

*gachanī*) suggested by the final *i* of *yadi*, and supported by RV. 5. 45. 7 *yati saramā*. *Saramā*, the messenger, is hardly ever mentioned without the implication that she is a great traveler; cf. RV. 10. 108, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and note *gāt* at the end of 3. 31. 6, the stanza here concerned. Caland in his Translation of ApŚ. unwisely abandons *yati* for *yadi*.

*yad* to *devā atipādāyāni* (AŚ, °*layām*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *ati-pad* and *ati-pat* are synonyms, 'transgress'. TB. comm.: *akuraṇam anyathā-karaṇam cātipatīh*. There is little reason for preferring either, except the somewhat greater evidence for the *pad* form (two texts confirm each other).

*ūrdhvā paryāmatir bhū* (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK. *ati dyutat*) *saśimani* AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The VSK. reading, if authentic, is secondary. See VV I p. 128.

*ketāya vaidāryāya* (PG. °*daryāya*, ApMB. HG. °*daryāya*, MG. *vaitaharyāya*) . . . AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The epithet *vaitaharya* does not belong to the serpent demon Śveta, and is a secondary misunderstanding.

§64. In the following cases the *i* variant produces readings that are increasingly difficult or suspicious, and that tempt more to emendation. Even here, however, we cannot be sure that the secondary or false reading was not the established text of the school:

*turaś ca viśvā arṇoś apā māh* RV.: *turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān* AV.† Whitney translates AV.: 'may he, quick, rich in fervor, send all.' Since Ppp. agrees with RV., it is clear that AVŚ. is secondary. But *turaś* is lexically defensible.

*tvaṁ rājāsi pradīvaḥ* (VS. VSK. *pratīpat*) *sutānām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. *pratīpat* is hardly intelligible; Mahidhara takes *pratīpat* *sutānām* as a compound, ignoring the accents: 'draughts pressed on each initial day of a lunar fortnight.'

*hariṇasya raghuṣyudāḥ* (ApŚ. °*syataḥ*, two mss. °*syadaḥ*) AV. ApŚ. Caland adopts the AV. reading; if ApŚ. really intended °*taḥ*, it simulates a pres. pple. form from a denominative \**raghuṣya-*.

*agne* (Poona ed. *agre*, but comm. *agne*) *vikṣu pratīdayat* (v. l. °*yan*; not in Poona ed.) TB.: *agre vikṣu pratīdayat* RV. Comm. on TB., groggily: *pratīdayat*, *pratyekam eva prāptam āsit* (as if *prati*, *id*, *ayat*!).

§65. Here again we find some cases accompanied by false division of words (as in §61):

*satyā tā dharmāṇas paśi* ApŚ.: *satyād ā dharmāṇas* (ŚŚ. and mss. of MŚ,



<sup>a</sup>nā) pati (Vait. MŚ. pari; ŚŚ. omits) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. Caland in his Transl. of Vait. understands *satyāda* as one word (nom. dual), which may be right. He also adopts this reading in ApŚ., which is surely wrong in principle. The secondary, ApŚ. is perfectly clear, and undoubtedly intended just what it reads.

*tad vipro abravīd udak* (ŚŚ. u tat) AV. ŚŚ. Followed by *gandharvāḥ kāmyaṃ vacaḥ*. ŚŚ. has a lect. fac. which would be quite acceptable but for its repetitiousness (*tat*, twice).

*bālīm ichanto vitudasya* (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. 1. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣhāḥ*) TAA. MahānU. AG. The AG. attempts to rationalize the obscure *vitudasya* (said by TAA. comm. to be a name of Kālāgnirudra), a ἀπ.λεγ. which it does not understand.

§66. The remarkable case of *teṣā* for *devā* deserves special emphasis; it is best regarded as merely a hyper-Sanskritism, cf. §21:

*dīśām devy* (MS. *teṣā*) *avatu no ghr̥tācī* TS. MS. AŚ.

In the pāda *mātrk kva cana vidyate*, TA. 1. 5. 1d, the comm. (does not read *mātrk*, as Conc. states, but) interprets *mātrk* by *mātrk*; which seems the only possibility.

§67. A few other special cases with problems of their own:

*pīvo* (VS. MS. *pīvo*, KSA. *bīvo*) *nyañkuḥ kakkāṣas* (MS. *kakūṣas*, TS. KSA. *kāṣas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA. °yāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KSA. None of the forms *pīvo* etc. occurs elsewhere. Some animal is meant; remotely possible is connexion with *pedu*.

*mayamdam* (MS. MŚ. *mayamdam*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. An otherwise unknown fanciful name of a meter. Mahidhara, *sukham dadāti*; Keith, 'delight-giving.' This is probably right: *mayamda* for *mayoda* in deference to the prevailing type of iambic dipody compounds with prior member in *m*. See Bloomfield, JAOS 21, 50ff., Wackernagel 2. 1, pp. 204ff.

*pariṣṭaḥ kṛṣyasi* ApMB.: *pariṣṭaḥ kṛṣyasi* HG.: *parimīdhaḥ kva gamiṣyasi* PG. The true reading is that of PG., with *dh*, and neither *t* nor *d*. See Stenzler's translation ('umpisst'). Comm. on ApMB. gets fairly close in general sense: *chāndaeam dīrghatvam, pariṣṭaḥ paribaddhaḥ*.

[*suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda* AV.: *susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ. The AV. mss. read exactly as ŚŚ., except that they read *gavām* and *pra ṣudasi*. The variant is not genuine, but only due to Roth's false emendation.]

§68. In a number of cases adverbs in *t* or *d* interchange. In the first two cases the *d* forms are certainly older, but in some of the others the reverse is the case:

*ado* (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ado yad*) *devi* (AV. KS. *devi*) *prathamānā prthag yat* (AV. °*nā purastāt*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhi* RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ.: *ata ū yu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.  
*iti cid dhi* (AV. \**yadi cin nu*) *tā dhunā jayantam* RV. AV. (both)  
*grhā naḥ santu sarvadā* (P.G. *sarvataḥ*) ApŚ. PG. HG.  
*dhātār āyantu sarvadā* (TA. TU. *sarvataḥ svāhā*) TA. TU. Kauś.: *sama-ayantu sarvataḥ* SMB.  
*tato na* (KU. *na tato*, ŚB. BṛhU. *na tadā*) *vicikitsati* (VSK. IśāU. KU. *vijugupsate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. BṛhU. IśāU. KU. See §45. *tato* is certainly older.  
*pari krośatu sarvataḥ* (HG. *sarvadā*) HG. ApMB.

### *p* and *b*

§69. Here occur only a few stray variants:

*phalgūr* (KSA. °*gur*) *lohitorū balakṣi* (VS. *pal*°, KSA. *balakṣi*, em. by ed. to °*kṣi*) *tāḥ śārasvatyaḥ* VS. TS. KSA. MS. *balakṣa*, of unknown etymology, means 'white', and is clearly intended here. The change to *pal*°, not otherwise recorded, may be due to contamination with *palita*; VS. comm. simply says that *pal*° means *bal*°. *avātīratāḥ bṛhaspatya* (TB. *prathaspatya*) *keṣu* RV, TB. Bṛsaya, name of a demon. TB. comm. takes its form also as the name of a demon; it is clearly a corruption of the RV. form.  
*khaḍāpo 'jopakāśini* ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśini* HG. The readings are untrustworthy, and neither form is intelligible.  
*pīlvo* (*pīlvo*, *bīlvo*) . . ., see §67.

There are also a number of cases in which *b* as reduplicating syllable of *bh* (in *bībharti* etc.) varies with *p* as reduplicating syllable of *p* (in *pīparti* etc.); they are gathered in §112.

### *kh* and *gh*

§70. Here again are only a few stray variants:

*mā naḥ kaś cīt prakhān* (ApŚ. *praghān*) *mā prameṣmahi* KS. ApŚ. 'May no one harm us (or the like), may we not be injured.' Probably KS. is original; *pra-khān* BR. (Nachträge to V), 'durch Graben zu Fall bringen'. *praghān* is felt as coming from root *han*; the problematic in form, it appears to ease the meaning. Prakritic influence is likely.

*saghāśi jagatichandāḥ* TS.: *sakhāśi* (ŚŚ. adds *patā*) *jagacchandāḥ* ŚŚ. MŚ. Cf. *sakhāśi gāyatram chandāḥ* MŚ. (Bloomfield, JAOS. 16.



3fl.) It seems that *sakhā* is a sophisticated lect. fac.; it is clear that *saghā* (stem *sagham*, comm. 'vulture') is original; preceded in TS, ŚS. by *śyeno* 'si *gāyatrachandāḥ*, and *suparno* 'si *trīṣṭupchandāḥ* (ŚS. inserting *patā* both times).

*yadā rāghaṣi varadaḥ* (ApŚ. *rākhā(yau vadataḥ)* Vait. ApŚ.: *yad adyā-rādhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. The form *rā* appears to be a proper name, not found elsewhere and wholly incomprehensible. BaudhŚ. 16. 23 reads *rākhandyau* (?), and one ms. of ApŚ. *rākhāṇḍau*.

#### *th* and *dh*

§71. Aside from the interchange of the adverbs *atha* and *adha*, or similar adverbs, the material is scanty. It may be partly graphic, since *th* and *dh* are practically indistinguishable in some South Indian alphabets. There is no clearly defined phonetic movement in either direction. Yet there seems to us to be, as in the preceding rubrics, perhaps a slight tendency to favor *dh* for *th* in readings that are obviously secondary, showing the presence of what we have thought to be Prakritie influence.

§72. In the one common case of interchange between the adverbs, chiefly *atha* (*athā*) and *adha* (*adhā*), we should expect on general grounds to find that the *dh* forms are generally original. This expectation is realized to this extent, that the SV., with only one exception among the variants, substitutes *th* forms for RV. *dh*. Yet the AV., relatively late and popular, surprisingly favors *adha* (*adhā*). The RV. in its hieratic parts favors the *dh* form as we should expect, and in its more popular parts the *th* forms. The remaining texts in general favor *atha*, but now and then fall into the archaizing *adha*.

§73. We begin with cases in which RV. shows *adhā*, other texts *athā* (*atha*); included is also one case of RV. *viśvadhā*, SV. *viśvathā*:

*vi bhānum viśvadhātanaṭ* (SV. *viśvathā*?) RV. SV.  
*adhā jivri* (AV. *atha jivir*, mss. *jivir*; ApMB. *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*adhā* (SV. *athā*) *no viśvacarṣaṇe* RV. SV.

*adhā* (SV. *athā*) *te sakhye andhaso vi vo made* RV. SV.

*adhā* (SV. *athā*) *te sumnam imahe* RV. AV. SV. TS.

*adhā* (TS. MS. *athā*) *te syāma varuṇa priyāṣaḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*adhā* (TS. MS. *athā*) *śatakratvo yūyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*rudrasya maryā adhā* (SV. *athā*) *stakvāḥ* RV. SV.

§74. Next, cases in which RV. (almost always in Books 1 and 10) shows the more popular *atha* (*athā*), while other texts have the archaizing *adha* (*adhā*). The latter occurs most frequently in AV. (of course

secondary; cf. the similar preference of AV. for the archaic *kṛṇo-* as against *karo-*, VV I p. 116ff.); once in SV. (*ūrdhavadhā* for RV.° *thā*), once or twice in other texts:

*pra śmaśru* (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuwad ūrdhveathā bhūt* (SV.° *dhā bhuvat*) RV. (10) SV.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *naḥ śaṁ yor araso dadhāta* (MS.° *ṭana*) RV. (10) AV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *athāsmabhyam śaṁ* etc. TS.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *piṭṛa suridatrāḥ upehi* (AV. TA. *apihi*, TS.† *apīta*) RV. (10) AV. TS. TA. Add to VV I §370.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *mano īvasudeyāya kṛṇva* (AV. *kṛṇuṣu*) RV. (1) AV. Despite the grandiloquent *adhā*, AV. is secondary as shown by the meter.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*, MS. KS. *lato*) *no vardhayā rayim* (RV. JB. *girah*) RV. (3) VS. TS. AV. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. JābU.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*; comm. *adha*, but Ppp. *adhah*, Barret, JAOS. 40. 161) *sapatnā yā mama* RV. (10) AV. ApMB.: *adhā sapatnān māmān* AV.

*atho* (AV. *adhā*) *rayam bhagavantah syāma* RV. (1) AV. KŚ. ApŚ. N.

*athā* (AV. *adhā*, comm. *atha*) *rayam dātīya vrata tava* RV. (1) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *athādīya vrata rayam tava* ArŚ. SMB.

*athā* (KS. *adhā*) *somasya prayati yuvabhyām* (KS. *yuvā*, v. l. *yuvā*°) RV. (1) TS. KS. N.

*athā* (MS. *adhā*) *devānām apy etu pāthah* RV. (2) TS. MS.

§75. Among the remaining cases, it may be noted that AV. again prefers the *dh* form repeatedly, as against other texts with *th*:

*adha syāma surabhayo* (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayer*) *grheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS.

*adhā jivema śaradān śatāni* AV.: *atho jīva śaradah śatam* VSK. And others; see Conc. under *asau jīva*.

*adhā* (HG. *atha*) *māsi punar ā yāta no grhān* AV. HG.

*adhā* (MS. MŚ. *athā*) *pośasya poṣeṇa* VS. MS. KS. MŚ.

*adhā viśvadhātṛpa edhate grhe* VS.: *atha viśve arapā edhate grhah* TS.

*athā* (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS.†° *nān*, TS. twice†° *nān*, once° *nān*) *indro me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*athā* (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (*indrāgnī me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*athā jīvah* (KS. *adhā viśitah*) *pitum addhī pramuktah* (so divide) TS. MS. KS.: *athaitam pitum addhī prasūtah* VS. ŚB.

*athāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA.: *athāsyā madhyam ejatu* VS. LŚ.: *athāsyai* (TS. MS. TB.° *syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait.° *tu*, AŚ. LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ. *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.



*indro marudbhīr ṛtuthā* (TS. ApMB. °dhā) *kṛyotu* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB.

*devā no yajñam ṛtuthā* (TB. ApŚ. ṛjudhā) *nayantu* VS. TB. ApŚ. See §157.

§76. Somewhat like the change of *adha* to *atha* is one interchange between the roots *nādh* and *nāth*, since here *nādh* is clearly prior. But *nādh* is commonly considered to be in origin a secondary and quasi-Prakritic form of *nāth* (von Bradke, ZDMG 40, 678ff.; cf. Wackernagel I p. 123):

*svāyān tanū* (ApMB,† MG,† *tanūh*) *ṛviye* (RV,† *ṛviye*) *nādhāmānām* (ApMB. *nāthā*°, but many mss. *nādhā*°; MG. *bādhā*°) RV. ApMB. MG.

§77. For the rest we find no very definite phonetic movement in either direction. But it may be significant that the cases in which *th* seems probably the original—listed in this paragraph—are somewhat more numerous than those in which *dh* appears older:

*avakro 'vithuro* (ApŚ. 'vidh°; Kauś. adds 'ham) *bhūyāsam* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

Kauś. That *arithuro* (root *vyath*) 'not staggering' is the original is indicated by the majority reading, and by its closer agreement in meaning with *avakro*; *aridhuro* is clearly secondary.

*maiṣān nu gād aparo artham* (TB. ApŚ. ApMB. *arītham*) *etam* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB.: *mā no nu gād aparo ardhām etam* TA. ApŚ. 'Let not another of them go to that goal (side, part),' *artha* and *ardha* are here synonyms; cf. RV. 1. 164. 17.

*ābhūr* (VS. TS. *ābhur*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya nīṣāṅgathīh* (VS. °dhih, NīlarU. °tiḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. Comm. on VS. 'sheath of a sword', but 'quiver' is more plausible since arrows are mentioned in the preceding pāda. Hindu lexicons quote *nīṣāṅgathī* as meaning 'embracing' etc.; the other forms are ἀπ.λεγ. Probably °dhi is influenced by thought of root *dhā* (popular etymology), while °ti is a mere corruption.

*paridam vāso adhithāh* (HG. *adhidhāh*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG. ApMB. The original (AV.) form is 2 sing. aor. mid. of *dhā*; the personal ending *-thāh* is mouthed over in the later texts to a sufficiently plausible form of *dhā* (*dhāh*), the first part becoming the preposition *adhi*. See VV I p. 39.

*ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas* (MS. *mānthālavas*, VSK. *mānthālas*) *te pītṛām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktrah* (KSA. *pāṅktrah*; but all mss. of both TS. and KSA. *pāṅtra-*) *kaśo mānthālavas* (KSA.† *mā*°) *te pītṛām* (KSA.† *pītṛ*°) TS. KSA. We may guess that the majority of

texts preserve the original *th*, but the forms occur nowhere else. Said to mean 'flying fox'.

*indrāvathih* (VSK. °*dhuḥ*, KS.\* TB, ApŚ. °*taṁ*) *kāvyaīr* (TB, ApŚ. *karmayā*) *daṁṣanūbhīh* RV, AV, VS, VSK, MS, KS. (both) ŚB, TB, ApŚ. The subject is the Aśvins; so that VSK. is hardly interpretable. See VV I p. 282.

*apa snehitir* (SV, *sāhitīm*) *ṛmanā adhatta* (SV, *adhad rāh*, KS.† *ṛmanām adadhrām*) RV, AV, SV, KS.; *upa stūhi taṁ ṛmanām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ ṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110.

§78. In the rest *dh* seems to be the original:

*apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.; *amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ.† *ma*) *indra* AŚ, ŚG.; *anāmayauidhī mā riṣāma indo* Kauś. The original (AŚ, ŚG.); 'be at home with me, do not desert us (me), Indra.' This SMB. converts into the unbelievable: 'be an off-warder of disease, do not die for us, Indra.' At least the comm. takes it thus, seeing in *mṛthā(h)* a 2d sing. mid. of *mṛ* (one ms. reads *mṛdhā*); *riṣāma* of Kauś. confirms *mṛdh* as original. The variation is somehow connected with the sphere of *sa mā mṛta* (*taṁ mā mṛdhāh*), which see in §98. On Kauś.'s reading see §344.

*madhavyau stokāḥ* (MS. °*kā*; AV. *mādhavyān stokān*) *apa tau* (AV, *yān*) *rarādha* AV, TS, MS. Several mss. and the comm. on AV. read *madhavyān*, which Whitney properly recommends.

*athorāma* (HG. *atho*°) *ulumbatah* (HG.† *ulumbarah*) ApMB, HG. *adho*° = *adhas* is obviously correct; HG. mechanically recalls the many phrases beginning *atho* (= *atha u*), q. v. in Conc.

*dirghām anu prasitīm* (KS. *samstīm*) *āyuse dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS, TS, KS. ŚB, TB.; *dirghām anu prasytīm saṁspr̥śethām* MS. An extensive alteration, yet still showing the change of *dh* to *th* (°*ṣe dhām*: °*śethām*).

#### *ph* and *bh*

§79. The instances are few and all concern questionable forms: *phalāya*, and, *phallāya* KhG.; *bhalāya svāhā*, and, *bhallāya svāhā* SMB, GG. The words are addressed to the sun, or to the evening twilight; their meanings are unknown. The form with single *l* and the variant with *ph* make it questionable whether *bhalla* is Prakritic for *bhalra* (Wackernagel I §195), in spite of the form *bhallākṣa* which is probably so to be explained (Weber, *Ind. St.* 2.88).

*kanākābhām* (AŚ. *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB, AŚ. See §151.

*yā sarasvatī vaiṣambhalyā* (ApŚ. °*balyā*, v. l. °*phalyā* and °*bhalyā*) *tasyām me rāsa* . . . TB, ApŚ. See §114.



### CHAPTER III. ASPIRATES AND NON-ASPIRATES AND H

§80. The subdivisions of this chapter are very unequal in size and importance. In most of them we find only stray variants, often concerning obscure words of doubtful belongings. Sometimes both forms may be interpreted and defended; but on the whole they suggest that phonetic confusion between aspirates and non-aspirates played no slight rôle in changes of the Vedic tradition. Variants of aspirate and non-aspirate mutes in considerable numbers are found only as between *t* and *th*, where however graphic confusion is undoubtedly largely to blame; and as between the dental aspirates and non-aspirates. It is here that we find much the largest and most interesting group. It will appear that lexical and morphological considerations enter in to a large extent; yet it will scarcely be doubted that phonetic resemblance accounts at least in some measure for the swollen bulk of the variations between roots *dā* and *dhā*, for example, or between verbal endings of different sorts containing *t* and *th*.—The variation of aspirate mutes with *h* is appended to this chapter as a special section, §§115ff.

#### *k* and *kh*

§81. Here occur two variants, both concerning very dubious forms: *gohya* *tupagohyo* *marūka* (PG. *mayūkha*) *manohāh* PG. SMB. Cf. *grhyo* etc. Names or forms of Agni. The mss. vary. The form *mayūkha*, 'ray', would fit fairly well, but may be merely a lect. fac. The lexicons report *marūka* in various meanings. *kaṣṭhākāya* (MahānU. *khakholkāya*) *svāhā* TA. TAA. MahānU. The MahānU. form recurs in the Purāṇas; it is interpreted as *kha-kha-ulka* (!), 'sky-meteor', i.e. the sun. The other form is *ā+lay*, and the comm.'s explanation is not worth quoting.

#### *g* and *gh*

§82. Two variants between the synonymous stems *sukha* and *suga*, to which no phonetic significance can be attached. The form *sukha* is later both times:

*sugam* (VS. MS. ŚB. *sukham*) *meṣḍya meṣyaī* (RV. *meṣyo*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*sugam* (VS. MS. *sukham*) *ca me śayanam ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*g (k) and gh*

§83. Only a few variants, one very obscure, one corrupt; cf. *yena mahānaghnīyā jaghanam* AV. Kauś., where apparently all mss. of both texts read so, but the emendation *mahānagnīyā* is obviously required and is assumed by the Conc. and by Whitney.

*yājñasyā ghoṣad asi* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *goṣad asi* MS. KS. MŚ. TS. comm. 'wealth'; Keith 'substance', remarking that *ghoṣad* is probably a corruption for *goṣad*, which however is itself not clear.

*yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aghama rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

*tāsām tāsāno bhagavaḥ* (MS. *maghavan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The words are virtual synonyms.

*apūpakṛd aṣṭake* ŚG.: *apūpakṛtāhute* ApMB. Addressed to an *aṣṭakā*; same context; one must be a phonetic corruption of the other. 'O cake-making A.', or 'O thou that hast cakes and ghee as oblations'.

*c and ch*

§84. Two variants, one an onomatopoeic word:

*cec-cec chunaka sṛja* . . . PG.: *chad apehi* . . . ApMB. Cf. the English 'skat'.

*karnābhyām* (PG. *godānāc*) *chubukād* (ApMB. *cu<sup>o</sup>*) *adhi* RV. AV. ApMB. PG. A v. 1. of AV. with its comm. *cubukād*; one ms. of ApMB. *cibukād*, which is the form found in later Sanskrit.

*j and jh*

§85. A single variant:

*apām naptre jaṣaḥ* (KSA. *jhaṣaḥ*) TS. KSA. *jaṣa* is otherwise not unknown (AV.), but *jhaṣa* is regular in the later language. The word is of non-Aryan origin.

*ṣ and ṭh*

§86. These variations are without doubt largely, perhaps mainly, graphic. In every case but one they concern interchange of *ṣ* and *ṭh*, which are practically indistinguishable in most alphabets. In nearly every instance the *ṭh* form is proper, or at least more usual. Many of the words, however, are obscure in derivation.

*kuṣṭhayā* (MS. *kuṣṭayā*) *te krīṇānī* MS. ApŚ. Regular is *kuṣṭhā*, designation of a measure; *kuṣṭā* is not recorded lexically.

*nadībhyah pauñjīṣṭham* (TB. *ṣam*) VS. TB. Also:

*namah pauñjīṣṭhebhya* (TS. *ṣebhya*) *niṣādebhyaḥ ca vo namah* TS. KS.:



*namo niṣādebhyaḥ puñjīṣṭhebhyaś* (MS. °*ebhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. MS. The word *puñj* or *puñj*° 'fisherman' or 'fowler' seems usually to be written with °*ṭha*, but there is no little fluctuation. Its unknown, perhaps non-Aryan, origin is not illuminated by the proposed worthless etymologies.

*vanīṣṭum* (AB. TB. AŚ. MŚ. °*ṭhum*) *asya nā rāviṣṭa* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.† 5. 17. 9. MŚ. The regular form is *vanīṣṭhu*, of unknown derivation. Knauer (on MŚ.) would emend MS. to °*ṭhum*.

*ahorātre ūrvāṣṭīve* (VS. °*ṣṭhīve*) *bṛhadrathamāre ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS.† *kalpantām*) VS. MS. (Add to VV I §357.) The proper form is *ūrv-aṣṭhīva*, the latter part being a modulation of *aṣṭhī-vant*, 'knee'.

*balāpāṣṭhādya* (read with Poona edd. °*ṣṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari yo vṇaktu* TB. TA.; *śarā vāṣṭād* (p.p. *vā*, *aṣṭāt*) *dhaviṣā vāṇaḥ* (read [a-] *varṇaḥ*?) MS. As a missile (*heti*) is the subject, the true reading contains *apāṣṭha*, 'barb'. The MS. is entirely corrupt. The Poona ed. of both TB. and TA. makes the pāda begin with the preceding word *ugrā*.

*anupūrvam yalamānā yatī ṣṭha* (AV. *ṣṭha*, TA. *yatiṣṭa*) RV. AV. TA. *yatiṣṭa* could only be an aorist; but as it retains a double accent (*yāti-ṣṭā*) it is obviously corrupt (suggested by the preceding *yalamānā*) for *yāti ṣṭhā*, 'as many as ye be.'

*ṛdhag aya* (TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *ṛdhag utāsamīṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*ṣṭa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhruvam aya* (AV. *ayo*) *dhruvam utāsamīṣṭhāḥ* (AV. *utā haviṣṭha*) RV. AV. Here both forms are correct; there is a shift of verbal person, from 2d to 3d (explained VV I p. 241). On the corrupt reading of AV. see §234. Cf. next.

*āṣṭa* (MS. *āṣṭhāḥ*, KS. ms.† *āṣṭāḥ*, em. v. Schr. *āṣṭa*) *pratiṣṭhām* . . . TS. MS. KS. PG. See VV I p. 238, and cf. prec.

*vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā* (SV. *panīṣṭaye*) RV. SV. If the SV. reading is tenable at all (*panīṣṭaye*, 'for praise') it points to a stem in *ti*, whereas RV. (of course original) has a superlative in *iṣṭha*.

[*nir aṣṭhaviṣam aṣṭam* GB. Vait. ApŚ. Quoted in Conc. with *aṣṭaviṣam* from GB. and Vait. But the Vait. reading is a mere misprint, corrected by Garbe p. 119; and Gaastra reads *aṣṭhaviṣam* in GB. without report of variant. Accordingly we may assume that *aṣṭaviṣam* never existed. The form is from *ṣṭhu* = *ṣṭhīve* 'spit' (cf. *ṣṭhutvā*, ApŚ.)]

§87. In the preceding *ṣṭh* is the proper or at least the usual spelling. We now come to the cases where *ṣṭ* seems proper. Both are dubious;

the first belongs to the sphere of the Kuntāpa hymns, whose textual tradition in all versions is of the worst sort, and the second has *th* only in the p.p. of MS.:

*ṣaṣṭim* (ŚS. *ṣaṣṭhim*) *sahasrā navatim ca kaurama* AV. AŚ. ŚS. The combination *ṣaṣṭim sahasrā* is very common; see e.g. Conc. thereunder. ŚS., if its reading has any real standing, has confused *ṣaṣṭi* with the ordinal stem *ṣaṣṭha*.

*mā no agnīm* (p.p. *agnih*) *nīrtir mā na āṣṭān* (p.p. *āṣṭhām*) MS.: *mā no rudro nīrtir mā no astā* TA. See VV I p. 93. The forms are doubtful; read *āṣṭām*?

§88. The following is the sole variant between *t* and *th* not preceded by *ṣ*. Nothing is known about the word *kakūṭha* or *kakkaṭa* except that, as the context shows, it is the name of some animal:

*pitro* (pītro, bītro) . . . *kakkaṭas* (*kakūṭhas*) . . ., see §67.

#### *t* and *th*

§89. These sounds interchange a good deal in old, historic, morphological elements which are otherwise identical (or nearly so) in form, and frequently identical or similar in meaning. Hence, with variations containing such forms, it is not easy to say to what extent the change was morphological in character, and to what extent it resulted from an error of speech or hearing. No doubt both influences were concerned in most cases. We find, for example, that 2d personal verb forms containing *th* (indicative) and *t* (modal) are often interchanged; there is seldom any connexion in which either of them is impossible or even difficult (cf. VV I, especially §§14ff., 116). Again 2d and 3d duals often differ only in this single consonant, *t* or *th*; and VV I, especially §§20f., 292ff., 326ff., has shown how easy is the shift between second and third personal forms, often with no further change in the context. There are also cases concerning noun formation, suffixation etc., where this slight phonetic difference is concerned.

§90. We begin with the variations between the verbal endings *tha* and *ta*, the former properly present indicative, the latter modal (or preterite). They have been listed in VV I p. 23f. In the majority—listed first—the *t* form appears to be older; in the last five, at least, the *th* form:

*āpura tā* . . . ŚS.: *āpūrya stha* . . . TS. AŚ. Add to VV I l.e.

*tañ sma jānīta* (VSK. °*tha*) *parame vyoman* AV. VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

MŚ.: *jānīta smainām* (TS. MŚ. *jānītād enaṁ*) *pa° vy°* AV. TS.

MŚ.: *elañ jānātha* (TB. *jānītāt*, KS. *jānīta*) *pa° vy°* VS. KS. TB



ŚB. Note especially that VSK. *jānītha* is apparently a blend of *jānīta* and *jānātha*, tho *jānītha* is grammatically better than *jānātha*.

*śivā no bhavata* (ApŚ. °*tha*) *ṛicase* MS. ApŚ.

*kuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata* (TA. °*tha*, MG. °*ntu*) *yajñīyāsah* RV. TA. MG.

*aśvā bhavata* (AV. TS. KS. °*tha*) *vājīṇah* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *devā bharata vā*° RV.

*tena kṛīḍantī* (ŚG. *kṛī*°) *carata* (ŚG. °*tha*) *priyeṇa* (AV. *caśān anu*) AV. TS. ŚG. PG. ViDb. *vaśān anu* in AV. is due to infection from RV.

I. 82. 3. 10. 142. 7.

*desebhyo bhavata* (TB. °*tha*) *suprāyaṇāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N.

*datto asmabhyam* (KS. *dattoḍasma*°, AŚ. *dattoḍasma*°, SMB. *dattoḍasma*°)

*draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam* *yac ca bhadram* MS.

*ye 'tra pītarah . . . bhūyāthā* AV. ŚŚ.: *ya etasmin loke . . . bhūyāsta* TS.

TB. A primary ending on a precative form is absurd; yet all mss. of AV. and ŚŚ. seem to agree on °*tha*; see Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 86.

*arāṇāḥ udabhartsata* (AV. mss. °*tha*) AV. ŚŚ. The AV. reading, augmented but with °*tha*, is a monstrosity. Roth's violent emendation, *āsannā udabhīr yathā*, has no standing.

*aulobā* (HG. °*va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. °*ta*) ApMB. HG. Several mss. of ApMB. read °*ta*; in such trash as this it makes little difference what is read.

*saputrikāyāḥ jāgratha* PG.: *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ. See note in Stenzler's translation of PG. 1. 16. 22.

*īndreṇa yujā* (TB. *sayujā*) *pra mṛṣita* (TB. °*tha* [Bibl. Ind. *pramṛṣita*])

*śatrūn* AV. TB. Add to VV I §16.

*payasvatīḥ kṛṇuthāpa* (TS. °*tāpa*) *oṣadhīḥ śivāḥ* (TS. omits *śivāḥ*) AV.

TS. Followed by:

*śirjam ca tatra sumatiḥ ca pīnata* (TS. °*tha*) AV. TS. (Add to VV I §18.)

The clauses are parallel and we should expect the same mood in both; yet both are inconsistent. Little weight is to be attached to the Ppp. readings, quoted by Roth as having *i* thruout the stanza, even in pāda d (*yatrā naro marutaḥ sīñcathā madhu*), where the relative clause should ensure the *th* form (indicative; see VV I pp. 78f.). Contrariwise, the AV. comm. reads *pīnatha* for °*ta*, which seems to suggest, perhaps, that originally all the verb forms had *th*.

*yad āmayatī niṣ kṛtha* (TS. MS. KS. *kṛta*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *kṛtha*, tho a dubious root present, really a back formation from aorists like *kṛthi*, is the older reading; *kṛta* lect. fac.

*yāyam* (MS. *divo*) *vr̥ṣṭim varṣayathā* (MS. °tā) *pariṣiṇah* RV. TS. MS.

KS.—MS., which borrows *divo vr̥ṣṭim* from e.g. RV. 2. 27. 15b, is secondary also as regards °tā.

*ud īrayathā* (MS. MŚ. °tā, AV. KS. °ta) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ.

§91. About equally often second and third duals containing *th* and *t* interchange (listed VV I pp. 24f.) Even when the context is to our feeling inconsistent in one or the other reading, as often happens, we should generally resist the temptation to emend, for reasons made clear in VV I (references quoted §89). We begin with passages in which the *th* forms seem to be the older; in the majority there is little to choose between them:

*citrebhīr abhiraīr upa tiṣṭhatho* (MS. °to) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by: *dyām varṣayatho* (MS. °to) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS. See VV I p. 241. *yāv* (MS. KS. yā) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS.† °tho, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS.† °thah) AV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:

*yau viśasya paribhū* (KS. *viśasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuḥ* (TS.† °tuh), same texts. See VV I p. 228. The unanimity of AV. and KS., partly supported by MS., perhaps indicates that the 2d persons are original; we fail to see any ground for Keith's opinion (on TS. 4. 7. 15. 3) that the 3d persons are more 'logical'.

*tat satyam yad vīraṁ bibhṛthaḥ* (MŚ.† °tah); and, in same passage,

*vīraṁ janayiṣyathah* (MŚ. °tah),

*te mat prātaḥ prajanayiṣyethē* (MŚ. °te),

*te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathah* (MŚ. °tah) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 230.

*ghṛteṇa* (Kauś. *rapayā*) *dyāvāprthivī prar̥ṇuvāthām* (VS. TS. ApŚ. *prar̥ṇuvāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prar̥ṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. ApŚ. MŚ.; also see Conc. under *svarge* (°geṇa, *svarge*) *loke* (-na) *prar̥ṇuvāthām* etc. (only MS. °tām; VS. VSK. TS. KSA. [†*samprar̥ṇuvāthām*] ŚB. TB. Vait. °thām).

*yā rājānaṁ* (MS. KS. °nā) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. *juṣṭān* (and, °thān) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV. (both). Add to VV I §21.

*kāmam duhātām iha śukvaribhiḥ* AV.: *rāṣṭraṁ duhātām iha revatibhiḥ* TB. See VV I pp. 25, 224.

*purā gr̥dhrād araruṇaḥ pibātaḥ* (TS. °thah) RV. MS. TB. Here, and in the following cases, it seems fairly clear that the *t* forms are original. *sam* (ApMB. *ṣam*) *ūdho romaṣam hataḥ* (ApMB. *hathah*) RV. ApMB. See VV I p. 24.

*hato* (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vr̥trāny āryā* (AV. TB. *apratī*) RV. SV. AV. TB.; followed by,



*hato* (SV. *hatho*) *dāsāni satpatā* RV. SV., and,

*hato* (SV. *hatho*) *viśvā āpa dviṣuḥ* RV. SV. See VV I pp. 222, 232.

*yajñasya yuktau dhuryā* (TB. ApŚ. °*yā*) *abhūtām* (MS. °*thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. And, in the same stanza:

*divi* (KS. *divē*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS.† °*thām*), same texts. *abhūthām* is certainly wrong, and all texts have a 3d person in the 1st pāda of the verse. See VV I p. 235.

§92. There are further a few anomalous variants concerning other verbal endings containing *t* and *th*; or, in the last case, a verbal ending with *th* varying with a nominal ending with *t*:

*abhiramyatām* (MŚ. °*thām*!) MŚ. ŚG. YDh. BṛhPDh. The MŚ. form, if correct (it occurs in an unpublished part of the text), is hopelessly anomalous; see VV I §22.

*yās ca* (yā) *devīr* (devyo, devīs) *antān* (antān, tantān) *abhilo* 'dadanta' (tatantha), etc.; see §63.

*ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. *aya(h)sthānam* (TS. °*yā*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. The old loc. sing. in °*tā* is shifted in VS. ŚB. to a second person dual verb, *udithaḥ*.

§93. In nominal endings, suffixal or quasi-suffixal, this variation has a certain scope, but is complicated by corruptions or other obscurities:

*asunītāya* (TA. °*thāya*) *voḍhave* AV. TA. The AV. comm. reads °*thāya*, which is clearly original; °*tāya* is infected by *asunīti*; cf. Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 56.

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītir*, KS.\* °*dhītam*, 38. 12b† °*nītha*, MS. °*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.\* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. All forms are rare and dubious. KapŚ. (v. Schr. on KS. 8. 14b) has *vasudhītam* or °*tīm* (so also v. 1. of KS.).

*nīrṛtho* (MS. °*to*) *yaś ca nisvanah* (AV. *nisvarah*) AV. MS. TA. *nīrṛto* in MS. is a secondary blend of *nīrṛtha* (old) and *nīrṛti* (common). *svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, but v. 1. as RV.) *yoniṣu* RV. AB. MG. Note metathesis of *t* and *th* in MG.; if the reading is correct, it is a blunder due to *pathyāsu* in the preceding.

*ābhur* (MS. KS. *ābhūr*, NīlarU. *śivo*) *asya niṣaṅgathiḥ* (VS. °*dhīḥ*, NīlarU. °*th*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. The last has a corruption; see §77.

*paktā* (KSA. *panthā*) *sasyam* TS. KSA. Comm. on TS., *pākaṣilam*. KSA. corrupt, see Keith on TS. 7. 5. 20. 1.

*stuto* 'si *janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. (IŚ. *pratīka*, *stutah*): *tutko* 'si *janadhāyaḥ*

(PB. °yah) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. 1Ś. Is *stuto* lect. fac. for *tutho* of unknown meaning?

*amiddho agnir vṛṣandratir* (AV. °ṇā rāthi, ŚŚ. °ṇā rayir) *divaḥ* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. From RV. 3. 3. 6, 4. 15. 2, 8. 75. 1 it is probable that *rāthi* is the true reading.

*garbhaś ca śhātām garbhaś carathām* RV. Conc. would read *cāratām* (gen. pl. of *cārant*); but *carāthām* (gen. pl. of *carātha*) may stand (Oldenberg, *Noten*).

§94. In a few adverbial forms this variation is primarily morphological, but rather indeterminate phonetic tendencies may have been at work:

*atho* (MU. *ato*) *annenaiva jīvanti* TA. TU. MU.

*tato* (AV. ArŚ. *tathā*) *viṣvaṁ vyakrāmat* (AV. *tathā vyakrāmad viṣvaṁ*) RV. AV. ArŚ. VS. TA.

*atho rājann* (AV. *ula rājñam*) *uttamaṁ mānavānām* AV. TB.

*atho pitū* (MS. *ulāyaṁ pitā*) *mahatām gargarāṇām* AV. TS. MS. KS.

§95. As regards lexical interchange of *t* and *th*, RV. 8. 13. 27 *hari indra pratadevasū abhi svara* has been suspected of harboring a corruption of *prathadvasu*, 'increasing wealth' (Yaska, *prāpta-vasu*; Sāyana, *vistīrṇa-dhaua*), or *pratata-vasu*. But there is not the slightest reason for any Vedic poet to blunder away from so obvious a form as *prathad-vasu*. The word as it stands may be *pra-tad-vasū*, '(carrying) forward his (Indra's) wealth', sc. the two bay steeds, as subject. Cf. the doubtful *kṛtād-vasū* (*kṛta-tad-vasū* with haplogy?) in RV. 8. 31. 9; see however Waackernagel, 2. 1 pp. 64, 319; Oldenberg *Noten* on the passages.

§96. The lexical interchanges are otherwise few, largely corrupt, and partly based on different word divisions:

*labhyām* (MS. KS. add *vayaṁ*) *patema sukrātām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathy-asma sukrātasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Dhātup. has a root *path* 'go' doubtless abstracted from the noun *path*, *panthan*. Possibly Kauś. intends *pathyā(h) sma*. In VV I p. 110 we have treated its form as a precativē. It is likely, however, to be a mere corruption as regards the *th*.

*hitā na ūrjam pra padāt patisthah* (AV. *padāt pathisthah*) RV. AV. MG. See §60.

*sahsṛābhāga* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *sahsṛava*°, MS. °*bhāgāh*, KS. Kauś. °*bhāgās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *brhantah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. *taviṣā* is a sophisticated assimilation to *brhantah*.

*aktam* (MS. MŚ. *aptubhi*, KS. °*artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. KhG.



*vyantu*) *vayah* TS. MS. KS. (bis) TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.; *vyantu* *vayo* 'ktañ *rihāṇāḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. *aktam* *rihāṇāḥ*, 'licking the fat', is certainly original; the KS. *artham* rationalizes poorly, or rather is a mere corruption. Indeed von Schroeder on KS. 31. 11 suggests emending *artham* to *aktam*. On MS. see §152.

*atho mātātho pitā* TA.: *hatā mātā hataḥ pitā* SMB.: *hato hatamātā krimiḥ* AV. See §386.

*atho ye kṣullakā iva* AV.: *hataḥ krimiṇāṁ kṣudrakāḥ* SMB.: *atho śhūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA. See *ibid*.

*sarve rādhyāḥ stha* (ŚŚ. °*yās tu*) *putrāḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

*gr̥ho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ* (AŚ. *gr̥° mi° hi°*) AV. KS. AŚ. Here all AV. mss. and *comm.* read *mīthaḥ*, which makes no sense and is clearly a corruption; RWh. read *mitaḥ* with Ppp. and KS. AŚ.

*parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ.: *pari doṣād ud arpithaḥ* KŚ. Read in both *udarpithaḥ*; see §63.

*upa yajñam asthita* (AV. *comm.* *astṛta*, MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśradevī* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

#### *t* and *dh*

§97. Here we find chiefly forms of the roots *ṛdh* and *ṛt*, which in composition with several prepositions are almost synonymous; but in every variant which occurs one reading or the other is suspicious or corrupt. It happens that the *ṛt* forms are correct or original in every case except the first two, where the reverse is true:

*bhīma ā vāṛdhe* (SV. *vāṛṣṭe*) *śavaḥ* RV. SV.

*madanti devīr amṛtā ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* (Vait. °*ṛtāḥ*) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland on Vait. 13. 20 assumes that °*ṛtāḥ* (all mss.) is an error.

*abhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya* (AV. *vardhaya*) RV. AV. The AV. is certainly poor, and Ppp. has *vartaya*; see Whitney on 1.29. 1. Cf. next two.

*yenendro abhivāṛte* (AV. °*ṛdhe*) RV. AV. In same verse as *prec.*; same conditions. Cf. also next.

*abhi samo avīṛtat* (AV. °*ṛdhat*) RV. AV. In next verse to the *prec.* two; same conditions.

*nivarto yo ny avīṛdhaḥ* (ApMB. °*ṛtat*) HG. ApMB. Oldenberg adopts °*ṛtat* for HG.

*pumāsīsam vardhatām* (†text is right, despite Conc.) *mayi* ŚG.: *pumān saṁvartatām mayi* PG.: *pumān garbhas tavodare* SMB. 'Let them two (Indra and Agni) make a male grow in me'; 'let a male be in me' or the like. ŚG. has a 3 dual active verb. See §840.

Note further the exchange between the old (RV.) adjectives *ṛtāvṛdh*

and *dhrtavata* (not concerning root *vrt*) in: *āvitta* (*āvinne*) *dyāvāpṛthivī* *ptāvṛdhau* (*dhrtavate*), and others, see §§466, 665.

§98. The remaining cases are sporadic, and again largely suspicious or corrupt:

*satvatsarasya dhdyasā* (AV. VS. *tejasā*) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG. Synonyms.

*sa mā mṛta* (MG. *vṛtat*) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *tanī mā mṛdah* ŚG.

'Let him not die', or 'do not fail him'; and §78, *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra*, etc. The MG. has a mere corruption, see §225.

*ābhur* (*ābhūr*, *śivo*) *asya nīṣaṅgaḍhiḥ* (*°thiḥ*, *°tiḥ*), see §77.

*vī te* (PG. *tau te*, HG. *vidhe*) *kroḍhanī nayāmaxi* PG. HG. ApMB. Kirste suggests emending HG. to *vī te*, and this apparently Oldenberg assumes in his translation; *vidhe* may be somehow felt as from *vī-dhā*, but is really hopeless.

*yebhyo madhu pradhāvatī* (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV. AV. TA. Comm. on AV., followed by SPP. in text and by Whitney in his Translation, reads as RV. See Whitney's note and Lanman, *op. cit.*, p. xcii.

*śriyāi* (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *veddhavai*) ApMB. MG. For the MG. Knauer suggests *veddhavai*, Conc. *vettavai*.

*vinanti pākam atī* (ŚŚ. *†adhi*) *dhīra eti* (ŚŚ. *emī*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *adhi* is very inferior in sense.

#### *d* and *dh*

§99. This interchange occurs in a considerable and heterogeneous mass of variants, most of which are isolated and either lexical or under suspicion of corruption. The manuscripts certify to the ease of confusion between the sounds by very frequently showing variation between them in the same passage of the same text; cf. e.g., Whitney on AV. 11. 1. 23 (*anśadhri*: *°dri*), to mention only one out of numerous possible examples. In the midst of this miscellaneous mass, however, there looms a large and compact block of variants between the two roots *dā* and *dhā*. These two roots, thruout the whole of their inflection and in large part in nominal derivatives, are rime-words, differing (in general) only in the aspiration or lack of it. They are also in large measure synonymous, or so near it that it amounts to the same thing.

#### Roots *dā* and *dhā*

§100. They are thus used interchangeably, without betraying any perceptible difference of meaning, in ritual formulas like the following: *dyurdā asi* ŚŚ.: *dyurdhā asi* TS. JB. AŚ.



*āyurdā* (MS. KS. °dhā) *agne 'si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.

*cakṣurdā* (KS. °dhā) *asī* VS. KS. ŚB.

*varcodā asī* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *varcodhā asī* AV. TS. MS. KS. JB. TB.

ApŚ. MŚ.

*varcodā* (MS. °dhā) *agne 'si* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG. — All these formulas are followed by *āyur* (*cakṣur*, *varco*) *me* (*mayi*) *dehī* (*dhehī*), the verbs in the two associated formulas being always consistent.

§101. There is, to be sure, one regular difference between these two verbs as regards the cases they govern, tho it is one-sided rather than reciprocal: *dā* does not govern the locative of the person; but only the dative. The root *dhā*, on the other hand, while it seems (to our feeling at least) most naturally construed with the locative, may also govern the dative. We have noted among the variants only two cases of *dā* with the locative, both of which may reasonably be suspected:

†*okhām dadhātu* (MS. *dadātu*) *hastayoḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. This is no real exception, first because a dative (*tubhgam*) in the preceding pāda is connected with the verb, the locative *hastayoḥ* being really epexegetic; but also and chiefly because the MS. reading is nonsense, since the preverb *a* is joined with *dā*, which could only mean 'take', a meaning that is manifestly impossible here. Cf. *mā no andhe* . . ., §105.

*mayi puṣṭim* †*puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭam puṣṭa°*) *dadhātu* (AG. †*dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB. Here the isolated *dadātu* in the late AG. is evidently an error.

[*mayi rucam dhāḥ* (KS. †*dhehī*) MS. KS. Conc. *dehī* for KS.]

§102. On the other hand, we find cases like *payo me dāḥ*, MS., recurring as *payo mayi dhehī* ApŚ.; and in the same text (TS.) all three possibilities in a formula like *āyur me dehī* TS. 1. 5. 5. 3, *āyur me dhehī* 1. 6. 6. 1, and *āyur mayi dhehī* 7. 5. 19. 2 (but, N. B., no \**āyur mayi dehī*).

§103. In very simple formulas of the type presented in this paragraph, there is as a rule no criterion for establishing the greater originality of either reading. Indeed, it is doubtful to what extent they are properly to be considered variants of one another; not infrequently they may very well have originated independently:

*rayim me dāḥ* (AV. *dhehī*) AV. MS.

*ojo dehī* KS.: *ojo dhatta* TS. KŚ.: *ojo mayi dhehī* VS. TB.: *ojo me dāḥ* (*svāhā*) AV. VS. ŚB.

*balam dehī* KS.: *balam dhatta* TS. MŚ.: *balam mayi dhehī* (AV. *me dāḥ* *svāhā*) AV. VS. TB.

*saḥo mayi dhehī* (AV. *me dāḥ svāhā*) AV. VS. TB.

*prāṅam dhehi* (KS. *dehi*) KS. TA. ApŚ. See Conc. in the vicinity of these.

*vācam dhehi* (MS. *me dāh*) MS. TA.

*annam me dehi* (PB.\* *dhehi*) PB. (both) LŚ. Kauś.; cf. note on Kauś. 136. 4.

*āyur dhehi* (KS. *dehi*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.; *āyur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.; *āyur mayi dhehi* VS. TS. ŚB.; *āyur me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.; *āyur me dhehi* VSK. TS. KS. KSA. MS. TB. ApŚ.; *āyur me dhātām* TB. ApŚ.

*śrotam dehi* (TA. *dhehi*) KS. TA.; *śrotam mayi* (KSA. †*mayi*, not *me*) *dhehi* TS. KSA.; *śrotam me dāh* AV. MŚ.

*cakṣur dehi* (TA. *dhehi*) KS. TA.; *cakṣur me dhehi* (KS. KSA. *dehi*) VS. KS. KSA. ŚB.; *cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS.; *cakṣur me dāh* (*svāhā*) AV. MS.

*tejo mayi* (AŚ. *me*) *dhehi* (AŚ. *dehi*) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. LŚ. ŚG. ApMB.; *tejo me dhāh* (AŚ. *dāh svāhā*) TA. AŚ.

*varco mayi dhehi* VS. TS. PB. ŚB. ApŚ.; *varco me dāh* (TA. *dhāh*) MS. MŚ. TA.; *varco me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.; *varco me dhehi* VSK. MS. KS. JB. ApŚ.; *varco asmāsu dhatta* (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.

*vīram dhatta* (AŚ. *vīram me datta*; MŚ. °*no datta*) *pitarah* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.; *vīrān nah pitaro dhatta* ViDh.; *vīrān me pitaro* (*talāmahā*, *pratātāmahā*) *datta* Kauś.

*ūrjam mayi dhehi* VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.; *ūrjam me dhehi* (PB. LŚ. *dehi*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. GB. TB. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. *hṛdisprkṛtutaprg varcodāh* (MS. °*dhā asi*) MS. AŚ.

§104. Prose formulas of a somewhat less simple type continue the same style of variations without introducing any additional criteria of textual correctness or priority:

*asribhyām pradhāpaya* (TA. °*dāpaya*) MS. TA.

*apām oṣadhīnām garbham dhāh* (MŚ. *garbham me dāh*) TS. MŚ.

*adhi dātṛe vocah* VS. TS. ŚB.; *adhi dhātṛe vocah* MS. KS.

*cakṣurdā varcodā varivodāh* TS.; *varcodhā varivodhāh* MS.; *varcodā varivodāh* (TA. *varivodā dravīvodāh*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*bhūs* (also, *bhuvas*, and *svas*) *teyā dadhāmi* (MG. *te dadāmi*) ŚB. BṛhU. PG. HG. MG.; *bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ sarvaṁ teyā dadhāmi* (MG. *svas te dadāmi*) ŚB. BṛhU. PG. MG.

*anādhṛṣṭāh śidata sahanujaso* (TS. MS. KS. *śidatorjasvatir*) *mahi kṣatram* (*varcah*) *kṣatriyāyo dadhatīh* (KS. *dudatīh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*īyam vaḥ sā satyā sanūdhābhūd* (MS. *sanivāg abhūd*) *yām indreṇa sanādhadhvam* (MS. °*dadhvam*) TS. MS.; *esā vas sā satyā sanivāg abhūd*



*yām indreṇa samadadhram* KS.: *yām indreṇa samdhām samadhattāh* (comm. and some mss. *samadhattāh*) AV. Where the noun *samdhā* occurs, it guarantees connexion of the verb with the root *dhā*; note that in MS. KS. it is replaced by *saṁtāg*; but even so, *samadadhram* may perhaps be felt as from root *dhā* (Wackernagel I p. 128).

*astṛto nāmāham . . . ātmānam ni dadhe dyāvopṛthivībhyām gopithāya* (KS. . . *dyāvopṛthivyor ātmānam pari dade . . .*) AV. KS.

*devīr āpo opām napād . . . devebhyo devatra dhātā* (VS. ŚB. *datta*, KS. *dāta*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. . . *taṁ devebhyah ũkrapēbhyo dāta* MS.

*puṣṭipate cakṣuṣe cakṣuḥ smāne smānam . . . dehy asmai* MS.: *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ. °*pate*) *puṣṭiḥ . . . asmai punar dhehi* (AŚ. *dhehi* or *dēhi svāhā*) AŚ. ApŚ. For *smāne smānam* see Bloomfield, *AJP* 21. 324.

*agnir annādo 'nnapatīr . . . mayi dadhātu* (TB. *yajamānāya dadātu*) ŚB. TB. KŚ. Similarly nine other formulas with other gods:

[*udgātār devayajanam me dehi* ŚB. ApŚ. (Conc. *dhehi* for ApŚ.)]

§105. The metrical variants bring in a larger number of texts, but offer little new evidence; only the familiar chronological relations of the various texts offer any basis for distinctions of priority; as when, in the first cases to be mentioned, we naturally assume that the RV is original:

*rayīm devī dadhātu me* AV.: *rāyo devī dadātu naḥ* RV.

*purumēdhaḥ* (SV. °*dhās*) *cāt takave naram dāt* (SV. *dhat*) RV. SV.

*dakṣam dadhāsi* (KS. *dadāsi*, v. l. *dadhāsi*) *jīvase* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*asmabhyam dattām* (AV. *dhattām*; but comm. *dattām*) *varuṇas ca manyuḥ* RV. AV.—Ppp. also *dattām*.

*vasudeyaya* (KS. °*dheyāya*) *vidhate vibhāti* RV. KS. In RV. *vasudeya* occurs twice more, but no *vasudheya*.

*tato no dhehi jīvase* RV. TB. TA.: *tasya no dhehi jīvase* AV. SV. Kauś.

*tiśro dadhur* (KS. *dadur*) *devatāḥ saṁhrarāṇāḥ* VS.† (so for Conc. RV.)

19. 81b, MS. KS. TB. The majority are probably original.

*somāya rājñe paridhātavā* (HG. °*dā*) u AV. HG. ApMB. As Kirste remarks, HG. is secondary or corrupt; the first pāda of the verse has *paridhatta* in all texts.

*mā no andhe tamasy antar ādāt* MŚ. (properly emended by Kanauer to *ādhat*, cf. §101): *mā se* (Poona ed. *mo se*) *asmāts tamasy antar-ādhat* TA.: *mo yeatsam asmāntarādhat* MS.† (corrupt).

*pratyādāyāpara iṣvā* AV. 10. 1. 27; read *pratyādihāyā*°, see Roth, *ZDMG* 48. 681, and Whitney's and Bloomfield's Translations.

*dhātā dadhātu* (TS, ApŚ, ApMB, *dadātu*) *no rayīm* AV, TS, MS.† KS.

ApŚ, ApMB, Kauś. See §106, first two variants.

*dhātā dadhātu* (ApŚ, *dadātu*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* AV, MS, KS, ApŚ.

*indreṇa ma indriyaṁ dattam ojaḥ* AV.: *asmin nara indriyaṁ dhattam ojaḥ* TS. Comm. on AV, and Ppp, *dhattam*.

*āyur no dehi jīvaṣe* ŚG.: *āyuz te* (AV, *āyur no*) *vīśvato dadhat* AV, TS.

TA, ApŚ, AŚ, HG, BDh. Cf. *rayīm no dehi* : : §106.

*rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe* (AV, °śī, AŚ, *yajamāne*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ, *dadātu*) AV, TS, MS, KS, AŚ, ŚŚ.

*iṣam ūrjaṁ yajamānāya dhehi* (Vait, *dattva*, AV, *duhrām*) AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, Vait.

*lokaṁ asmai yajamānāya dehi* (MU, *dhehi*) TS, KSA, MU.

*trayā rūpāni dadhati* (ŚB, KŚ, *dadati*) *saruvati* ŚB, TB, AŚ, ŚŚ, KŚ.

*dadati* is a secondary adaptation to *dadātu* in the next pāda.

*asme dhehi* (SV, *dehi*) *jātavedo mahi śravaḥ* RV, SV, VS, TS, MS, KS.

*kṛtvī* (AV, *kṛtvā*) *savarṇām adadhur* (AV, *adadhur*) *vivasvato* RV, AV, N.

The AV, is undoubtedly secondary, but it is perhaps a little strong to call it a 'corruption' (Whitney).

*devabhya* (VS, *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS, °dhā) *asat* VS, TS, MS, KS.†

*pra no* (MS, KS, *mā*) *brūtān bhāgadhān* (ApŚ, °dhān, MS, °dān, KS,

*dhawirdā*) *devatāsu* (KS, °abhyah) TS, MS, KS, ApŚ.

§106. In the preceding there seemed to be some reason for preferring one reading or the other. In the following we find none, or so little as not to be worth noting:

- *dhātā dadātu* (AV, *dadhātu*) *dāśuṣe* AV, AŚ, ŚŚ, AG, ŚG, N. See next.

*dhātā vīśvā vāryā dadhātu* AV.: *dhātā dadātu dāśuṣe vasūni* TS, MS.

ApMB. In variants like this and the preceding, the occurrence of a derivative of the root *dhā* in the context may be noted. But as an argument for priority it may be a two-edged sword. Does it indicate that the original verb was *dhā*, or rather that an original *dā* was attracted to it?

*rayīm no dehi jīvaṣe* ŚŚ.: *rayīm no dhehi yajñiyam* MS. Cf. *āyur no dehi jīvaṣe*, §105.

*medhām agnir dadātu me* (SMB, *dadhātu te*) SMB, ApMB.; cf. *medhām ta indro dadātu* HG., *medhām dhātā dadātu* (RVKh, Schefstelowitz *dadhātu*) *me* RVKh, VS.

*tasmāi nū devāḥ paridattheha sarve* AV.: *tasmāi nō devāḥ paridattheha* (KS, MŚ, °dhatta, PG, °dhattheha) *sarve* (MŚ.† *vīśve*) TS, KS, MŚ, SMB, PG, BDh. Comm. on AV, also °*datttheha*, called by Whitney a better reading; of this we are less sure.



*lasya no rāsva lasya no dhehi* (AŚ. *dāh*) AV. AŚ.

*jīcann eva grātī tat te dadhāmi* (SMB. *dadāmi*) TA. SMB.†: *jīcann eva prahidatse dadāmi* MŚ.

*udno* (AV. ed. *ūdhno*; but mss. *udno* etc.; Whitney transl. reads *udno*) - *divyasya no dhātah* (TS. KS. *dehi*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Comm. on AV. *dhāta*, explaining by *dhehi* (!).

*mahi varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadhatih* (KS. *dadatih*, TS. *vanvānah*) TS. MS. KS.

§107. Leaving now the roots *dā* and *dha*, we come to other *d* and *dh* variations. They are practically all lexical, or else involve dubious and probably corrupt readings. But their very frequency, and the frequency of corruptions between the two sounds in the mss., certifies to the ease with which they could be confused. We begin with a group in which the variant forms are still fairly close to one another in external form; in the first they are even etymologically equivalent, concerning divergent forms of the desiderative of the root *dabh*. This (originally \**dhabh*) produces both *dhīps* and *dīps*, of which the first is historically regular, while the second, tho analogical in origin (: *dabh*), is the usual form:

*nindād yo asmān dīpsāc* (VS. ŚB. *dhīpsāc*) ca VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *dhīpsyam vā samcakara janebhyah* MŚ.: *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA. Here *dhīps* varies with the negative desiderative of *dā* (cf. §§180, 45).

*yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ* RV.: *yam te svadhāvan svadanti gūriyayā* RV. The second version is inferior in sense and meter; see RVRep. on 8. 5, 7a and 8. 49. 5c.

*sā brahmajāyā vī dunoti rāṣṭram* AV.: *sā rāṣṭram asa dhānute brahmajyasya* AV. Roots *du* and *dhā*.

*rajani* (AV. ed. em. *rajjuni*) *granther dānam* (AŚ. *dhānām*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation *rajjuni* is very pat; the passage means 'the tying of a rope', and *dhānām*, like *rajani*, is nonsense.

*adhi kṣami* (SV. *asmin kṣaye*) *prataram dīdhyānah* (SV. °*rām dīdyānah*) RV. AV. SV. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 1 and Geldner, *Gurupūjakaumudī* 20. SV. has an obvious lect. fac. infected by ideas such as RV. 5. 64. 5, *audītibhiḥ* . . . see *kṣaye* . . . *ṛdhasa*, or RV. 5. 23. 4, *ṣu kṣayeyu* . . . *ḍidhi*. Geldner seems to have the right sense (with *dīdhyānah*).

*yad bahhiḥṣam nātividhe* (TB. °*vide*) *sudānū* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Both readings make a sort of sense; TB. comm. *nātyantam lahyam*. But the compound *ati-vid* is not really Sanskrit, and is properly wanting in the lexicons. However, one ms. of MS. has °*vide*.

*indra darta* (SV. *darta*) *purām asi* RV. SV. AV. The foolish antonym of SV, is disproved by RV. 1. 130. 10, 3. 45. 2, 6. 20. 3.

[*dhāmno-dhāmno rājan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. So also mss. on AV. 7. 83. 2, emended by RWh. to *dāmno-dāmno*. Whitney, Transl., keeps the emendation; tho even Ppp. has *dh-*. But Keith on TS., 'from every rule' (ordinance), which is conservative and possible. At any rate there is no variant. In the preceding verse also the AV. mss. have *sarvā dhāmāni muñcatu*, emended by RWh. to *dāmāni*; the variant KS. 3. 8, AŚ. 3. 6. 24 has *dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu*.]

§108. A little less close to each other are the roots *vid* and *vr̥dh*, which exchange several times; the 'Prakritic' exchange of *r* and *i* also comes in here. In the first two variants *vid* is clearly original, in the last the precedence is less clear:

*mā no vidad* (KS. *vr̥dhad*) *vr̥jinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *vr̥janā*) *dvōṣyā* †*yā* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Cf. Conc. under *mā no vidad* (*vidan*).

*hotravidah* (RV. \**vida*, TB. \**vr̥dha*) *stomataṣṭāso arkañ* RV. AV. MS. TB.

On *hotravid* cf. RV. 5. 8. 3; *hotrāvṛdh* is not recorded.

*indrartubhīr brahmaṇā vāvr̥dhānaḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhūbhīr brahmaṇā sanvīdānaḥ* ŚŚ.

§109. Remoter lexical variants are the following:

*śyenasyeva dhrajaṭo* (MŚ. KS. *dravato*) *an̐kasam pari* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *dravataḥ* is a banal easing up of the poetic *dhraḥ*- with *śyena*; cf. RV. 1. 165. 2.

*avocāma kavaye medhyāya* RV. VS. TS. MS.: *pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *medhyāya*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ: *krutkarṇāya kavaye vedyāya* AV. KS. ApŚ.

*āpo asmān* (MS. *mā*) *mātarah kundhayan̐tu* (AV. MS. KS. *sādayantu*, TS. ApŚ. *kundhantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. *sād°* is evidently secondary. Note that in AV. 20. 136. 16d the word *buddham* of the vulgate is based on mss. readings *sudam* and *śunam* (Whitney, Index).

*taṁ tvā bhrātaraḥ suvr̥dho* (HG. *suhṛdo*, AV. *suvr̥dhā*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. *suvr̥dhā vardh°*, 'growing with good growth', is original. In HG. there is a slipshod assimilation in sense to *bhrātaraḥ* ('brothers, friends').

*spardhante dhiyaḥ* (TS. KSA. *divaḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. In RV., 'Pious thoughts (prayers) vie for him (Soma) as people (vie for) the sun,' poetic but intelligible, is done over in TS. KSA., into 'The people of the



sky vie with the sun (seated on Soma as on a steed).’ So at least the TS. comm., followed by Keith; this however implies emendation of the accent of *divāḥ* to *diviḥ* (ignored by them). If correct, this concept is otherwise apparently unknown, and it is strange that it supplants the familiar notion of ‘conflicting prayers’ (Bloomfield, Acts 14th Congress Orientalists 242ff., or *Johns Hopkins Circulars* 25. 1ff.). The whole verse is obscure.

§110. The rest are obscure if not corrupt:

*apa snehīḥ* (KS. ms. *snehīḥ*, em. v. Schroeder; SV. *snehitāḥ*) *ṛmaṇāḍ adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ* [so divide], KS.† *ṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi taṁ ṛmaṇām* (Poona ed. *snuhi taṁ ṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA.—KapS. reads *snehīḥ ṛmaṇām athadrāḥ*. In RV. ‘He, the heroically minded, drove away the enemies.’ Cf. 1. 74. 2. Benfey takes *adhad* as norist of *dhā*, and *rāḥ* as ‘riches.’ The TA. comm. understands *snuhi* as *bhūmau prasarāyā* (root *snū*), and glosses *athadrām* by *adhodravaṇaśīlam* (v. l. *athā*°, as if *atha* = *adhas* + *drā*). Why these terrible readings instead of the simple version of RV.?

*anāgaso adham id saṁkṣayena* TB.: *anāgaso yathā sadam id saṁ kṣiyema* Vait. Comm. on TB. *adham id, anantaram eva*; but no adverb *adham* is otherwise known. It seems to be a nonce-formation = *adhā* by proportional analogy, on a pattern such as *sadā*: *sudam* = *adhā*: *adham*; note that the TB. comm. assigns to it the meaning of *sudam*, ‘always’. Cf. VV I p. 195.

*upākṛtaṁ kaśamānam yad asthāt* (MŚ. *sadhasthāt*, v. l. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. If *sadhasthāt* is more than a blunder it must depend on *upākṛtaṁ*: ‘fetched from home’ or the like.

*vanā vananti dhṛṣṭā* (MŚ. mss. *dhṛṣṭā* and *dhṛṣṭā*) *rujantaḥ* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. See §60.

*ud vanṣam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh.

*adhō vīṣṭaḥ pītum addhī prasūtaḥ* KS.: *adomadam annam addhī pramuktaḥ* AV. And others, §870, *adomadam* is obscure; we suspect that it contains *adas* (pronoun).

[*īyā madantaḥ sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS. *sadhamaḍyeṣu*) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB. And others; §325. Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* in RVKh.; but his m. °*mādyeṣu*.]

#### p and ph

§111. Only in the synonymous roots *gusṣ* and *gulph*. Aspiration in the latter may be somehow connected with sibilation in *gusṣ*, but the

relation is obscured by other forms such as *guph*, *gumph* (Whitney, *Roots*); see Bloomfield, *Hymns of the AV.* 338, top, where *gugṛitam* ŚB. 3. 2. 2. 20 is a misprint of that text:

- *mano yad asya guṣṭitam* (ApŚ. *gulphitam*) MS. ApŚ.  
*yad asya guṣṭitam* (ApŚ. *gulphitam*) ḥṛdī MS. ApŚ.  
*viṣṭāne vi śya guṣṭitam* (some mss. and comm. *gulphitam*) AV.

p and bh

§112. These sounds vary chiefly in rime-words of nearly synonymous meanings: most commonly the roots *pr* and *bhr*, in the meanings 'preserve' and 'support'. In AV. 3. 5. 4c, *taṁ priyāsam bahu rocamānaḥ*, we must read *bhriyāsam* with Whitney.

*manas tanūṣu bibhṛataḥ* (TB.\* ApŚ.\* LŚ. *piprataḥ*) RV. VS. TB. LŚ.

ApŚ. Kauś. Both readings in TB. ApŚ.

*utem* (ŚŚ. *uto*) *āṣu mānaḥ pipartī* (ŚŚ. *bibhartī*) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. One ms. of ŚŚ. *pipartī*, which should perhaps be read even in that text. *taṁ pipṛhī daśamāsyō 'ntar udare* ŚG.: *taṁ mātā daśa māso bibhartu* ApMB. HG.

*sa tva rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu* AV. 13. 1. 1d; Ppp. according to Roth *pipartu* for *bi*°, which must be secondary if Ppp. has *subhṛtaṁ* as indicated by Roth's silence. This is just the converse of the following, which concerns three pādas of AV. 11. 5 (1d, 2e, 4d):

*sa ācāryaṁ tapasā pipartī* (Ppp. *bibhartī*),  
*sarvān sa devāna tapasā pipartī* (Ppp. *bibhartī*), and  
*īrameṇa lokāna tapasā pipartī* (Ppp. *bibhartī*), all AV. and Ppp.

§113. There are also two interchanges of the partly synonymous roots *yup* and *lubh*, the former being original both times; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 12. 414ff.:

*samyopayanto duritāni vīkṣā* RV. MG.: *samlubbhayanto duritā padāni* AV. *ayupitā* (ApŚ. *alubhātā*, and once *āyupitā* by misprint, see Errata to Vol. 2) *yonih* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§114. Finally two miscellaneous cases:

*agner jīhvāsī suhār* (VSK. TS. TB. *subhār*, KS. *supūr*) *devabhyaḥ* (TS. TB. *devānām*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. *suhū*, 'calling enticingly,' fits *jīhvā* best.

*yā sarasvatī varīṣambhalyā* (ApŚ. °*balyā*, vv. 11. °*phalyā*, °*bhalyā*)... TB. ApŚ. The true form, derivation, and meaning of this epithet are unknown. TB. comm. has a fatuous explanation.



## ASPIRATE MUTES AND H

§115. That there was in Vedic times, as in Prakrit, a tendency to reduce aspirates to *h* is indicated e.g. by Wackernagel I §218. Nearly all our cases concern *bh* and *h*; and a majority of these, again, the single root *grah* (*grabh*). Any rule as to early phonetic interchange between these two forms of the root (Wackernagel, I. c., p. 252) is cheerfully neglected. The same school or the same text will use *grabh* in one place and *grah* in another, under like conditions. The popular texts, AV. and most of the Gṛhya Sūtras, seem to like *grah* a little better, but they are not consistent; they are merely moving in the direction of Classical Sanskrit, with which they are in other respects more closely affiliated than the hieratic language. Perhaps the same preference may be discernible in TS. and KS. RV. and other archaizing texts—seemingly including VS., MS., ŚB. and ApMB.—and the RV. sūtras prefer *grabh* on the whole. But really the one stable factor is inconsistency.

*bh* and *h*

§116. We begin with *bh* and *h*, which includes *grah*: *grabh* and with it nearly all that may have historical significance. First, *grah* and *grabh*: *grbhñāmi* (AV. HG. *grhñāmi*) *te saubhagatāya* (ApMB. HG. *supra-jāsteāya*) *hastam* RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. *jagrhmā* (RV. *jagrbhmā*, TB. *jagrbhñā*) *te dakṣiṇām indra hastam* RV. SV. MS. TB. Svidh. In VV I p. 252 we have suggested that the form *jagrbhñā* (comm. *vayam grhīlavantah*) may have been a 1st person subjunctive. [In the ms. of this section Bloomfield wrote: 'If this startling form is more than an old and inexplicable blunder, it seems to contain dissimilation of *m* to *ṇ* after the labial aspirate.' I myself am now inclined to see in it only a sort of confused blend-form; *jagrbhmā* (in which *-mā* is the 1st plural ending) of RV, is stupidly altered to *-ñā* with thought of the present infix in forms like *grbh-ñā-ti*.—F E.]

*na hy asyā* (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma grbhñāmi* RV. ApMB.: *nahī te nāmā jagrāha* AV.

*hiranyapācāḥ paśum āsu* (SV. *apsu*) *grbhñate* (AV.† *grh°*) RV. AV. SV. *śavita* (AG. ApMB. HG. MG. °*tā te*) *hastam agrabhīt* (AV. SMB. MG. °*hīl*) AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.: *devas te śavitā hastam grhñātu* AV.

*idam rādhaḥ prati grbhñīhy* (JB. *grhñīhy*) *aṅgiraḥ* AV. GB. JB. ŚŚ. *bhagas te hastam agrabhīt* (AV. °*hīl*) AV. ŚG. ApMB.

- agnis te hastam agrabhūt* (SMB. °hit) SMB. ApMB. HG.  
*aryamā* (ApMB. °mā te) *hastam agrabhūt* (SMB. °hit) ŚG. SMB. ApMB.  
*oṣadhayaḥ prati grbhūta* (TS. KS. *grbhūtāgnim etam*, MS. MŚ. *grbhūtāgnim etam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.  
*nākaḥ grbhānāḥ* (TS. KS. *grh°*) *sukṛtasya loke* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*agne brahma grbhūṣva* (MS. MŚ. *grbhūṣva*, KS. *grhīṣva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.  
*apo devīr* (VS. ŚB. *devā*) *mādhumatīr agrhṇan* (MS. KS. *agrbrhṇām*, VS. ŚB. *agrbrhṇan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.  
*āpo devīḥ pratigrbhūta* (TS. KS. ApŚ. † °grbhūta) *bhasmaṇi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*devo vah savitā hiranyapānīḥ prati* (MS. MŚ. °pāyir upa) *grhṇātu* (VS. ŚB. *pratigrbhṇātu* . . . ; VSK. °vah savitā *pratigrbhṇātu* . . .) VS VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*adīṣṭe te* (VS. MS. ŚB. °tiṣ te) *bilam grhṇātu* (VS. MS. ŚB. *grbh°*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.  
*taṁ vo grhṇāmy* (MS. *taṁ te grbhṇāmy*) *uttamam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.  
*prati grhṇāmi* (MŚ. TB. † AŚ. *grbh°*) *mahate vīryāya* (MS. KS. *mahata indriyāya*) MS. KS. TB. AŚ.—TB. Poona ed. text and comm. *grbh°*.  
*yasya yonim patireto grbhāya* (HG. *prati reto grbhāya*) ŚG. HG. : *vy asya yonim prati reto grbhāya* ApMB.

§117. The same variation occurs in the independent but semantically synonymous roots *bhr* and *hr*, without other motive than the close similarity in sound. The first two variants in §118 belong also here. *parāpuro nīpuro ye bharanti* (MŚ. *har°*) AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB.

*rātrīm-rātrīm* (VS. ŚB.\* *ahar-ahar*, AV. TS. *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvan bharantaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (both): *ahar-ahar balim it te harantaḥ* AV.

*śarma varmedam ā bhara* ApMB. : *śarma varmaṇiṭad ā hara* AV.

*viṣṇuḥ sambhriyamāṇaḥ* VS. : *viṣṇur upārahriyamāṇaḥ* TS.

*prāṇāpānābhyām balam aharaṇī* (ApMB. *ābhar°*) SMB. ApMB.

(Other forms, see Conc.)

§118. Next come a number of shifts between the participles *-hita* (*-dhita*) and *-bhita* (*-hṛta*, cf. preceding). Tho quasi-Prakritic as regards both vowel and consonant change, this variation really concerns approximate synonyms. Cf. also *-dhita*: *-bhita*, §175:

*hiranye 'smin samāhitaḥ* (HG. *samābhṛtāḥ*) RVKh. HG. ApMB. Seidelowitz reads °hṛtāḥ in RVKh.



*devir devāṣṣā samāhṛtāḥ* (TB. °bhṛtāḥ) SV. TB.: *devair devāḥ samāhṛtāḥ* RVKh. But Scheftelowitz, here also, reads °hṛtāḥ for RVKh.; if this is right the variant belongs in the preceding paragraph alone. *gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat* VS.: *gan° nāma nikhilam guhāsu* TA. MahānU. And others; §855.

*sūryaraśmim samābhṛtam* TS. TB.: *sūryāṁ* (p. p. °yāt) *śukraṁ samābhṛtam* MS.: *sūrye santam* (KS. TA. *śukraṁ*) *samāhṛtam* (KS. TA. °bhṛtam) VS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam* (AŚ. *prahitam*; MŚ. *nikhilam*) *padam hi te* TB. ApŚ. AŚ. MŚ.

§119. Next we group together a number of cases in which derivatives of the root *bhū* vary with others from *hū* and *hu*. All are ritualistic epithets compounded with *su-* or *ma-*, and in such language these epithets are very nearly interchangeable; one does about as well as another:

*agner jiḥvāsi suhūr* (*subhūr*, *supūr*) *devabhyah* (*devānām*), see §114.

*ekayā ca dababhiḥ ca svabhūte* (AV. *cā suhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ.

ŚŚ. According to Roth Ppp. has *cā bhūte*, evidently intending *cā svabhūte*, which is presumably original. Vāyu is addressed.

*ā tvā subhāvā* (AB. AŚ. *suhava*) *sūryāya* AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*samudraṁ na suhavam* (AV. *subhavas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhavam*) *tasthi-vāṁsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *māhṛtam naḥ subhavam tasthivāṁsam* MS.—AVPpp. reads as MS. except *subhavas*, for which Barret, JAOS 35. 46, reads *subhavas*. The root *hu* may be concerned here, despite TB. comm. (*sukhenāhvātum śakyam*).

*suhutakṛtāḥ stha* . . . AŚ.: *subhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.: *subhūtakṛtāḥ subhūtam naḥ kṛtā* ŚŚ.

§120. In two cases—besides the *grah*: *grabh* variants—the identical word, or a derivative of the same root, appears with *bh* and *h*:

*kakubham* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *kakuham*) *rūpaṁ vṛgabhasya* (KS. *rūpaṁ rṣ°*) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (pratikas, ApŚ. MŚ.).—*kakubha* occurs already in RV., which does not know *kakubha*. Cf. §23.

*apām gambhan sīda* VS. ŚB. KS.: *apām gambhīram gacha* KS. ApŚ.: *apām tvā gahman sādayāmi* . . . MS. MŚ.

§121. Miscellaneous cases:

*brāhmaṇebhyo hy anujñātā* (TA. °bhyanu°) TA. MahānU. *hi*: (a) *bhi*. *asambhavyam* (JB. *asambheyam*, perhaps for *asambhavyam*) *parābharan* AV. JB.

*abhi dyumnam* (RV. VS. *sumnam*) *devabhaktam yariṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitam yariṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*nābhimpā* (MS. KS. *nābhudhṛṣe*) *tanu* (TS. *tanuś*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*asmān* (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā uvātī hareṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣu ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso t'evātī hareṣu* AV.

#### dh and h

§122. Here we find only a few variants. They are partly based on familiar phonetic alternates (imperative ending *dhi*: *hi*; participle *hita*: *dhita*), partly on lexical changes:

*nṛñ* (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *pāhi kṛṇudhī* (SV. °*hi*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 253.

*uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenchi* (SMB. GG. °*naidhi*, MG. *vāyur-udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. *ihī*: *edhi*, both regular, the latter obviously secondary.

*upasthe soma āhitaḥ* (ApMB. *ādhitah*) RV. AV. ApMB. MG. Note archaism in ApMB.

*ye bhakṣayanto na vasūṇy āṇḍhub* (TS. *āṇḥub*, MS. *ānakub*) AV. TS. MS. Whitney (*Roots*) rubricates *āṇḥub* under *arh*. The obscurity of the passage makes it impossible to say whether this is right or whether it is a phonetic form of *āṇḍhub*; see Whitney's note on AV. 2. 35. 1 and Keith on TS. 3. 2. 8. 3.

*grāhrah śitīkakṣī vārāhrāṇasas te dīryāḥ* (KSA. ms. *vārāhrāṇasas te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends to *vārāhri*°, questionably; see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 28, and above §23.  
*harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā* (TB. °*atā*) *maruteuḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hrṣitāso marutean* AV. Three mss. of AV. *dhṛṣitāso* Ppp, ms. *ṛṣamāṇāso ṛṣadā*, for which Barret, *JAOS* 35. 59f., reads *dhṛṣalā*. The form *hrṣit*° is obviously suggested by the preceding *harṣa*°. *usrāe* (VSK. KS. *usrā*) *etam dhūrjāhanu* (VSK. MŚ. °*vāhanu*, KS. °*bādhd*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

#### gh and h

§123. We find only a few cases, which seem on the whole to concern phonetic reduction of *gh* to *h*:

*arghaḥ* HG.: *arghyam* ŚŚ. HG.: *arghyam bhoḥ* Kauś.: *arhanīyā āpaḥ* ApG. See §321, end. *arh* = *argh*.

*aṅghārīr* (ŚŚ. *aṅhārīr*, all mss.) *asī dambhārīḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. LŚ. The word is obscure, but ŚŚ. looks like a phonetic reduction.

*somam te kṛiṇāmy ūrjasantam payasantam teiryāvantam abhimātiṣṭham*



(KS. *vīryāwantam bahvargham śobhamānam*) TS. KS.: *somavikrayin somam te kṛiṇāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu śobhamānam* MS. *taṁ ghed agnir vṛdhāvati* RV. TS.: *taṁ hed agnir vidhāvati* MS. Particles *gha* and *ha*.

*vīraṁ hī* (read *aviraghnī*?) *vīravataḥ suśevā* MG.: *aviraghno* (ApMB.†<sup>9</sup>*nī*) *vīravataḥ* (ŚG. *vīrataraḥ*, HG. *°tamaḥ*) *suvirān* (HG. *suśevān*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.

#### *kḥ* and *h*

§124. Only one real variant, which concerns an onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of a frog. With this cf. *asambhavyam* (JB. *asambheyam*) *parābhasan* AV. JB., where *asambheyam* may be for *asambkhyeyam*; see §121.

*khaṇvakhāṣi khaimakhāṣi madhye taduri* AV.: *haimahāṣ haimahāṣ* KŚ. Cf. *haimahāṣ idam madhye* . . . ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

## CHAPTER IV. INTERCHANGES OF THE MUTE SERIES

### 1. GUTTURALS AND PALATALS

§125. Interchange between gutturals and palatals is of special interest, because both go back to identical IE sounds, namely velars or labio-velars, with the exception of the voiceless aspirates which are peculiar. The general rule that palatals appear before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and *y*, much disturbed by analogies even in established words and classes of words, is still further rendered unstable by the more sporadic forms that mostly appear among the variants. Especially VSK. affects forms like *tanakmi* for *tanacmi*, *yanagmi* for *yanajmi* (§§127, 131), etc. It may be observed that in these particular forms VSK. is historically regular, the variant forms being analogical. But since VSK. also replaces *j* with *g* before *m* when *j* is an IE palatal, which should never appear as *g*, it is unlikely that it here preserves unchanged a real prehistoric form. Rather we are dealing with a secondary matter of school oddity. Wackernagel, I §§119ff., especially 121ff., deals fully and ably with the leading aspects of the interrelation of these sounds.

#### *k* and *c*

§126. The variants are not numerous. They occur occasionally in the same word, but more often in words which, while not identical, are available for interchange because of greater or less semantic proximity. Thus, first, in two derivatives of the root *cit*:

*samānāṃ ceto abhisamvīśadhvam* (TB. *keto abhisamvīśadhvam*) AV. TB. *ā no agne suketunā* (TB. ApŚ. *suketunā*) RV. SV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

The *s*-stem *ketas* is *ḱṛ.ḷey*, and is doubtless due to confusion between *celas* and *keta*, both of which are historically regular. TB. comm. *sahavāsasthānam*, the meaning of the Classical *keta* (perhaps from *cī*, 'pile', rather than *cit*). The form *-ketu* of the second instance is (to be sure with different meanings) commoner and more primary than *-cetu*, patterned after the prevalent *c* forms of the root. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 146, and further Oldenberg on RV. 5. 66. 4; Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV., s. v. *ketunā*. Yet the reading *suketunā* is evidently secondary.

*lokāt* (TS. *locāt*) *prthivya uta vā divas pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *locāt* is *ḱṛ.ḷey*, and analogical.



*kanikkunad iya sōpayan* TB.: *canikkudad yathāsapam* AŚ. *c-* is again analogical; for the intensive reduplication see Wackernagel I p. 147. *yatrāitān* (VS. ApMB. °*nān*) *vettha nīhitān parāke* (SMB. *parācah*) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. *parā(ñ)c-* and its extension *parāh-a-*.

*nū cit* (SV. *nakih*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV. SV. *cit* is, of course, in origin the regular neuter to the stem *ka-*; but equally of course no consciousness of this relationship can have been present at the time when this variation occurred.

*atho adhivikartanum* (ApMB. °*cartanam*) RV. AV. ApMB. Here the two roots are unrelated: *kṛt* 'cut' and *cṛt* 'tie'. In both the initial sound has been generalized (Wackernagel I p. 145). The primary reading of this variant was 'cutting off'; the secondary, 'untying'. *imā udvāsīkāriṇa* . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāśicāriṇa* . . . MŚ. See §59. The MŚ. reading is secondary and poor; it is felt as containing root *car*, as against the original *kṛ*.

§127. In a class by itself is the curious phonetic treatment of an established root-ending *c* as *k* before *m* in VSK., see §125:

*indrasya* (MS. MŚ. *indrāya*) *tvā bhāgaṁ somena tanacmi* (VSK. *tanakmi*, MS. MŚ. *somenātlanacmi*) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: *somena tvā tanacmīnd-rāya dadhi* TS. TB. ApŚ.

#### *g and c*

§128. An isolated case concerning unrelated words; the majority reading with *c* is presumably original:

*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (HG. °*bhyācāreṇa*, MG. °*bhyācāre*, AG. *śvetas cābhyācāre*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

#### *k and ch*

§128a. An isolated lexical variant:

*chantān* (KSA. †*kanān*) *chanyā* TS. KSA. The latter is doubtless original; assimilation to the next word in TS., resulting in absurd repetition of the same stem.

#### *kh and ch*

§129. Two variants contain forms of *khid* and *chid*, identified by Haug, ZDMG 7. 517, and hesitatingly by Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Wbch.* Wackernagel however (I §§121, 131), with most scholars tho against Brugmann, denies any historic connexion between *kh* and *ch*. See his references §131b, end, and cf. Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 23, 32.

*yatah* (MS. *yena*) *prajā akhidrā* (MS. *achidrā*) *ajāyanta* . . . TS. MS. KS. *akhidrāh* (ApŚ. *aghorah*) *prajā abhivipasya* KS. ApŚ.: *achinnapatrāh* (MS. *\*trah*) *prajā anuvīkṣasva* VS. MS. ŚB.

*g* and *j*

§130. The distinction between the two kinds of Sanskrit *j* (Wackernagel I §§120, 136ff.) is such that *j* from IE palatal *g* should properly never vary with *g*, whereas *j* of the velar (labio-velar) series should appear only before IE *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *y*. Nevertheless *j* from palatal *g* produces analogically some *g* forms (Wack. §138), and the velar voiced sound at the end of roots before consonantal endings (usually *m* and *v*) is regularly treated as *j* (Wack. §130c). The variants regard all historic distinctions of this sort little or not at all.

§131. To begin with, VSK. as we have remarked (and in one case SV.) shows *g* for *j* before *m* (§§125, 127). This applies equally to both kinds of *j* (root *yuj* with velar, roots *mṛj* and *ṛj* with palatal):

*mītrāvaruṇayos tva praśāstroh prakṣā yunajmī* (VSK. *\*gmi*) . . . VS.

VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agnīm yunajmī* (VSK. *\*gmi*) *śavusā ghṛtena* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agnīṣomābhyām juṣṭam nī yunajmī* (VSK. *\*gmi*) VS. VSK. ŚB.

*vājīnam tvā vājedhyāyai* (TS. *śapatnasāham*; KS. *vājīn vājayatyāyai*)

*sam mārjmi* (VSK. *\*gmi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

*vājīnīm tvā vājedhyāyai* (TS. *śapatnasāhīm*; KS. *vājīnī vājayatyāyai*)

*sam mārjmi* (VSK. *\*gmi*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. Corresponding

formulas of other schools all with *mārjmi*; see Conc. under *vāji tvā*.

*upa tvā kāmūn mahah sasṛjmahe* RV. AV.: *upa tvā kāma īmahe sasṛjmahe* SV.

§132. Besides the above, derivatives of the roots *yuj* and *ṛj* show each a couple of variations between *g* and *j*:

*hinvāno mānuṣā yugā* (SV. *yujā*) RV. SV.

*daivyaīm mānuṣā yugā* RV. SV. VS. TS. ŚB.: *vīprāso mānuṣā yugā* KS.;

*daivam mānuṣā yujā* MS. The SV. form of the first variant may

be taken with Benfey as instrumental from root-stem *yuj*. In this

case both are phonetically normal, as the RV. has a neuter plural

of *yuga* (cf. Wackernagel I §128a, d). In the second case also

MS. may have an adverbial instrumental.

*diṣṭāya rajjusaṛjam* (TB. *\*sargam*) VS. TB.

*prajāpate vīśvasṛj* (MS. *\*ṛṇ*, mss. mostly *sṛk*, one *sṛj*) *ṛivadhaṇyāh*

MS. TB. AŚ.† 2. 14, 12c [also in Conc. under *idam no deva pratiharya*



*haryam*, read AŚ. 2. 14. 12d| ApŚ. —The &π. λey. *rajjū*<sup>o</sup> seems to mean 'rope-maker' (TB. comm. *rajjūnām sraṣṭāram*), and the vocalism of the radical syllable points to an *a*-stem. Since *a*-stems from roots in velar *j* tend to have *g* (Wackernagel §128a), the root *srj* is carried away with the rest; cf. the familiar nomen actionis *sarga*. The 'historically correct' *sarja*, occurring here alone, may therefore be secondary. On *srj*; *srj* see Wackernagel I pp. 173f., 329. In the second variant *srj* before *j* might stand for *srt*; cf. below, §142, *brahman tvaṁ asi vītrasrt* (<sup>o</sup>*sṛk*).

§133. Once an intensive reduplication varies between *g* and *j*; cf. the same with *k* and *c*, §126, *kanīkhanad* etc.!

*nī galgalitī dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgalitī* (KSA.† mss. *jalgalātī*, ed. em. *jalgalitī*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

§134. The rest concern miscellaneous words of independent origin: †*prajāyāmaṣy aṅrataḥ* HG.: *prajāyāmaṣy aṅrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *prajāyāmy aṣyāṅrataḥ* MG. Verb forms of *pra-ṇai* and *pra-ṇan*, the latter obviously secondary, but found in other places besides HG.; see Kirste's note.

*sadā yācann ahaṁ girā* (SV. *jyā*) RV. SV. N. Comm. on SV. reads *girā* with RV. Since *jyā* is unaccented, Benfey posits a verb-form ('potential optative') of root *ji*, with loss of final *m*; for <sup>\*</sup>*jyām* = <sup>\*</sup>*jīyām*. Very dubious.

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jāhi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apah* (most mss. *apa*) *śvetapad āgahi* (so all mss.) MG. See §817.

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunūtha* (<sup>o</sup>*nūtir*, <sup>o</sup>*dhūtam*, <sup>o</sup>*dhūte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS. <sup>\*</sup>*agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB. See §93.

## 2. GUTTURALS AND LINGUALS

§135. A single stray variant concerning obscure forms in *k* and *q*: *tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṅkaś ca* HG.: *tekaś ca sasaramaṭaṅkaś ca* ApMB. See §165.

## 3. GUTTURALS AND DENTALS

§136. The variations between gutturals and dentals are interesting, but none too numerous and for the most part difficult or dubious. To some extent they concern final consonants; in one of these cases the ultimate root concerned has a palatal ending, and the variation is really one of sandhi. The majority of guttural-dental variants are lexical in character; often the change is in consonant combinations, again bringing in (this time internal) sandhi or assimilation.

*k* and *t*

§137. We begin with lexical variants, where we find first the absolutely equivalent rime-roots *stabh* and *skabh*; see Bloomfield, *IF* 4. 74ff.; Güntert, *Reimwortbildungen* 26ff. Among the variants, RV. always has *stabh*, while AV. prefers *skabh*:

*jagatā sindhūm divy astabhāyat* (AV. *aska*<sup>o</sup>) RV. AV.

*mahān mahī astabhāyad* (AV. KS.† *aska*<sup>o</sup>) *vi jātabh* AV. TS. KS. AB. AŚ.

*yam krandaśi avasā tastabhāne* (AV. *anataś caska*<sup>o</sup>) RV. AV. VS. VSK.

TS.: *ya ime dyāvāprthivī tastabhāne* MS. KS. AVPPP. (Barret, *JAOS* 35. 44f.)

*vy astabhñā* (VS. ŚB. *aska*<sup>o</sup>, MS. *aśka*<sup>o</sup>, KS. *aśta*<sup>o</sup>, TS. *astabhñād*, TA. *aśtabhñād*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (<sup>o</sup>*ṇa*, <sup>o</sup>*ṇur*) *eto* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TA.

*divān skabhāna* KS.: *dyān stabhāna* KS.

§138. There are few other cases in which *k* and *t*, not final, exchange in a purely lexical or corrupt fashion:

*stuhī kūrām vajriṇam apratikam* (TB. *apratitam*) MS. TB. The Bibl.

Ind. ed. of TB. has *apratittam*, but comm. and Poona ed. text correctly, *apratitam*, 'invincible'. MS. has a mere blunder.

*asānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān* TB.: *prānyā tantūns tirato dhatte anyā* AV. See Whitney on AV. 10. 7. 42.

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jatrūbhya*, MS. *cakrūbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛūbhyak*!) *ātṛlaḥ* (MS. <sup>o</sup>*do*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. See §57.

*ugro* (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājān* (MG. <sup>o</sup>*jam*) *apa* (MG. *upa*-) *sedha* (AV. *śrākṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

§139. Next a group of cases in which the combination *tt* varies with *kt* (and occasionally with other consonants before *t*); cf. §416, to which all these variants also belong:

*vī no rāṣṭram unattu payasā svena* TB.: *sām te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghr̥tēna* AV. For *vī-unattu* cf. RV. 1. 164. 47, 5. 83. 8; for *sam-anaktu*, RV. 10. 88. 4, 118. 4. The variation is lexical, hardly phonetic.

*devair nyuptā* (KS. *nuttā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpo mahitvā* (AV. <sup>o</sup>*twam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Cast forth (KS. impelled, AV. spoken!) by the gods thou (earth) hast spread out greatly (to greatness).' PPP. reads *mahitvā*, and also *śṛṣṭā* for *uktā*, seemingly an ancient gloss which states in plain language what all the texts really mean.

*anyām icha pītṛśadam vyaktām* (ApMB. *vittām*) RV. ApMB.: *jāmām icha pītṛśadam nyaktām* (read <sup>o</sup>*tām*) AV. Here the assimilated form of ApMB. (with *samprasāraṇa*) is clearly secondary.



*sarvā it tñ anu vidur vasiṣṭhāh* RV.; *sarvam uktam anuvīdur vasiṣṭhāh* JB. A more drastic reconstruction or Verballhornung in JB.

*iha prasatto* (AV. *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cagat kṛtān naḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. *prasapto* (comm. *prakarṣeṇa sannāgataḥ san*, as if from *pra-srp* with Prukritic *a* for *r*) has no standing. AV., tho also secondary, makes fair sense, 'attached'; RV. probably 'gracious', in the sense of the later *prasanna*.

*viviktyai* (TB. *vivītyai*, read with Poona ed. *vivītyai*) *kṣattāram* VS. TB. *viviktyai*, 'for discernment', is certainly original. TB. comm. *vīṣeṣa-lābhābhīmāninyai*: but the form of root *vid* is isolated if *vi* be regarded as the preposition, and anomalous if it be taken as reduplication.

*dhātuh kakkāḥ* (KSA. *kakkāḥ*) TS. KS. Original form unknown; VS. 24. 32 has *kakkāḥ*.

*avimuktacakra* (v. l. *ōrā*) *āśiran* PG.; *vīrttacakra āśināḥ* HG. ApMB.

§140. There are also several cases of variation between *kṣ* and *ts*, reminding us of the fact that both these combinations become *ch* in the Middle Indic languages, and to some extent in Vedic dialects, see below, §§183ff. These variants indeed really belong in that chapter; they manifestly concern the pronunciation of both combinations as something verging on *ch*. In five out of six cases the writing with *kṣ* (thrice in SV., once in AV., once in MS.) is secondary, and in three it is more or less foolish, if not utterly uninterpretable.

*vr̥ṣaṇam pr̥tsu* (SV. *pr̥kṣu*) *āsahim* RV. AV. SV. Here only *pr̥tsu*, 'in battles', can be meant; 'in delights' (root *prc*) is silly.

*yat te d̥tsu* (SV. *d̥kṣu*) *prarādhyam* RV. SV. The RV. has a nom. sg. neut. of a desiderative adjective from *dā*, agreeing with *manas*. SV. clearly secondary and poor (Benfey, 'in aller Welt').

*yad d̥tsani* (SV. *yac chikṣasi*) *stuvate māvate vasu* RV. SV. In this case the two forms are practically synonyms; *śikṣeyam* and *d̥tsayam* together in RV. 8. 14. 2; a similar passage RV. 1. 81. 2.

*agnih* (AV. *agnih*) *sruco adhvaṛeṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. *prayaty adhvaṛe*, familiar formula in RV. at the ends of *pādas* (RVRep. 660). Wackernagel I §156a, note, erroneously suggests that *prayatsu* may be for *prayatsu* = *prayakṣu* (*prā-yaj*), but the form does not really construe. The hymn AV. 5. 27, with its miserable corruptions (Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda* 54), does not call for any serious treatment of *prayakṣu* (the p.p. leaves it undivided); it is, like most of the SV. readings with *kṣ* for *ts*, a phonetic blunder for *prayatsu*.

*āvitoi* (MS. *āyukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *ā-vid*: *ā-yuj*.

*prāsmān* *ava pṛtanāsu pra vikṣu* (TB. *yutsu*) RV. TB. Here, of course, *kṣ* is original; *yutsu* is suggested by *pṛtanāsu*.

§141. There is also one isolated anomaly in which *kn* is substituted for *tn*, somewhat as in the preceding. Here too *kn* seems to be a phonetic variant or blunder, based merely on similarity of the sound combinations:

*tādītā* (TB. † *°knā*) *śatruṃ* (TB. *°ān*) *na-kīlā vivitṣe* (TB. Conc. *vivaltse*, read *vivitṣe* with Poona ed. text and comm.) RV. TB. *tādīknā* is repeated in the comm. (Poona ed.), which glosses *tādītān*! It seems that it must mean simply *tādītā*.

§142. Finally, a few cases of interchange between *k* and *t* final. All concern the ends of pādas. Two concern adverbial forms in *-k* from *añc* stems; a third is simply a matter of external sandhi:

*anamitrāṇ no adhārāt* (KS. *°rāk*, VSK. *me tadharāk*) AV. VSK. KS. Equivalent adverbs, one abl. of *adhara*, the other acc. neut. of *adharāñc*. The same pair sonantized, below, §145, *ottarād adharād* (*°rāg*) *ā purastāt*.

*tad vipro abraṇd udak* (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.

*brahmañ* (MahānU. *brahman*) *tvam asi viśvasṛt* (MahānU. *°sṛk*) TA. MahānU. There is a v. l. *°sṛk* in TA; and as the next sentence begins with *t*, the variant may be graphic. Possibly, however, *sṛt* may be for *sṛl* by dissimilatory influence of the lingual vowel *r*; cf. Wackernagel I §156a, note, and as regards the final treatment of this root in general, §149a, α. [Delete *brahma tvam asi* etc. in Conc.]

*samyak* (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.\* MŚ. *sam ū*, KS.\* *sarit*) *śravantī sarito na dhenūḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §830.

*sarāvalī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB. ApŚ. *abhiṣṇāt*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Altho TB. comm. fatuously glosses by *bhiṣ-ajyatu*, *abhiṣṇāt* (*abhi+ṣṇāmī*) is doubtless an independent lexical word, 'inspire', into which the phonetic relation of *k* to *t* enters as a factor. While *abhiṣṇak* is *ἀπ.λεγ.*, the word, as well as the treatment of its final consonant (Wackernagel I §138), is primary.

Note also: *yaśo bhagaś ca mā riṣat* MG. I. 9. 27c, where Knauer reports that practically all his mss. point to *riṣak* as the true reading; of course it must mean the same as *riṣat*. Cf. Wackernagel I §260a, β, small print; §277a.

Cf. also AV. I. 18. 2a: *nir arañim savitā sāviṣat padoh*; so the vulgate;



but all mss. *sāviṣak*, retained by SPP. and approved by Whitney; see Whitney, *Grammar* 151a, and the preceding variant. According to Whitney, the comm. and Ppp. both have *sāviṣat*. The same form occurs in the VSK. version of the following; on the subject of final *k*:2 see most recently Renou, *Ehrendgabe für Wilhelm Geiger* 163n.; Oertel, *ibid.* 137; and our §272a, *na me tad* etc.; our §145; and *abhiṣyak* for *°ṣyat*, PG. 3. 1. 3b (VV I p. 242, *infra*).

*lasyāṁ no devaḥ* (MS. *lasyāṁ devaḥ*) *savitā dharman* (VS.† VSK.† TS.† ŠB.† *dharma*) *sāviṣat* (VSK.° *ṣak*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB.

The next is an error of the Conc.:

[*trivṛt yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB. ApŚ.: *trivṛt bhuvanāḥ yad rathavṛk* KS. Conc., but read *rathavṛt*; text °*vṛj jīvo*—.]

*kh* and *t*

§143. In the single variant following, PG. has a corruption, due to assimilation to the word *sakhyāni* in the following; Stenzler on PG. 2. 11. 12 translates the AŚ. reading. See his note there, and his critical note.

*pari satyasya dharmanā* (PG. *sakhyasya dharmanāḥ*) AŚ. PG.

*g* and *d*

§144. Except final, this interchange occurs in only a few stray variants. The first may possibly contain a phonetic confusion or assimilation:

*ā galdā dhamaninām* (ApŚ. *galgā dhavaninām*) ApŚ. MŚ. N. *galgā* is undoubtedly secondary (by assimilation to the preceding *ga-*?); *galdā* is R̥gvedic (8. 1. 20), but nevertheless obscure. Pischel, *VSt.* 1. 84, and KZ 41. 183ff., discusses the word without knowing the full stanza in ApŚ. MŚ. After him many others; see Oldenberg, *Noten*, on 8. 1. 20. The following word in ApŚ. is also a phonetic corruption for *dhamaninām*; see §225. Caland leaves the pāda untranslated.

*yad annam admi* (PrāṇṣgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (etc., §619) AV. TA. PrāṇṣgU.

*na vai gāvo maṅgīrasya* (KŚ. *mandīrasya*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ. Proper names, of unknown etymology.

*rudras* (MŚ. *ugras*) *tanticaro vṛṣā* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. KhG.

*marudbhir ugrā ahr̥ṇīyamānāḥ* AV.: *marudbhi rudrāḥ samajānatābhi* TS. Whitney considers *ugrā* a corruption for *rudrā*.

*āsmīn* (KS. *ā smi*) *ugrā* (MS. *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

In an obscure ritual verse; MS. doubtless a lect. fac.

§145. In the rest the sounds are final (either absolutely, or before pāda endings); as under *k:t* (§142), matters of external sandhi seem to some extent involved. But it is hard to isolate or define the extent of that influence; it is complicated by lexical confusions and corruptions. The first case is purely morphological, presenting (before a following sonant) the same two adverbs, *adharāt* and *°rāk*, which we met in §142, first variant:

*ottarād adharād* (TB. *°rāk*) *ā purastāt* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*niyudbhīr* (AV. *viyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha tā vī muñca* (ŚŚ. {*muñcah*}) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. [Add to VV I §§25 and 156.] Also:

*prayugbhya* (TB. *prayud°*) *unmattam* VS. TB. In the first of these two *vīyugbhīr* is untenable, because the *niyutaḥ* are technically the span of Vāyu (Bṛhaddevatā 4. 140). In the second, *prayugbhyaḥ* of VS. is hardly translatable (not glossed by Mahidhara; Griffith, 'for Motives'). Comm. on TB. glosses *prayud°* by *prakarṣeṇa yoddhṛdesebhyaḥ*, as if from *pra-yudh*. At TB. 3. 7. 9. 1, ApŚ. 12. 3. 2 occurs *prayutaḥ*, which TB. comm. glosses *prakarṣeṇa somaṁ mīṣṭrayantaḥ* (adopted by Böhtlingk, 'durcheinander mengend'). This idea fits *unmattam* 'mad', thus favoring the TB. reading. But PB. 1. 2. 5 reads *maruto* for *prayuto* in the corresponding passage; Caland gives up *prayutaḥ*.

*nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta sūśrug* (comm., and Poona ed. text, *śūśrug*) *astu* TB.; *sucakṣāḥ soma uta saśrut astu* MŚ. The latter is not quite certain; the mss. record forms which look towards the TB. reading. But *saśrut* occurs several times in RV. TB. obviously contains root *śru* (comm. *śrotā*); so that apparently *g = k* must stand for *d = t*. It belongs with our §142, and Wackernagel I §§260a, β, note, 277a. See also our §283.

*mayan* (also *gauran*, *gavayan*, *meṣan*, *śarabham*) *te śug ychatu* (KS. *te kṣut*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Mixed lexical and phonetic (sandhi). KS. actually reads *kṣud*, before a following sonant.

*trīṣug* (AŚ. *°śrud*) *gharma vibhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sailam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. *°śrud* here is poor and doubtless corrupt.

*yamasya dātā ca vṣṣ vidhāvati* MS.; *yamasya dātāḥ śvapād vidhāvati* TA. The subject is *grdhrah* 'vulture'; TA. is correct, and MS. an unintelligible corruption, in which the sandhi relations of *g(k)* and *d(t)* have a share.

*dadhṛg* (TA. *dadhād*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV. *°kṣan*) *paryāṅkhayāte* (TA. *°tai*, AV. *parīṅkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Roots *dṛh* and *dhā*.



*n̄* (for *k*) and *n*. (?)

§146. One variant concerns an obscure name of a gandharva, of which the original form is uncertain; it is obvious that MS. (secondarily) etymologizes on it, changing it to *su-vāc* 'beautiful-voiced':

*survān nabhrād* . . . MS. MŚ.: *avān nabhrād* . . . KS.: *avāna bhrājāṅghāre* . . . VS. TS. ŚB.: *avāna bhrāt* . . . TA.

*amāsi sarvān* (AŚ, *survān*) *āsi pravṛṣṭah* AŚ. Kauś. The original is *sarvān* (*sarvāṇe* 'turned in all directions'); AŚ. secondary.

#### Guttural and dental aspirates

§147. The few cases under this heading present little of interest: *grāme vidhuram* (HG. *vikhuram*) *ichanāi svāhā* HG. ApMB. Both in wretched hocus-pocus, from which scarcely any meaning can be extracted.

*aghadviṣṭā devajātā* AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devajātāh* ApŚ. The latter is a mere corruption.

*deva purāścara saghyāsam teā* TA. ApŚ.: *devapurāś carasa jñhyāsam teā* MS. The former is original: 'may I be able to carry thee'. MS. has a slipshod substitute.

*yad aghriyata* (KS. *\*yathās*) *tad ghytam* (KS. adds *abhasas*) MS. KS.: *yad adhriyata tad ghytam abhasat* TS. As Keith says, the TS. etymology is not too bad for a Brāhmaṇa; but the other is certainly original.

#### 4. GUTTURALS AND LABIALS

§148. Waekernagel's treatment of this interchange (I §117b) receives additional illustrations from the variants. They almost all concern *k* and *p*, and reveal no new principle. For the peculiar Taittiriya treatment (not mentioned in TPr.) of the final sound of the stems *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh* as *k(g)* in all case-forms except before vocalic endings, and as word-finals in sandhi except before surds (occasionally however *k* before *p*), and before *j*, *d*, and *dh*, see Weber, *Isl.* 13. 109, n. 2; Keith, *HOS* 18. p. xxxviii. This applies to TB. as well as TS., but apparently not to ApŚ.:

*anuṣṭup* (TB. *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyai* (MŚ. *pañktaye*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*anuṣṭup* (TS. *anuṣṭuk*) *pañktyā saha* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*triṣṭub* (TS. *triṣṭug*) *graiṣmī* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§149. The word, of unstable form, which occurs in the next group refers to some kind of aquatic bird; AV. 11. 2. 25 adds *purikaya* (comm. *pulī*). It may be noted that most forms contain both *p* and *k* somewhere in the word. The original form cannot be determined:

*mitrāya kulīpayān* (MS. *putīkayān*) VS. MS.

*ndhro makarāḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *putīkayas*, KSA. *putī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA. *†kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*kultkā devajāmitībhyah* VS.: *devānām putnībhyah putīkāh* MS.

§150. Very varied also are the forms of the following words. It is impossible to say what the original form is, unless the solitary occurrence of *nicumpuṣa* in RV. decides. It may be onomatopoeitic:

*avabhṛtha nicumpuṣa* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nicāṅkuṣa*, MS. KS. MŚ. *nicuṅkuṣa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApŚ. N.

*nicerur asi nicumpuṣah* (TS. TB. *nicāṅkuṣa*, MS. KS. *nicuṅkuṣah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. In same passage as preceding; nom. changed to voc. in TS. TB. by form-assimilation to the adjoining formula.

§151. Other, isolated cases which concern chiefly textual decay, with more or less obscure phonetic bearings, are the following; lexical considerations enter in faintly with some of them:

*kanātkābhām* (AŚ. *pranākāphā*) *na ābhara* TB. AŚ. Note the dental *n* in AŚ., despite preceding *r*. Comm. on TB., desperately, *kanakavad bhāsamānām rūpavatīm kanyām*. Both forms are hopeless. *bajābhojopakāśinī* HG.: *khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh* ApMB. Again both are hopeless.

*kūtanānām* (VS. ŚB. *kukūnanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā palman ā dhūnemi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kolānān* (sc. *te śukra śukram ā dhūnemi*) TS. An otherwise unknown, perhaps onomatopoeitic, epithet of waters.

*śam te* (AV.\* *śam u*, TA. *śam u te*, KS. MŚ. *śam nah*) *sante anūpyāḥ* (TA. *anūkyāḥ*) AV. KS. TA. MŚ. *anūkyāḥ* might be considered a purely phonetic variant; it should be remembered that Tait. texts show a certain preference for at least final gutturals in place of labials (§148). The word is an epithet of waters and must mean about the same as *anūpyāḥ*, from *anūpa*; so comm., *anūpadāśe bhavā anūkyā āpah*. Formally, however, *anūkyā* is imaginable from the stem *anvañc* ('successive'? or 'going along with', approximately 'helping'?); and it is likely that influence from this sphere has been at work in TA.

*pūḍyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB.: *lājān āvapantikā* ŚG. PG. MG.: *agnau lājān āvapanti* SMB. HG. *kulpāny* may conceivably be understood in the light of the Tait. preference for gutturals, cf. the prec. and §148.

*vanakrakṣam* (SV. *\*prakṣam*) *udāprutam* RV. SV. 'Sounding in (vessels



of) wood'. The onomatopoeitic root *krakṣ* also in *krakṣamāṇa*, *avakrakṣin*. SV. \**prakṣa* has no lexical basis and is doubtless phonetic, tho the comm., followed by Bensley, absurdly derives it from *pra-kṣi* 'abide'.

*anāśuṇ* (AV. *anāśūn*) *babhasi* (ApŚ. *gabh°*) *haritebhīr āsabhīh* AV. KS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. stanza is otherwise corrupt, and *gabh°* is uninterpretable. Caland gives up the verse.

*grīvāyān* (KS. *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS. *apipakṣa āsan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Original is *apikakṣe*, a certain part of the body. MS. (p.p. *api-pakṣah*) may have been influenced by thought of *pakṣa* (cf. Keith on TS. 1. 7. 8. 3).

*viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṇ juhomi* TS. GB. Vait.: *viśloka viśradāye tvā saṇjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. *viśloka* is perhaps a sort of lect. fac., but *viśvalopa* is itself not clear; cf. Keith on TS. 3. 3. 8. 2.

§152. The rest concern cases where lexical rather than phonetic considerations dominate; that is, words of independent origin seem more clearly to be involved.

*agner* (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛvann* (RV. *apunann*) *ukījo amṣtyave* (RV. \**vaḥ*, ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

*yad adya dugdham pṛthivīm asṛptā* (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In MŚ., as in AB. AŚ., the parallel following *pāda* contains *asṛpad*; in TB. ApŚ., *asarad*.

*iha prasatto* (AV. *prasakto*, TB. *prasapto*) *vi cayat kṛtam naḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. See §139.

*krāṇā* (SV. *prāṇā*) *likṣa mahīnām* RV. SV. And:

*krāṇā* (SV. *prāṇā*, AV. *prāṇah*) *śindhūnām kalasān acikṛdat* (RV. *avīraṣat*) RV. SV. AV. The SV. is really inexplicable; AV. attempts to rationalize it. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 279. On the much discussed *krāṇā* see last *RVRep.* 136.

*devaīr nyupṭā* (KS. *nullā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyasarpō mahitvā* (AV. \**tvam*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §139.

*aktam* (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. \**artham*) *rihāṇā vyantu (viyantu) yayah* TS. MS. KS.\* TB. MŚ. GG. KhG. And others, see §96. The stem *aptu* (certainly secondary here) is said to mean 'small'. It is hard to apply this meaning here; perhaps adverbially, 'daintily'. *asmin goṣṭhe kariṣiṇīh* (Kauś. \**vaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīh*) AV. MS. Kauś. The riming synonyms *kariṣa* and *purīṣa*; cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 16, 409ff. Different context, hence different gender, in Kauś.

*kriyanta* (TB. *priyā ta* [so divide]) *ā bakhīh* (TB. Conc. \**hiṣ*, Poona ed. \**hih*) *sāda* RV. AV. KS. TB. Preceded by *imā brahma brahma-*

*sāhaḥ* (TB.† °ha). 'These prayers, O thou to whom prayers are offered, are made (TB., are pleasing to thee); sit upon the barhis,' [pra so agne tavotiḥhiḥ] *suvirābhis* †*tirata* (SV. TS. *tarati*) *vājabhar-mabhiḥ* (SV. TS. °*karmabhiḥ*) RV. SV. TS. KS.

*sugandhim* (AV. *subandhuḥ*) *pativedanam* AV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *sugandhiḥ puṣṭivardhanam* (KS. *rayipoṣaṇam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TAA. Vait, LŚ. N. The AV. changes *sugandhim* by adaptation to the meaning of *pati-vedanam* (*pati* suggests *bandhu*).

§153. To the same category as the preceding section belong three cases of variation between the roots *pr* and *gr* (*gīr*), which have a special interest because in each of the three derivatives of the root *yaj* are closely associated. These words are pivotal for the interpretation of the variants. The roots *yaj* and *gr* go naturally together (sacrifice and praise); and *abhi-gr* (as in the third variant) likewise goes with *yaj* because sacrifice gratifies the gods (*gūrta* = Lat. *grātus*); see e.g. RV. 1. 15. 3, 3. 6. 10, 10. 15. 6. On the other hand *yaj* and *pr* 'give' are perhaps even more constant companions (*iṣṭā-pūrta*); see Windisch, *Festgrues Böhlingk* 115ff.; Bloomfield, *AJP* 17. 408ff. In the third variant *abhi-pūrtam* and *pūrtam* are clearly secondary, suggested by *iṣṭam* which recalls *iṣṭā-pūrta*. In the first variant text-history makes it equally clear that *gr* is secondary. In the second, KS. seems to give the best sense, but may be a *lectio facillior*. The fact is that the two roots, riming in sound and ritualistically so close in meaning, easily slip over into one another. Aside from the matter of rime, they contain little of phonetic significance:

*indro yajvane prṇate* (AV. *gr°*) *ca śikṣati* (AV. °*te*) RV. AV. TB.

*viṣṭam agne abhi tat prṇdhi* (PG. *prṇīhi*, KS. *tad grṇīhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

*iṣṭam vītam* (AV. *pūrtam*) *abhi-pūrtam* (AV. °*pūrtam*) *vaṣatḥkṛtam* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. [Delete in Conc. reference to AV. under *iṣṭam vītam* . . .]

§153a. The following variants, tho concerning independent words each of which is suitable to the context, are interesting phonetically as involving the quasi-Prakritic equivalence of *kṣ* and *ps* (cf. §§182-6):

*somasya drupṣam* (AV. *bhukṣam*) *asṛṇīla pāṣā* (AV. *śakraḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Either a 'drop' or a 'draught' of soma will suit; it is hard to see any reason for preference.

*hṛtsu kratuḥ varuṇo* (MS. °*ṇam*) *vikṣu* (RV. *apṣu*, MS. *dikṣu*) *agnim* RV. VS. †TS. †MS. KS. ŚB.†



## 5. PALATALS AND DENTALS

§154. These variants are mostly lexical in character except before *y*; the combinations *dy* and *jy* exchange on a purely phonetic basis. A suggestion of a similar 'palatalization' of *t* before *i* or *y* seems to occur in the first variants quoted under §156.

*c* and *t*

§155. Here occur first a number of variations between the approximately synonymous riming roots *car* and *tar*:

*yajñasyāyur anu sam caranti* (AŚ. *tarantu*) TS. AŚ. Cf. *yajñayur anusamcarān* TB. ApŚ.

*na tad* (AV. *nainam*) *rakṣāṁsi na piśācāḥ caranti* (VS. °*cās taranti*, AV. °*cāḥ saḥante*) RVKh. AV. VS. But Scheffelowitz reads RVKh. as VS.

*achinnam tantum anu sam tarema* (TA. *carema*) AV. TA. Comm. on AV. *car*°.

*śamyāḥ prataratām* (Vait. °*tā*) *iva* (MŚ. *pracaratām iha*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§156. The rest are sporadic, and partly corrupt; the first two have interesting phonetic aspects:

*sā śantati* (SV. °*ta*; TB. ApŚ. °*cā*) *mayas karat apa sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. The TB. ApŚ. reading (conceived as an adjective agreeing with Aditi, the subject) is apparently felt as modelled on directional adjectives in -*ācī*, fem. to -*āc* (like *prācī*); so, perhaps, the comm. understood it (*anīṣṭasamanaprāpikā sañ*). But it seems at least possible that palatalization of the original dental was not unrelated to the following *i*-vowel. Cf. next.

*arciṣātriṇo nudatam praficaḥ* AV.; *arciṣā śatrūn dahatam prafitya* AG. Here in the secondary AG. we have an essentially phonetic change, the reverse of the preceding.

*satyaṁjāsā* . . . TS. MS. KS; *sacetasaṁ* . . . AV. See §305. Here we suspect that AV. is secondary, with palatalization of *ty* to *c*.

*agre* (TB. *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya cetataḥ* (RV. *locataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.

*vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi* AB. ŚŚ.

*jagidhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG. *vicaytir*) . . . HG. ApMB. And others, see §634.

Oldenberg on HG. assumes *vitṛṣṭi*, 'thirst'.

*divo rābhīṣṭhām anu yo vicagṣe* MŚ.; *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ.† *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vituṣṭhe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

*yat kṣureṇa marcayatā* (MG. *vartayatā*) *kutejasā* (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. *supēśasā*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.—AVPpp. reads *varcayatā* (: *varcas*).

*vācam* (RV. AV. *vātam*) *viṣṇum sarasvatīm* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *viṣṇum vācam sarasvatīm* KS. *vācam* is secondarily suggested by *sarasvatīm*; note that KS. places it next to that word. AV. comm. also has *vācam*.

*śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam* (TB. *vicar°*) RV. TB. The latter is perhaps mechanically assimilated to the preceding *car-ato*. Comm. regards it as an intensive formation from root *tear*! (*vikṣepya tvarā yathā bhavati tathā*).

*yuktās tisro vimrjah sūryasya* PB.: *yunajmī tisro viprcah sūryasya* le (MŚ. *virrtah sūryah save*, or *savah*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. Here *j* as well as *c* is involved, cf. next. See §57.

#### *j* and *i*

§157. Besides the last variant quoted, we find several miscellaneous lexical variants; the phonetic aspects are faint:

*śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam* (ApŚ. *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣam svāhā* PB. ApŚ. *vrajam* hardly makes sense and is clearly secondary. *tato yajñas tāyate viśvadānīm* KS. MŚ.: *tato yajño jāyate viśvadānīm* TB. ApŚ. *yajñas tāyate* is standard, cf. e.g. RV. 7. 10. 2. 9. 102. 7. 10. 90. 15. It is interesting that Knauer reports all mss. but one of MŚ. as reading *tyāyate*, a middle stage leading to the lect. fac. *jāyate*.

*devā no yajñam ṛtutā* (TB. ApŚ. *ṛjudhā*) *nayantu* VS. TB. ApŚ. *yajñam ṛtutā* is supported by RV. 1. 170. 5. 8. 44. 8; but in RV. 2. 3. 7 the two points of view blend in *rju yakṣatah* . . . *yajantāv ṛtutā*. They are in fact nearly synonymous.

*saṁ bāhubyām dhāmati* (etc., §853) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

#### *c* and *d*

§158. Four cases, all lexical, three with secondary *c* for *d*; in the first *ucyate* is due to assimilation of *sense* to the preceding *vacas*:

*saṁāya vaca udyutam* (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

*girā-girā ca dakṣase* (KS. *cakṣase*) RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. PB. ApŚ.

*sadā* (MŚ. *śacyā*) *pakṣyanti sūrayah* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

NrpU. and other Up. One ms. of KS. has *sadyā*!

*ajāizmādyāsanaṁ ca* (AV. °*sanāmādyā*) RV. AV. *ca* and *adya*.



## j and d

§159. Here occurs the purely phonetic variant of *dy* and *jy* in the roots *dyut*, *jyut* (Wackernagel, I §140a). It is flanked by a pair of hyper-Sanskritic readings in which *jyām* and *jman* are displaced by *dyām*, and by another case or two in which similar tendencies have had influence:

*sahasriyo dyotatām* (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*, MS. *°rīyo jyotatām*) *aprayuchan*  
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*ava jyām iva dhanvmanā* SV. Vait. Kauś. ApMB.: *ava dyām iva dhanvmanā*  
HG. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29.

*upa jmann upa vetase* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *upa dyām upa vetasam* AV.  
Vait. Kauś. The absurd AV. reading involves, like the preceding,  
a sort of hyper-Sanskritism; see Whitney's note.

*pavamānaḥ so adya naḥ* RV. VS.: *paṣ° svarjanaḥ (suar°)* MS. KS. TB.  
ApŚ. HG. BDh. In a secondary lect. fac., *dy* becomes *j*.

*imam* (MS. *imam ca*, VS. TS. ŚŚ. *ya imam*) *yajñam sudhaya* (KS.  
AŚ. *°yā ca*, MS. *sudhaya*) *dadanto* (AŚ. *yajante*, ŚŚ. *bhujante*) VS.  
TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*daivyaḥ dhātṛe joṣṭṛe* (MS. *dhātṛe deṣṭṛe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note  
the palatal diphthong after *d*, which is however doubtless secondary.

*uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāt* (HG. *°sāham*; ApMB. *°vādi pṛtanāji*) RVKh. HG.  
ApMB. If ApMB. is correct (v. l. *°vāji* is recorded) it is a hyper-  
Sanskritic absurdity; no form of root *rad* can be concerned here.

*prati śma* (AV. *sma*) *raḁṣaso dāha* (AV. *jahi*) RV. AV.

*ichanto 'paridaktān* ApMB.: *īpsantaḥ pariḁāktān* HG. See critical  
notes on HG. 2. 3. 7. Both forms seem uninterpretable. Olden-  
berg on HG., 'visiting those who wake (?)', apparently under-  
standing *°jāgrtān*.

*erum tundānā* (TS. *perum tuñjānā*) *patyeva jāyā* AV. TS. Roots *tuj*  
and *tud* are practically synonyms. See Whitney on AV. 6. 22. 3,  
Keith on TS. 3. 1. 11. 8, and cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 1. 45. 4.  
The AV. comm. reads *tuñjānā*.

*mā na āyuh param avaraṇ mīnadonaiḥ* MS.: *mā naḥ param adharaṇ*  
(MS. *ḥadhanaiḥ*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MS. *naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. See §836.

## j and dh

§160. Only lexical variants:

*mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā* (MS. *jajanaḥ janiṣṭham*) RV. VS.  
MS. KS. TB. Cognate verb and noun are both altered in MS. to  
suit a more familiar aspect of the mother function, tho the super-

lative *janīṣṭha* is not otherwise recorded: 'when the mother has borne a most prolific son'. Cf. the following similar variant.  
*oṣadhībhyah paśubhyo me dhanāya* (TS. *paśave no janāya*) TS. KS. ApŚ.† MS.

*athāsya madhyam ejatu* VS. LŚ.: *athāsya* (TS. MS. TB. °*syā*) *madhyam edhatām* (Vait. °*tu*, AŚ. LŚ. *ejatu*, ŚŚ. *ejati*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: *adhāsya madhyam edhatām* KSA.

#### *y* and *d*

§161. This seems a natural place to append two variants between *y* and *d*, in the first of which *y* seems to be secondary, while the second is dubious (*yaśo* seems to make better sense). The phenomenon may have phonetic meaning, continuing the relations between *j* and *d* on the one hand, and between *j* and *y* (below, §§192f.) on the other.

*sūyavasiniṁ manave* (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. °*syē*; TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*diśo* (TB. *yaśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇāḥ* (TB. °*ṇām*) TB. AŚ. Note that *d* is followed by *i*.

#### 6. PALATALS AND LABIALS

§162. Only a few cases, hardly showing phonetic tendencies. We do not include here cases like *kakup* (TS. *kakuc*) *chandaḥ*, where the TS. reading represents *t* in sandhi, since they belong under dentals and labials, §178:

*lasyāś le sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyaś carameṇa pakunā kṛiyāmi* TS.: *parameṇa paśunā kṛiyase* (MS. *kṛiyasva*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Corruption in TS.; see Keith. Yet *carama* is not far from *parama* in meaning.

*vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā* (SV. *panīṣṭhaye*) RV. SV. See §86.

*vāyosāvitra* (MS. *vāyusavitr̥bhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA.

#### 7. LINGUALS AND DENTALS

§163. In the main, the Sanskrit linguals are derived from dentals, influenced by neighboring *ṛ*, *r* (*l*, *l*) or *ṣ*, whether actually found or historically assumable (Wackernagel I §§145-7). There are also cases of analogical transfer of lingualization (ibid. §148a; cf. especially §133. note); and also of linguals due to dissimilation (ibid. §156a). In some cases, however, it seems that linguals are due to Prakritic influence. Namely: dentals are often replaced in Prakrit by linguals, without the



influence of any adjacent sound (Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §§218-25); some dialects show the reverse tendency. Especially *n* becomes *ṇ* in almost all Prakrit dialects (Pischel §224). The same spontaneous interchanges between dentals and linguals occur in Sanskrit and Vedic under the influence of popular speech, giving rise to Vedic variants with both sounds. Classification of the individual sounds is unnecessary since the entire series is subject to the same tendencies. We include also the nasals *ṇ* and *n*, except when *n* is conditioned by the normal rules for lingualization of *n* (on which see §§945-54).

§164. We shall begin with cases in which there is no reasonable doubt of the lexical equivalence of the forms with dental and lingual, and in which we hold that the lingualization is spontaneous, that is, dialectic, in the same class with spontaneous lingualization in Prakrit. Here first we have three cases of *avaṇa* = *avata*, the latter each time in RV. We may remark that the derivation of this word from an adverb *avar* (Bartholomae, *IF* 3. 179, approved by Wackernagel I §146a), leaves *avata* unexplained and seems to us unlikely.

*avalāṣya* (SV. *avalāṣya*) *visarjane* RV. SV.

*iṣṭtāhavam avatam* RV.: *niṣṭtāhavam avatam* TS. ApS.

*gāva upāvalāvatam* (SV. *upā vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. VS.

§165. Next, some demonic names in the Grhya Sūtras, in which no influence of liquid or lingual sibilant, and no dissimilation, are at all imaginable; it is simply a case of lingual for dental spontaneously: *tekaś ca sasaramaṇaṅkaś ca* HG.: *tekaś ca sasaramaṇaṇdaś ca* ApMB. *manthākako* (HG. *maṇḍākako*) *ha vaḥ pītā* HG. ApMB.

In the following doubtful word, the lingual of MS. KapS. may be due to the preceding *r*.

*aīḍamṛdā paryudhaḥ* KS.: *aiḷabydā* (MS. *°mṛdā*, KapS. *īlamṛdā*) *āyur-yudhaḥ* (TS. *paryudhaḥ*; MS. *vo yudhaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. See §241. Cf. also *aḥar* (MS. *vahad*, v. l. *vahaṭ*, p.p. *vahaṭ*) *divābhīr* (MS. *divyābhīr*) *ātibhīh* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. IŚ. See §§272, 272a.

Next an isolated variant concerning the root or roots *paṇ*, *pan*, which we think can best be explained as spontaneous (dialectic) lingualization, cf. Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1. 199ff. For attempts to explain *paṇ* as going back to an IE. root containing a liquid, see Wackernagel I §172b, note, d. note:

*sā me satyāṣīr devān gamyāj juṣṭāj juṣṭatara panyāt panyatara* (KS. *panyāt panyatara*) MS. KS. ApS. Cf. Durga on N. 6. 8 (Roth's Erläuterungen 76 foot).

§166. These are the only clear cases of 'spontaneous' lingualization.

The curious form *padbhis* which varies twice with *padbhī* has been explained in this way; this would be more likely if the lingualization were not restricted entirely to the instr. plural. Some obscure-lingualizing influence may be suspected, but nothing so far proposed is very convincing. Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP* 11. 350ff.; *Johns Hopkins Circulars*, 1906, 15ff.; Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 63. 300ff.; Pischel, *Ved. St.* 1. 228ff.:

*uro vā padbhir* (Kauś. *padbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś. SMB. \**ta*, but Jørgensen \**to*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.

*padbhī* (ApŚ. *padbhī*) *caturbhir akramāt* AV. ApŚ. One mś. at AV. 3. 7. 3 also *padbhī*; but Ppp. *pad*°.

§167. In the case of one word the 'correct' form requires a lingual (final of root *rah*), and the dental is due to dissimilation from a preceding lingual; see Wackernagel I §156a, who quotes this form, noting that TS. has *ditya-vāt* and *turya-vāt* in the same passage where *paṣṭha-vāt* occurs. This proves that dissimilation is responsible for *t*:

*paṣṭhavāt* (TS. \**vād*) *vayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. ApŚ.

*paṣṭhavāt* (TS. \**vāc*) *ca me paṣṭhauhi ca me* (MS. omits *me*, twice) VS. TS. MS. KŚ.

§168. Next come a few cases in which it appears that the lingual is or may be due to the original presence of an *r*-sound or *ṣ*; in the first variant the dental occurs in a different verb-form where the conditions causing lingualization were lacking, in the others it may be due to dissimilation, since the preceding syllables contain *r*:

*grhā mā bibhīta mā repadhvam* (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepīdhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

ŚG. HG. *vepīdhvam* is an *iṣ*-aorist, *repadhvam* present.

*purovāta* (KŚ. \**to*) *jinva rāvaḥ* (KŚ. *rāvat*) *svāhā* MS. KŚ.: *purovāto varṣaḥ jinvar āvṛt svāhā* TS. ApŚ. And similarly other formulas, beginning *tapati* etc.; all in TS. 2. 4. 7. 2, MS. 2. 4. 7, KŚ. 11. 9; all containing the sacrificial exclamations *rāvaḥ* etc. in the same forms. A natural assumption would be that the lingual *ṣ* in MS. is due to an originally preceding vocalic *r*, as in TS. (which divides badly, *jinvar-āvṛt* for *jinva-rāvṛt*); the dental *t* of KŚ. might be due to dissimilation to the initial *r*. But cf. §632. The words are mere interjections and any form would pass.

*vīkīrīda* (VS. \**dro*, KŚ. \**da*) *vilohita* VS. TS. KŚ.: *vyakṛḍa vilohita* MS. Obscure epithets of Rudra; cf. TB. *atī-kīrīḍa*. The original presence of an *r*-sound, before or after *d*, seems indicated by VS. and MS. The dental of TS. may again be due to the *r* of the preceding syllable, thru dissimilation.

§169. Finally we come to lexical variants, tapering off into mere



corruptions. First, the ritualistic root *id* and its derivatives are confused several times with more or less similar but independent forms. Twice the SV. substitutes the more banal *indh*, 'kindle' (Agni is the object both times) for *id* 'revere':

*agnim idita* (SV. *indhita*) *martyaḥ* RV. SV.

*yam sīm* (SV. *sam*) *id anya idate* (SV. *indhate*) RV. SV.

The same *id* figures along with the similar *vid* (and adjective *vidu*) in exchange with other similar forms of different etymologies:

*tigmam anīkam viditam sahasvat* AV.: *tigmam āyudham vīditam* (KS. °dham *īditam*) *saḥasvat* TS. MS. KS. In AV. *vīditam* 'found', is evidently a poor reading for *vīditam*; certainly KS. *īditam* is equally secondary.

*dhizane vīdū* (VS. VSK. *vīdū*, KS. *vīte*, MS. MŚ. *īdite*) *sati* (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) *vīdayethām* (MS. MŚ. *īdethām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *vīdū* or *vīdei* 'firm'; *vīte* 'pleasant'; *īdite* 'revered'. KS. is the only one that has an adjective not related to the verb, which we take as proof of its secondariness. KapŚ. has *īdite vīdayethām*.

§170. The rest are sporadic:

*pari na heṭi rudrasya vṛjyāḥ* (VSK. °yāt) RV. VSK.: *pari na heḍo varuṇasya vṛjyāḥ* RV, *heṭi* and *heḍas* are quasi-synonyms. See the list of very similar formulas, RVRep. 573.

*divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vicakṣe* MŚ.: *devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ. †*niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vitasthe* VSK. TB. KS. ApŚ. See §156.

*yajñam* (KS. *yajñiṣṭā*) *yajñam prati devayajbhyah* (KS. † ŚŚ. † °*yajbhyah*) VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. The stem *deva-yaj* (in sandhi °*yaj*) varies with the denominative participle *devayat*, virtually a synonym, but probably secondary.

*sarasvatyā* (AV. °*yām*) *aihi manāḥ* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; AV. *manāḥ*; SMB. Conc. *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāḥ*) *acarkṣuḥ* (KS. SMB. Jørgensen, *acarkṣuḥ*, SMB. Conc. *carkṣiḥ*, KS. v. l. *acark°*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. The original reading is probably that of most texts (loc. of *manu*, 'on behalf of Manu'); but the AV. (loc. of *manī*) is capable of interpretation ('over a luckstone').

*aśādhāya sahamāndya vedhase* (TB. *mīdhuse*) RV. TB. N.

*ghṛtaḥ duhānā vīrataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravīnāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. See §198.

*pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā* TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838. *nḍvaḥ varanti svasica iyānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo vijanti susico na vīyih* MS. KS.

*mā na agnīḥ* (p.p. *agnīḥ*) *nīrtir mā na āśān* (p.p. *āśthām*) MŚ.: *mā na rudro nīrtir mā na usā* TA. See §87.

In ŚŚ. 17. 12: 1 *sarā vinudya savitrīdyah* (cf. critical note, top of p. 276) is suspicious as regards its linguals.

### 8. DENTALS AND LABIALS

§171. Interchanges of dentals and labials is rarely if ever purely phonetic. It is chiefly lexical, concerning in large part words which approach one another in meaning, but are etymologically unrelated. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large proportion of these variants concern the voiced aspirates. Possibly a specially close phonetic relation may exist between *dh* and *bh*; we may recall that both exchange with *h* (§§115ff., 122).

#### *dh* and *bh*

§172. We shall begin with these, and first of all with the considerable list of variants between the prepositions *abhi* and *adhi*. Both of these vary with other prepositions, but far oftener with each other, chiefly on account of their similarity in sound no doubt, tho in some aspects they are not far apart in meaning too:

*bhadbrād abhi* (AV. Kauś. *adhi*) *krēyah prehi* AV. TS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

*svapnah svapnādhikarāṇe* RVKh.: *svapna svapnābhikarāṇena* AV.

*brahmādhiguptah* (PG. *brahmābhī*?) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitah syām*) *svāhā* AG. PG.: *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣānah* MG. See Stenzler's Translation of AG. 2. 4. 14 (p. 73, n. 2), and the critical note on MG. 2. 8. 6.

*tayar devā adhisaṁvasantah* ApŚ.: *tasyām devā adhi saṁvasantah* TS. TB.: *yasyām* (v. l. *asyām*) *devā abhi saṁvīśantah* MŚ.

*vīśvāsur abhi tan no grṇātu* RV. TA.: *vīśvhir adhi tan no grṇāno* etc. MS.

*samānamūrdhnīr abhi* (PG. *adhi*) *lokam ekam* TS. MS. KS. PG.: *tā ekamūrdhnīr abhi lokam ekam* AV.

*trīṇi dhāmāny abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TA. Mahān U. *idam* (PG. *imam*) *tam adhītiṣṭhāmi* (PG. MG. *abhi*?) ŚŚ. AG. MG. PG.

*ṛtasya nābhāu adhi* (AV. *abhi*) *saṁ punāmi* (AV. *punāti*) RV. AV.

*na vai śvetasyābhyācāre* (AG. *śvetaś cābhyācāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

*mā rudriyāso abhi gur vrdhānah* (MS. *abhi gulbadhānah*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuh*) MŚ.

*adhi akanda vraynsva* AV.: *abhi kranda vilayassa* ŚG.

*ṛjīḍm putro adhirāja eṣah* (AŚ. *avirāja eṣah*; AV. *abhiṣastipā u*; VS.



ŚB. *abhiśastipāwā*; TB. *abhiśastipā ayam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
ŚB. TB. AŚ. SMB. N.

*yamo rājābhitiṣṭhati* (KS. MŚ. *rājadhī*\*) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§173. As the roots *śabh* and *śabh* were seen to interchange (§137), so the roots *śudh* and *śubh*, whose conjugations are parallel, interchange freely, without preference on the part of individual texts except that AV. seems to prefer *śubh* (five times); Whitney's *Index Verborum* confirms this tendency:

*tena mā saha śundhata* (AV. *śumbhantu*) RV. AV. See VV I p. 239.  
*tāni brāhmā tu* (AV. ApMB. *brāhmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*; ApMB. *śaṁsati*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*śumbhantām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ* AV.: *śundhantām* etc. VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. MŚ.: *śundhatām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

*śumbhaṁ mukhaṁ mā na āyuh pra moṣiḥ* AV.: *śundāhi* (*śundhi*) *śiro nāṣyāyuh pra moṣiḥ* AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

*āpaḥ śundhantu* (AV. *viśve śumbhantu*) *mainasah* AV. VS. KS. ŚB. TB.  
*antaḥ śubhrāvata* (SV. *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV. SV.

§174. An interesting extension of the preceding correspondence appears in one case where *śūd*, instead of *śudh*, varies with *śubh*; this seems to be rooted in the rather standard relations of *śubh* and *śudh*, the latter being replaced by *śūd*:

*aśūśubhanta* (TS. TB. *aśūśudanta*) *yajñiṣṭa rtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

§175. In the remaining variants between *dh* and *bh* lexical similarity, to the point of synonymy, continues to enter in largely. Thus in two cases of the participles *dhīta* and *bhīta*, which must be appraised in the light of the relations of *hīta* and *bhīta*, §118:

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhītaṁ bibhartu* (Ppp. *pīpartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu śūhītaṁ dadhātu* TB.

*garbha iva* (SV. KU., Poley's ed., *ivet*) *subhīta garbhiniḥbhīḥ* (RV. *śudhīta garbhiniṣu*) RV. SV. KU.

§176. Some of the remaining examples show such a degree of synonymy that we might expect a larger number of variants:

*dhartāras* (ApMB. *bhar*\*) *te* (MG. *te subhage*) *mekhale mā riṣāma* SMB. ApMB. MG.

*bhukṣimahi* (TS. MS. KS. Vait. *dhukṣimahi*) *prajāṁ iṣam* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

*anādhrīṣṭa apasyo vasāndh* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭa apasyuvo vasānaḥ* TS. Both mean 'undefeated'.

*saṁ bāhubhyām dhamatī* (AV. *bharatī*, TS. TA. *namatī*, KS. *namate*, MS. *\*bhyām adhamatī*) *saṁ patatiraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

*nikīrya* (MŚ, KŚ. *niḡīrya*) *tubhyam madhye* (MŚ. *madhyaḥ*, Vait. *tubhyam abhya āsam*, KŚ. *arvā ādhi*) KŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.  
*avikṣobhāya* (KS. *°kṣobhāya*) *paridhīn dadhāmi* KS, TB, ApŚ. 'For non-disturbance': 'for non-hunger'. KS. makes inferior sense.  
*andha sthāndho vo bhakṣīya* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *ambhaḥ* (TS. ŚŚ. *ambha*) *sthāmbho vo bha°* TS, MS, KS, ŚŚ, ApŚ. MŚ, MG. *andhaḥ* '(soma-) juice': *ambhaḥ* 'waters'.  
*bhāṇsaso* (ApMB. *dhvāṇsaso*) *vī vrhāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. Here ApMB. is meaningless.

#### Aspirate and non-aspirate dentals and labials

§177. There are a few sporadic cases of *bh* and *d*, *t*, and *dh* and *p*:  
*vī senābhīr dayamāno* (SV. *bha°*) *vī rādhasā* RV. SV. *bhayamāno* is absurd, since the word is an epithet of Indra. Benfey renders 'furchtbar', which it cannot mean.

*bhūrṇik* (MŚ. v. 1. *tūrṇim*) *devāsa iha suśriyam dadhuh* RV, KS, ApŚ. MŚ.

*dhanamjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh.: *bhūmidrāham acyulam pārayiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidrāho* 'cyulaś' *cyārayiṣṇuḥ* AV. Quasi-synonyms: 'establishing', 'saving'.

§178. Ultimately, tho not superficially, here belong the variants of *kakup* (representing stem *kakubh*) and *kakuc*, *kakut*, *kakud*, *kakun*, all by regular sandhi for *kakud*. Of these two stems, which are perfect equivalents tho of independent origin, TS. and TB. use *kakubh* only before vocalic endings (cf. Weber, *IndSt.* 13. 109, Keith, *HOS* 18. p. xxxviii):

*kakup* (and, *trikakup*) *chandaḥ* VS. MS, KS, ŚB.: *kakuc* (and, *trikakuc*) *chandaḥ* TS.

*kakup* (TB. *kakuc*) *chanda ihendriyam* VS. MS, KS, TB.

*apān napād āsuheman ya ūrmīḥ kakudmān* . . . (MS. *ūrmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakubhēan* . . . , KS. *ūrmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakudmān* . . . ) TS. MS, KS.: *devīr āpo* . . . *yo va ūrmīḥ pratūrtiḥ kakunmān* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. *bṛhaty uṣṇihā kakup* (TS. *kakut*) VS. TS, MS, KSA.

#### *d* and *b*

§179. A single variant between *dulā* and *bulā*, both obscure; applied to fire-bricks:

*ambā ca bulā ca* . . . MS, MŚ.: *ambā dulā* . . . TS.; cf. *ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā* TB. 3. 1. 4. 1.

Another lexical variant:



*abaddham mano* . . . TS. KŚ BDh.: *adabdhāṃ mano* (MŚ. *cakṣur*) . . .  
MŚ. ŚG.

*t* and *p*

§180. These two sounds interchange in quite a number of cases, usually in words which are near-synonyms, and seldom showing phonetic tendencies:

*tiro rajānē asṛtaḥ* (SV. *asṛtaḥ*) RV. SV. Both mean 'unconquerable'.

The RV. version occurs also with accusative *asṛtam*, 8. 82. 9b. *ye cū pūrva ṛtasṛpaḥ* (AV. \**sātāḥ*) RV. AV. Cf. RV. 1. 179. 2a, *ye cid dhī pūrva ṛtasṛpa ōsan*, which confirms the RV. reading, if confirmation were necessary to condemn the unintelligent version of AV, ('won by *ṛta*', instead of the standard 'tending, loving the *ṛta*').

*matarāśaḥ prasūpaḥ* (SV. \**taḥ*) *sākam vṛate* RV. SV. Epithets of Soma.

The SV. rationalizes desperately a word it does not understand (comm. *prakarṣeṇa sūtāḥ* [!], *abhiṣūtāḥ*). Benfey, 'zeugend' = *pra-zu(t)*, but the comm. is right to the extent of connecting SV.'s word with *as* 'press'. The RV. reading is obscure; cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 9. 69. 6 (suggesting a derivative of *sup* = *map*).

*śahaiḥ śantaraṇo* (TA. *sampāraṇo*) *bhava* VS. TA. Practically synonyms; both 'rescuing'.

*derair nyupā* (KS. *nūtā*, AV. *uktā*) *vyazurpo mahitā* (AV. \**team*)  
AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §130.

*yat kṣureṇa marcayātā* (MG. *vartayātā*) *supēśasā* (AV. MG. *sūtēśasā*)  
AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Nearly synonyms. See §156.

*upa* (MS. *utā*) *no mīlītearunāḥ ihāsetam* (MS. \**ṇā ihāyatam*) MS. TB.  
TA.

*mitro* (VS. *vipro*) *bābhūva saprathāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

*sacetasā* (VSK. \**śā*; delete 'MS.' in Cone.) *arepasau* VS. VSK. ŚB.:

*sacetasau sacetasau* TB.: *samokasau sacetasā arepasau* MS.: *samokasā* (KS. \**śā*) *arepasau* TS. KS. Kauś. The TB. has a lect. fac. to match *samokasau* which immediately precedes *sacetasau* (comm. *ekakarmaprasartakau bhūtvā*).

*yo gopā api* (TB. ApŚ. *gopāyati*) *taṃ huve* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. The denominative verb makes the same sense as the noun with copula 'understood.'

*sūśvati somapitsuru* (TS. *sumatīsuru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.:

*sūśvati somasatsuru* AV.—Ppp. (Roth) *sūśvati* (intending *sūśvati*) *somapitsulam*. For *sūśvati*, Whitney 'well-lying', but

it is a mere corruption. Whitney and Keith regard the TS. reading as the correct one; in that case the reading \**pītsaru* would contain dissimilation. But it is improbable that the isolated TS. has the original reading. With Mahīdhara, *somapi* may be taken as 'soma-drinker'; and *somasa* as 'soma-winner' (cf. *paśu-sā*, *priya-sā*, both RV.); both would refer to the *yajamāna*, and the epd. would mean 'having a handle (ready) for the *yajamāna*' (or perhaps AV. 'having a soma-winning handle').

*dhipsyām vā sañcakara janebhyah* MS.: *aditsan vā sañjagara janebhyah* TA. 'Intending to deceive': 'not intending to give'. Others, §45. *āsannizūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. KSA. MS. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuwāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter is wholly secondary; see §820.

*ṛṣān na narṇam ertsamānaḥ* AV.: *nen na ṛṣān ṛṣava it samānaḥ* TA.: *nen na ṛṣān ṛṣavān īpsamānaḥ* MS. In AV. desid. of *ā* + *ṛdh*; but comm. *ecchamānaḥ*, which suggests that TA. intends *iccha*<sup>o</sup> (phonetic confusion of *ts* and *ch*). MS. has a synonym, likewise with phonetic confusion of *ps* and *ch*.

*tato na (nā tato, nā tadā) vicikīṣati (vijugupsate)* VS. VSK. ŚB. BrhU. KU. IśāU. See §45. Here the variation between *ts* and *ps* is connected with the approach of both of them to the Prakritic *ch*; see §182.

#### *n* and *m*

§181. There are finally some cases of interchange between the dental and labial nasals. Sometimes this concerns the indicative and subjunctive personal endings *mī* and *nī*; these concern verbal inflection and may be found recorded in VV I §§104c, 118, 119, 124; to §119 should be added the following, omitted there:

*pratilāmīti* (AŚ. °*allī*, TS. KSA. TB. *pra sulāmīti*) *te pītā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The verbs concerned are obscure, and evidently taken from popular (vulgar) language.

The rest are scattering:

*agdhād eko 'hulād ekaḥ samasanād ekaḥ* TS.: *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko . . . sanāsanād ekaḥ* MŚ. TS., 'eater of what is gathered' (Keith). Knauer takes the MŚ. form as *sana* + *a-sana* + *ad*. Both uncertain. Assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned.

*mademendram* (MS. *maden*<sup>o</sup>) *yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *maden*<sup>o</sup>, without justification; the opt. *madema* is probably the original form. The other, with instr.



sg. *mādena*, is however construable, the pāda being then made dependent on the verb of the preceding sentence. Assimilation or dissimilation in MS.?

*kad ra ṛtaṁ kad anṛtam* (SV. *anṛtam*) RV. SV. See Benfey's note in his translation of SV., which is obviously secondary.

*ṛcam* (ApMB. *ṛcām*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV. *mayanty*) *adhvare* (AV. *\*ram*) RV. AV. ApMB. Clearly a secondary effort in AV. to make an obscure passage 'sensible'.

*abhiṁam* (TS. *\*māṁ*, MS. MŚ. v. 1. *\*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ. v. 1. *\*mā*) *divam* (MS. *divah*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. In the original the subject is Mitra, who encompasses 'this heaven by his greatness'; in the secondary VS. *mahimā* (acc. to Mahtdhara, Agni's 'greatness') is made the subject.

*jāmin* (KS. *ṛcam*) *mā hincīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *sayāna* KS. TB. MŚ.: *mā jāmin moṣīr amuyā sayānam* AV. The MŚ. is clearly secondary.

*akṣāṇām vagnum* (MS. *ṛvagnum*, AV. *gaṇam*, read *gatnum*) etc., AV. MS. TB. TA. See §832.

*pīteva putraṁ jarasā nayemam* (MS. *mā emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. See §835.

*nen na ṛdān* . . . TA.: *nem na ṛdān* . . . MS. See §180. Particles *id* and *tra*.

*śūra nṛjāṁ kavasoḥ* (SV. MS. *śra\**) *cakānah* (SV. *ca ṛkāne*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

## CHAPTER V. INTERCHANGES CONCERNING PALATALS

§182. Here we group a rather miscellaneous assortment of interchanges concerning palatal mutes, and the palatal semi-vowel and sibilant, which do not seem to fit well elsewhere. The regular correspondences between palatal mutes and those of other series (§§126-34, 154-61) contain some similar phenomena; and for the palatal sibilant and semi-vowel exchanging with other sibilants and semi-vowels, see the appropriate sections below. Notably the variations between *c* and *t* (§156), and still more those between *d* and *j* (§159) and *d* and *y* (§161), contain matters similar to the shift between *j* and *y* (below, §192). Also the exchange between *kṣ* and *ts* (§140), *kṣ* and *ps* (§153a), and *ts* and *ps* (§180, end) belong with the exchange of all these sounds with *ch*, as in the next following sections.

### 1. *ch* varying with *kṣ*, *ts*, *ps*

§183. These changes are distinctly Prakritic; cf. above, §26; and note the references mentioned in the last paragraph. The shift occurs in both directions; when *kṣ* etc. are secondarily substituted for *ch*, this is to be regarded as hyper-Sanskritism. Confusion often occurs in the mss., so that it is sometimes not certain what a particular text really read in a given passage. As examples of pure blunders in mss. we may mention *etatsarṇdah* for *etac chandah* MS. 3, p. 22, n. 3; *ārchata* for *ārṇsata*, *ibid.* 1, p. 18, n. 7; *itsata* for *ichata* Kauś. 73. 15; *palsah* for *pacchah* Kauś. 82. 29. See further BR., s. vv. *kaputsala*, *ucchādana* etc. The pāda *parivādaṁ parikṣavam*, AV. Nakṣ., is read *parichavam* in many AV. mss.; see Lanman's note ap. Whitney; and the Berlin ed. reads *uchantūnnā maruto ghytena* in 3. 12. 4, with all of R-Wh.'s mss. and most of SPP.'s, tho SPP. reads (correctly) *ukṣantūnnā* with three mss. and comm. (Ppp., Barret JAOS 32. 366, has *ukṣantūnnā*, amended by Barret to *\*ādnnā*). Finally—altho the list might easily be extended further—for the pāda *tena yo'smat samr̥chātai*, TA. 2. 4. 1c, the mss. at MS. 4. 14. 17c read twice (247. 1 and 3) corruptly *samr̥tātām*, which von Schroeder emends to the TA. reading.—Mention may also be made of Bloomfield's generally accepted etymology of RV. *kṣu*, as for *\*pāu* (*paśu*), IF 25. 185ff., which implies the same phonetic law.

§184. Most of the genuine variants, which are less numerous than one



might expect from the great confusion shown in the mss., concern *kṣ* and *ch*:

*vācaspate vāco vīryeṇa saṁbhṛtatamenāyakṣase* (TA. <sup>2</sup>*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ. <sup>2</sup>*yachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Tho *āyachase*, 'procure', is a possible alternative for the other reading, derived from *ā-yaj* 'obtain by sacrifice', it is doubtless a mere phonetic corruption. See VV 1 p. 29.

*somī phoṣeṇa yachatu* (SV. *vakṣatu*) RV. SV. The preposition *ā*, found in the preceding pāda, goes with the verbs; *ā-yam* and *ā-vah* are here synonyms, 'bring hither'. SV. is of course secondary, with a sort of hyper-Sanskritic change in phonology.

*tām pūṣānu yachatu* (AV. *pūṣābhi vakṣatu*) RV. AV. *anu-yam* 'guide'; *abhi-vakṣ* 'protect'. Quasi-synonyms; but since the object is the furrow in plowing, AV. is obviously slipshod and secondary, again with hyper-Sanskritic phonetics. The RV. original is much more neat and pointed.

*achalābhiḥ* (KSA. *acharābhiḥ*, MS. *atxarābhiḥ* in p.p., *matxarābhiḥ* in s.p., VS. *ṛkṣalābhiḥ*) *kopīñjalān* VS. MS. TS. KSA. In AV. 10. 9. 23 occurs the form *reharā*, with v. l. *ṛtsarī*, which is supported by Ppp. The word is a name for a part of the horse's body; its original form is quite unknown. Note that *ts* as well as *kṣ* and *ch* occurs. Either *ts* or *kṣ*, or both, must be hyper-Sanskritic. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 29f.

§185. For *ts* and *ch*, besides the variant last quoted, we find:

*namah kṛchrebhyaḥ kṛchrapatibhyaḥ ca vā namah* MS. KS.: *namo grtsebhyaḥ grtsepatibhyaḥ ca vā namah* VS. TS. See §45.

In AV. 19.34. 2a the mss. read mostly *jāgrtsyaḥ tripañcāśiḥ* (v. l. *yā gr°*; Berlin ed. *akṣakṛtyās*, certainly wrongly). For this Ppp. reads (with slight corruption, Barret, JAOS 44. 262) *yāḥ kṛtchcrāx*. For the true Śaunakya reading see §192.

§186. For *ps* and *ch* we have noted only this:

*ichanto* 'paridākr̥tān ApMB.; *īpsantah parijākr̥tān* HQ. The two words are of course perfect synonyms. One is reminded of the false identification of the two stems *icha-* and *īpsa-* by Goldschmidt, Gött. Nachr. 1874, 525, note.

## 2. *ṣy* exchanging with *ś-c* or *s(h)* plus sibilant

§187. In an interesting little group of variants we find a genitive singular noun form in *-ya* varying with another form, generally the nominative case of the same noun, ending in a sibilant or *h*, the last

syllable of the genitive ending being represented by the first syllable of a different word (several times the conjunction *ca*, at other times a longer word beginning in a sibilant). All these cases, of course, involve different word divisions, and so belong to our later chapter on False Divisions. Either reading may be at times the older.

§188. We quote first the cases containing the conjunction *ca*, varying with *-sya*:

*stomo yajñas ca* (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo kavismatā* (TB. \**taḥ*) RV. TB.

The TB. awkwardly detaches *stomo* from the rest of the pāda, and makes *rādhyo* agree with Viṣṇu, with genitives dubiously depending on it; comm., *yajñena team āradhanīyaḥ*.—Here the nominative is the original form; in the next two it is secondary to the genitive;

*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG. *śvetas cābhyācāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In AG. the epithet *śveta* is attracted to the noun *aśir* in the next pāda. Tho the majority reading is undoubtedly original, AG. makes good sense; a snake-king is appealed to, to drive out snakes.

*ubhāv indrā* (ŠB. *indro*) *udīthas sūryas ca* VS. ŠB.: *aya(h)sthūnam* (TS. \**ṇā*) *udīta* (TS. MS. KS. \**tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS.

The Conc. unjustly stigmatizes *indro* of ŠB. as an error; it is a nom. sing., replacing the elliptic dual *indrā* (= Indra and Sūrya) of VS. to match the complementary nom. sing. *sūryas* which follows; cf. Edgerton, KZ 43, 110ff.

*yad uttaradrāv uparāś ca khādataḥ* AV.: *yad apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ.

§189. In the rest the genitive *-sya* varies with a nominative in *h* followed by another, usually a longer word beginning in a sibilant; again the movement may be in either direction:

*dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoḥ* (AV. *supratikaḥ sasūnoḥ*) AV. VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŠB. The AV. secondarily alters the construction, making the epithets nominative to agree with the following, instead of genitive to agree with the preceding. Agni is meant both times. See Whitney on AV. 5, 27, 1.

*dhiyā martas sakamata* (SV. *martasya samataḥ*) RV. SV. The SV. has an unintelligent and far-reaching revision of the whole half-stanza; see VVI p. 164.

*yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*, mss. mostly *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArŚ. Conc. suggests *bhagaś ca* for ArŚ. No doubt PG. is original ('let glory and fortune find me'). But ArŚ. makes *yaśo* object; and since *bhagaś* cannot be accusative, changes it to a dependent genitive: 'let him find glory of fortune'.



*vīprasya dhārayā kavīḥ* RV.: *vīprah sa dhārayā sutah* SV. In SV, the stem *vīpra* is attracted into agreement with the epithet *sutah*, for RV. *kavīḥ*, which is a synonym of *vīpra* and which SV. contains in the preceding *pāda*.

*somah sutasya madhvāḥ* RV.: *somah sutah sa madhvanān* SV. Like the prec.; the genitives are (so naturally!) made to agree with *somah*.

*yunajmī tīro vīprah sūryasya te* (MŚ, *vīpratāh sūryah save*, or *savah*) TS. ApS. MŚ.: *yuktās tīro vīratjāḥ sūryasya* PB.—MŚ. is clearly corrupt.

*mānasya patnī śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā nah sapatnah śaraṇah syonā* HG. The latter is hopelessly corrupt; Oldenberg follows AV. in translating.

### 3. Interchanges of *kṣ*, *kṣ*, and *khy*

§190. The closely analogous phenomenon of interchange between *kḥ* and *ṣ*, *kṣ*, is treated by Wackernagel I §118. Our variants, however, are concerned with the combination *khy* in variation with *kṣ* or *kṣ*. For the most part the forms involved are derived from the root *khyā* 'see', which regularly in MS., and once in KS., is spelled *kṣā*; cf. von Schroeder, Introduction to MS., p. XLIII. In fact the mss. vary greatly; but von Schroeder has generalized the spelling in his edition. This writing is also known to the grammarians.

*anukhyātre* (KS. °*kṣātre*) *namah* KS. GB. Vait. KŚ. The *kṣ* of KS. (both mss.) is the more remarkable since it is immediately preceded by two parallel forms written *-khyā-*.

*vy akhyan* (MS. *akṣan*) *mahiṣo divam* (AV.\* TS. *mahiṣah s(u)rah*) RV. AV. (bis) SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The mss. of MS. vary; p.p. *akhyat*. AVPpp. agrees with RV.

*indra rbhukṣā marutaḥ pari khyan* (MS. *kṣan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. All mss. of MS. here *kṣyān*; p.p. *khyan*.

*anv agnir uṣasām agram akhyat* (MS. MŚ. *akṣat*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApS. MŚ. All mss. of MS. *akṣat* or *akṣyat*; p.p. *akhyat*. But most mss. of MŚ. *akṣat*.

*vikhyāya* (MS. *vikṣāya*) *cakṣuṣā team* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*śvar abhivyakhyam* (MS. MŚ. °*kṣam*) *jyotir vaiśvānaram* MS. KS. MŚ.;

*śvar* (KhG. *śur*) *abhivyakhyam* KS. ApS. GG. KhG.

*nṛcakṣasāḥ trā deva soma sucakṣā avā khyeṣam* (MŚ. *kṣeṣam*) TS. MS. *duṣcakṣāḥ te māvakṣat* (KS. text with one ms. °*kṣat*, v. l. °*khyat*) MS.

KS.: *tam te duṣcakṣā māva khyat* TS.† (so read). Whatever be the writing of KS., the meaning can only be that of *ava-khyā*.

§191. In the following the reverse condition is found; the readings with *khy* are secondary to *kṣ*:

*yas te agne sumatim marto akṣat* (AV. *akhyat*, v. l. *akṣat*) RV. AV. If *akhyat* is the true reading, it makes quite good sense ('has seen', for the original 'has attained', a more recondite and difficult form). *viśvākṣam* (Mahānū. *\*khyam*) *viśvasambhuvam* TA. Mahānū. No doubt *viśvākṣam* 'having eyes all over', is the original; but *viśvākhyam* is felt as a synonym, 'all-seeing'.

*idhmasyeva prakṣāyataḥ* (ŚŚ. *prakhyā\**) TB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Both TB. and TA. comms. derive from root *kṣi* with intransitive meaning(!), 'of him perishing like fuel (in the fire)'; and similarly Caland on ApŚ. Better from *pra-kṣā* (*kṣai*) 'burning up'. In any case the ŚŚ. (all mss.) form shows phonetic decay; it makes no independent sense.

#### 4. *j* and *y* exchanging

§192. The interchanges of these sounds are common enough to prove conclusively the genuine phonetic instability between them in the Vedic language, as in Prakrit. Cf. Wackernagel I §§188b, 140b; and above, our §§156, 159, 161. The change goes in either direction, and often appears in corruptions of the mss.; e.g. in AV. 3. 11. 6 several mss. read *javam* for *yuvam*, and the comm. evidently had this reading before him. Some of our variants may perhaps fairly be called mere corruptions, and indeed some are eliminated in more recent editions of their respective texts. But when is a corruption a true variant? Note the first case:

*yo* (ŚŚ. and GB. Gaastra, *ula*) *padyaḥbhir yaviṣṭhaḥ* (AB. *ja\**) AV. AB. GB. ŚŚ. The Berlin ed. of AV. also reads *javīṣṭhaḥ*, against all mss. There is no doubt that this is the 'correct' form; the word can only mean 'swiftest'. But only AB. reads so in the mss., while not only AV. and its Brāhmaṇa, GB., but the independent ŚŚ., have the 'corrupt' reading! Under these circumstances it seems more conservative to keep the reading of the mss., regarding it as a case of dialectic phonology. Similarly in the next:

*yajñā* (*yajñā*) *netasann* (read, *ned asann*; GB. Gaastra *netar asann*) *apurogavāsah* (*avīcetandāsah*); *yajñād eta sann apuro\**; see §62. Again there is no doubt that *yajñā* is the 'correct' reading, but *j* for *y* occurs persistently in the tradition of various texts.

*tato ha jajñe* (MŚ. *tato 'ham yajñe*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* (MŚ. *goptā*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *te ha jajñe bhu\** *gopāḥ* PB. Here the reverse change has occurred; MŚ. is clearly secondary.



*śatam yo nah śarāṇa ajān* (SMB. Conc. *ajjāt*, comm. *ajjanat*; PG. *jījan*) TS. SMB. PG. But Jørgensen reads for SMB. *ajjāt*; comm. *ajjād ajjāt, aja gatikṣepaṇayoh, . . . gamayatu ity aritah*.

Three mss. of the text read *ajjāt*. See VV I p. 92f.

*saujāmim* (ŚG. *saṃjāmim*), sc. *tarpayāmi*, AG. ŚG. Here *saujāmim* (so v. 1. of ŚG.) is doubtless original. It is a n. pr.

*yajñasya hi stha rviṣā* (TB. ApŚ. *rtviṣau*) RV. SV. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *yajñasya rviṣ-* is established from RV. 1. 1. 1 on.

*tisro yajñasya* (MS. MŚ. *jihvasya*, v. 1. *yah*<sup>o</sup>) *saṃidhah pariṣmanah* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. *jihvasya* probably corrupt, and certainly secondary.

*īśāno vi śyā* (= *śiyā*; TS. *śjā*) *dṛtim* AV. TS. MS. KS. The two forms are synonyms; TS. is secondary.

*jāgrtsyas tripañcāśi* AV. 19. 34. 2a, mss. (v. 1. *yā gr*<sup>o</sup>); R-Wh. *akṣakṛtyās*, a bad emendation abandoned by Whitney, see his note. Read either *yā grtsyas*, or better *yāḥ* (or *yāś ca*) *kṛtyās*. Cf. §185.

*añjanti suprajasaṃ pañca janāḥ* RV. MS., 'the five tribes anoint him (Agni), possessed of good regalement': *yuhjanti suprajasaṃ* etc., AVPpp. 2. 74. 1 (Barret, JAOS 30. 244), 'the five tribes employ him of good offspring' (secondary but not bad Vedic sense).

§193. Somewhat remoter are the following:

*hrdo asu antaram taj juṣoṣat* (TA, *tad yuṣota*) RV. KS. TA.—TA. secondary.

*saṃcatsarasya dhāyasā* (AV. VS. *tejasā*) AV. VS. TS. KSA. HG.

*ramayata* (KS. *ṛtā*) *marutaḥ byenam āyinaṃ* (MŚ. *ṛtaḥ pretam vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*āśum tvājan* (ApŚ. *ākhun tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Corrupt in ApŚ.; Caland translates the KS. reading. Explained in §296.

*ya rto* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rto*, P.B. *†yakṣate*) *cid abhikṣiṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. *†* 9. 10. 1a, TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG.: *jari cetid* (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti, it*) *abhikṣiṣaḥ* MS. (corrupt).

### 5. Palatal stops and *ṣ*(*ṣ*)

§194. There are next a number of cases of palatal stops varying with the palatal sibilant, or once with the lingual sibilant (which varies frequently, as we shall see, with the palatal sibilant, so that this variant may represent the same tendency). But in all cases the lexical element is so marked as to make uncertain the degree to which real sound change enters. The single case of *ṣ* is:

*abhy arçata* (AV. Vait. Kauś. *arçata*) *suṣṭutim garyam ājim* RV. AV. VS. KS. Vait. ApŚ. Kauś. For the favorite formula *abhy-arç* with *suṣṭutim* see *RVRep.* 523ff. The AV. variant is a lect. fac. (root *stu* suggests the synonym *arc*).

§195. The rest concern é:

*pratyāñ janān saṁcukocāntakāle* N. in Durga (Roth, *Erläuterungen* 12, n. 4); *pratyāñ janān tiṣṭhati sarvatomukhaḥ* (ŚvetU. and ŚirasU. \**tiṣṭhati saṁcukocāntakāle*) VS. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. Dhātup. has a root *kuś* 'embrace, enfold', with which Durga's form seems connected.

*ayasmayam vicrtā* (KS. *viśtā*, v. l. \**dytā*) *bandham etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayasmayān vi cṛtā bandhapāsān* AV. The original *vicrtā* means 'loosen thou'. KS. seems felt as 2 plur. from *vi-ṣṭ* 'destroy', but there is no explanation of the plural.

*viśvasya deṣṭ mṛcayasya* (ŚŚ. *mṛśa*°) *janmanah* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *mṛcayasya* is rendered 'perishable'; perhaps better with causative force, 'injurious'. ŚŚ's *mṛśa*° may well be a corruption, but the word is obscure in either form.

*prthivyāḥ saṁprcaḥ* (MS. MŚ. °*cas*, VS. ŚB. *saṁsprśas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *divaḥ saṁsprśas* (MS. *saṁprcas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. The two words are synonyms.

*śvitro* (MS. *citra*) *raḥṣitā* AV. MS. TS. ApMB. Also: *śvitra* (MS. *citra*) *ādityānām* VS. MS. Again the two words are synonyms. Some AV. mss. have *citra* in the first variant; Ppp. ms. *śattro*, Barret *JAOŚ* 32. 370 em. *śvitro*.

*yat kṣureṇa marcayatā* (MG. *varṭayatā*) *sutejasa* (AG. PG. HG. ApMB. *supesasa*) AV. AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

*agre* (TB. *agne*, Poona ed. *agre*) *yajñasya cetataḥ* (RV. *śocataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.

*ūrdhvacitaḥ* (MS. KS. °*śritaḥ*) *kṛayadhvam* (VS. text *ṣṇa*°, doubtless misprint tho repeated in comm., which glosses *sevadhvam*; ŚB. correctly *kṛa*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Assimilation to *kṛayadhram* in MS. KS.

*mṛśase* (SV. *mṛjyase*) *parase mātī* RV. SV. The change from (*pari-*) *mṛś* 'thou dost embrace', to *mṛjyase* 'thou art purified', is suggested by the following *parase*, or by recollection of *mṛjyase soma sātaye* RV. 9. 56. 3.

*chlīṭipu chlīṭigate* ŚŚ.: *āstīṭipu ślīṭigate* AV. (mss.; R-Wh. em. *āstīṭikṣum kīṭikṣate*). Unknown words.

*tanūpās* (TB. Conc. *tanūpāc*, Poona ed. text and comm. *tanūnapāc*) *ca sarawatī* VS. KS. TB. The TB. (which obviously reads *tamū-*



*napāc*) has repeated this word from the preceding *pāda*, where it occurs as a name of Agni. The other reading is clearly original.

#### 6. Miscellaneous

§196. Finally, a couple of miscellaneous variants, in two of which *j* and *h* vary, in the other *kṣ* and *bj*:

*mahnā jinoṣi* (MS. *kinoṣi*) *mahini* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N. Synonymous rime-words.

*āyurdā* (*āyuzmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*haviṣo*, *haviṣā*) *vṛṇanah* (etc.), see §854.

*dīvyah kośah samukṣitah* MS.: *daivyah kośah* (AV. *devakośah*) *samubhūtah* AV. TS. KS. The MS. reading is a riming corruption.

## CHAPTER VI. LABIAL MUTES AND V AND M

§197. The variants in this chapter are in large part genuinely phonetic. Especially the section on *b* and *v* is related to the almost complete confusion between these sounds in the later dialects; and the interchanges of *v* and *m* also are rooted deeply in phonetic relations between these sounds. But morphological relations, as for instance the parallel noun suffixes in *v* and *m*, are also concerned; and merely graphic corruptions likewise have no doubt played an important part, especially as between *v*, *b*, and *p*.

*p* (once, *ph*) and *v*

§198. Here we have undertaken to separate the cases in which *p* is the more original; they are listed in the following:

*yas tāni* (TA. MahānU. *tad*) *veda sa pituh* (AV. *sa pituḥ*, most mss. *pituh*, TA. *savituh*) *pitāsat* AV. VS. TA. MahānU.: *yas tā vijānāt sa pituḥ* (TA. *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. TA. N. 'He shall be Savitar's father' is an absurd but persistent mouthing over of 'he shall be the father's father'; cf. Bergaigne 2. 104, 108.

*abhīśaster avasparat* (SV. *avasvarat*) RV. SV. 'Fight away': 'sound away'; in either case 'protect' (SV. comm. *pālayatu*). But *ava-spar*, and not *ava-svar*, is elsewhere used in this sense; see e.g. RV. 10. 39. 6, 8. 66. 14.

*ṛtasya goptrī tapasah paraspī* (SMB. °*vī*, MG. *tarutrī*) SMB. ApMB. MG. *paraspī* 'protectress (of *tapas*)'. *parasvī* (also in some mss. of ApMB.) may be a case of dissimilation from initial *p* (comm. *utkr̥ṣṭadhanarūpā*).

*spārḥā* (TB. *svāruḥā*) *yasya śriyo dr̥śe* RV. KS. TB. And:

*spārḥo* (TB. *svāruho*) *deva niyutvatā* RV. SV. VS. TB. The TB. reading is of course secondary, and unmetrical. Comm., wobblingly, once *sugṭhu ratham ārūḍhaḥ*, once *śvasmād eva prarūḍhāḥ*.

*hiranyaparna śakune* PG.: *hiranyavarṇah śakunah* MU.: *hiranyapakṣah śakunih* HG. Practically synonyms. Contrast *darbhah śṛṇṇā* etc. under §200.

*jāmim ṛtā māra patsi lokāt* AV.: *jāmim itvā mā vivṛtsi lokān* TA. The AV. original: 'may I, going to my kin, not fall from heaven'. Poona ed. of TA. reads *jāmi mitvā mā vivṛtsi lokāt* (v. l. *lokān*).



- Its comm. regards the second person as addressed to the *yajamāna* (gloss, *lapayasi*). But neither reading of T'A. really makes sense, tho they may contain a mechanical assimilation of *p* to preceding *v*.
- nākro makarāḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kuḷikayas*, MS. *puḷikayas*, KSA. *puḷī-rayas*) *te* 'kūpārasya' (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MŚ. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests *kūvārasya*; certainly rightly. *kūvāra* and *kūpāra* are quoted lexically as equivalents for *akūpāra* 'ocean'.
- nāpa vṛjāte na gamāto antam* AV.: *nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam* TB. *ava-prj* is the original; it seems to be a technical term for bringing to an end the warp in weaving. Note *apa*: *ava* also (§201).
- yatrāsprkṣat* (HG. *yatrā vṛkṣas*) *tanuam* (AV. *tanvo*, HG. *tanuvā*) *yatrā vāsah* (AV. *yac ca vāsasah*) AV. ApMB. HG. 'Wherever (defilement) has touched my body or my garment.' HG's corruption seems primarily due to the preceding line, *yadī vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*.
- yamasya dūtāḥ ce vāg vidhāvati* MS.: *yamasya dūtāḥ kvapād vidhāvati* TA. See §145.
- yunaḥmī tisro vipracā sūryasya te* (MŚ. *tisro vīrtāḥ sūryaḥ sarvaḥ*, or *sarve*) TS. ApŚ. MS. See §57.
- ajāsvaḥ paśupā vājapastyah* (TB. *vastyah*) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB., *vastyah gṛham* (= *pastyam*, see RVRep. 58). This, and the lexical statements that *vastya* means 'house', may be based on corruptions of *pastyā*, but thoughts of the root *vas* 'dwell' doubtless helped.
- yat paśur* (Kauś. *yad vaśā*) *māyum akṛta* (Kauś. *akṛata*) TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG. Kauś. A synonym is substituted in Kauś. *sarpadevajanebhyah* (AŚ. *sarva*°) *svāhā* AŚ. AG. Tho the context is different, AŚ. looks suspiciously like a lect. fac.
- śatāpāṣṭhādya* (read, °*ṣṭhā gha*, with both Poona edd.) *viṣā parī no vṛnaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇah* MS. See §86.
- ghṛtaṁ duhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *praviṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. Barret, JAOS 35. 88, would keep *praviṇāḥ*; but since this is a late word, it is probably only a corruption.

§199. The one case of *ph*:*v* concerns a senseless substitution of *śavam* for *śapham*, some sort of implement:

- iṣāḥ kṛgalyam śavam* MS.: *iṣāḥ kṛgalyam śapham* ApŚ. Tho corrupt in *śavam*, MS. seems to be correct in *kṛgalyam* (cf. *kṛgala*, RV.), for which ApŚ. has a Prakritic *ṣr*, *ḷeṭ*.

- §200. The *r* reading seems to be original in the following:  
*vr̥ṣ̥tīm* (SV.\* *pr̥*<sup>o</sup>) *divaḥ parisrava* RV. SV. (bis). *pr̥ṣ̥tīm* can mean nothing but 'rain', as Benfey translates; perhaps the root *pruṣ* (which also appears as *pr̥ṣ*, §680) may have infected the word.  
*māhyam dattvā vṛjata* (TAA, *prajātunī*) *brahmalokam* AV. TAA. The TAA. reading, at best a poor infinitive from *pra-jan*, is an untranslatable corruption. Comm. takes it for *prajātam* by Vedic license!  
*yathāpāḥ pravatā yanti* TA. TU. Kauś.: *yathā yanti prapadaḥ* SMB. See §60.  
*iheha vaḥ svatapasah* (TA, *svatapasah*) RV. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. Significant of the growth in importance of *tapas*, which here crowds out *svatapas*, a standard epithet of the Maruts.  
*te kratum api vṛjanti viśve* (AV. *api pr̥ncanti bhūri*) RV. AV. SV. VS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §57.  
*divyam suparṇam vāyasam* (AV. *payasam*, KS. VS. TS.\* ŚB. *vayasa*, MS. TS.\* *vayasam*) *bṛhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. ŚB. AŚ. Suparṇ. There is no point in calling the eagle 'milky'; but Ppp. agrees on *payasam* (twice). Once the AV. comm. has the hardihood to say that *payasam* is for *va*<sup>o</sup> by Vedic license.  
*payasvan māmakan vacaḥ* (AV.\* *payah*) RV. AV. (bis) KS. In AV. assimilation to preceding *payasvan*, obviously secondarily. But TS. TB. MŚ. have a further alteration: *payasvad vīrudhām payah*.  
*amba niṣpara* (TS. ApŚ. *niṣvara*, KS. KapŚ. *niṣvara*, MS. *nismara*, p.p. *niḥ*, *smara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The majority (in which we count MS. with *m*) points to *r* rather than *p*; but the word is obscure in all forms.  
*suvarṇapakṣāya* (MahānU. *suparṇa*<sup>o</sup>) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. 'Golden-winged' is doubtless original; see under next.  
*darbhāḥ strīḥ haritāḥ suparṇāḥ* (KS. *ṣuvarṇāḥ*) KS. MŚ.: *hotṛgadamāḥ haritāḥ hīranyayam* AV.: *hotṛgadamāḥ haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ* TB. ApŚ. *suvarṇa-* is certainly original, as AV. shows; cf. preceding. and, for the reverse change, *hīranyaparṇa lakune* etc., §198.  
*parivādam parikṣavam* (mss. mostly *parichavam*) AV. Nakṣ.: *parivādam parikṣavan* ApMB. The variant word must mean 'sneezing', see Lanman ap. Whitney. The ApMB. can hardly be anything but a corruption; one mss. has *o*vam.  
*tvam rājāḥ pradivāḥ* (VS. VSK. *pratīpat*) *sutānām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. N. See §64.  
*lam ajurebhīḥ vṛṣabhīḥ tava* (ApŚ. *tapa*) *svaiḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. Followed by: *lapā lapīṣṭha tapasā tapasvān* RV. KS., *tapa tapasva tapasā lapīṣṭha*



ApŚ., which has clearly changed *tava* under the influence of this pāda. Caland understands *tapa* as a voc., 'O Brennender.'

*sa bhūmīm viśvato* (ArŚ. *sarvato*) *vr̥tvā* (VS. *sarvata spr̥tvā*) RV. AV. ArŚ. VS. TA. Comm. on VS. *vyāpya* 'pervading', which is not far from *vr̥tvā* 'encompassing'.

*anupauhvad* (ApMB. *anu po* 'head') *anupahvayet* (ApMB. *anuhvayah*) HG. ApMB. In ApMB. *po* intends *vo* (pronoun); HG. is corrupt and obscure. See §732. There is no real variant here, both forms having *p*.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu* (AV. *spr̥śantām*, Ppp. [acc. to Roth] *viśanta*, TA. *m̐śantām*) RV. AV. TA.

*jakṣivāṁśasah papivāṁśas ca viśve* VS. etc.; the text of VS. is misprinted as *papipāṁśas*; corrected, p. XXII.]

§201. In a class by themselves and of notable bulk are the variants between the prepositions *apa* and *ava*. So close are they in meaning that it is sometimes hard to decide the relative originality, except in so far as it is indicated by general usage, by the preponderance of one form among the variants, or by the historic relations of the texts in general: *nāpa vr̥jāte* (*nāvapr̥jyāte*) . . . see §198.

*ava* (AV. *apa*) *tasya balaṁ tira* RV. AV. Note that RV. has only *ava-tr*, never *apa-tr*.

*apa* (TA. ApŚ.† *ava*) *bādhatām duritāni viśvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. Both familiar.

*dviṣantām me vabādhasva* (Poona ed. °*dhāsai*, but v. l. and comm. °*va*) TA.: *dviṣantām apa bādhasva* SMB. If the Poona ed. text is right, this should be added to VV I §152.

*dhātā samudro apa* (AG. 'va) *hantu pāpam* AG. PG.

*yat tatraino apa tat suvāmī* AV.: *yad atraino ava tat suvāmī* TA.

*idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇasya pāpmānam ava* (ApMB. *apa*) *gūhāmī* HG. ApMB.

*yad avām̐kṣac* (ApŚ. *apā°*) *chakunīḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yenāpām̐kṣatām* (SMB. v. l. °*m̐kṣatām*) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yendeam̐kṣatām surām* PG.

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *kveta padā jahī* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apah kvetepad āgahī* MG.

*ābhuv anyo 'pa* (ApMB. 'va) *padyatām* ApŚ. HG. ApMB.: *mātur anyo 'va padyata* ŚG.

*sarvān ānu yajāmahe* KS.† TB. TA. ApŚ.: *sarvān apa yajāmasi* Kauś. *ava-yaj* is more archaic.

*indur indum avāgāt* (KS. *avāgan*, MŚ. *upāgāt*, v. l. *apāgāt*) KS. PB. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

ava dīkṣām asṛkṣata (ApMB. adāstha) svāhā AV. ApMB.: *īyam apa* (v. l. *ava*) *dīkṣām ayaṣṭa* SMB.

*apa kṣudham nudatām urātim* TB.: *ava sedim tṛṣṇām kṣudham jahī* Kauś.

§202. To these obviously belong two interchanges of *avāñc* and *apāñc*, both of which are contrasted with *prāñc*, which makes it certain that *apāñc* is intended; and indeed this should probably be assumed as the true reading in TB. in the first case:

*apāpāco* (TB. °*vāco*) *abhībhūte nudasva* RV. AV. AB. GB. TB. But

Poons ed. of TB. text and comm. *apāpāco*, clearly correctly.

*āyus ca prāyus ca . . . prāñ cāpāñ* (ApŚ. *cāvāñ*) *ca* MS. ApŚ.

#### p and m

§203. The few variants under this head are dubious or obscure, except for several cases of exchange between the roots *tap* and *tam*. A certain phonetic fluidity (or perhaps graphic confusion?) seems suggested by all of them.

§204. The roots *tap* and *tam* are quasi-synonyms since early times. They interchange three times, in two passages, so that *tap* occurs exclusively in RV. texts, *tam* in Tait. texts:

*tapasas* (TB. *tamasas*) *tan mahinājāyataikam* RV. TB.

*mā tamo* (AŚ. *tapo*) *mā yajñas tamat* (AŚ. *tapat*); followed by:

*mā yajamānas tamat* (AŚ. *yajñapatīs tapat*) TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

§205. The rest are sporadic:

*kṣumāsī* VS.: *kṣupāsī* VSK. An arrow is addressed obscurely. Comm. on VS. 'shaker', thinking of the Dhātup. root *kṣmā(i)*, perhaps confused with *kṣubh-*. Is VSK. influenced partly by *kṣīp*? *ambā nīpara* (*nīsmāra*, etc.), see §200.

*yuktās tīṣro vimṛjah . . . : yunajmi tīṣro vipreah (vīrtah) . . .*, see §57.

*namo 'gnaye prthivikṣīte* (ChU. MU. *prthivī*°) *lokasprte* (MU. °*smpte*, ChU. °*kṣīte*) TS. KSA. ApŚ. ChU. MU. And similarly *namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣīte . . . nama ādityāya* (*namaḥ sūryāya*, *nama ādityobhyaś*) . . . each time with MU. alone reading *lokasprte*. All in the same passage. There is no doubt that *lokasprte* is original; Deussen renders MU. 'Weltgewährer', seemingly having °*sprte* in mind.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu* (AV. *sprśantām*, Ppp. [Roth] *viśanto*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

*apāma edhī mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.: *amā ma edhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ. *ṛma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG. See §78.

*viśvā sprdho* (AV. *mṛdho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV. AV. TA.



*b and v*

§206. This wide-spread interchange, tho partly graphic, is largely phonetic, and very common in later times. But it occurs also extensively in early times, applying both to original *b* and original *v*; see Wackernägel I §161. The mss. are unstable and inconsistent in their writing of the two sounds. There are indeed words like the prepositions *vi* and *ava*, or the roots *vid* and *vad*, or the noun *vira*, which are presumably never, or at most very rarely, written with *b*. On the other hand there is scarcely any original *b* which is not occasionally written *v* (*piāmi*, for instance, for *pibāmi*). This elusive theme (cf. Grassmann, KZ 12. 123) is, perhaps, rather illustrated than cleared up by the Vedic variants. The divergent readings of the printed texts are not to be regarded as 'school' differences, but as illustrations of the total of an unstable and largely untrustworthy tradition.

§207. Nearly all cases are purely phonetic variations, in so far as they are not, possibly, graphic. There are only a few which involve real lexical change. These are:

*carnevācādhus* (TB. °*bādhus*) *tamo apse antaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

The original *avādhus* = *ava* + *adhus* 'they have put away'. TB. understands it as an anomalous root-aorist from *bādḥ* 'they have overcome'. Poona ed. of TB. has indeed *avādhus* in its text, but the comm. even there has *abādhus*, glossing *vināśitavantah*.

*devīm aham nirṛtiṃ bādhamānaḥ* (TS. *vandamānaḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. 'Subduing' or 'praising' the Goddess Destruction. TS. doubtless secondary, since its own sūtra agrees with KS.; but it is natural enough, since the preceding passage ends with 'Homage to Destruction'.

*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*) *jāta-vedaḥ* AV. KS.: *yatra-yatra jāta-vedaḥ sambabhūtha* (TB. *sambabhūra*, but Poona ed. text and comm. °*tha*) TB. ApŚ. The form is dubious. The text tradition of AV. (19. 3. 1) supports *bi-*, not *vi-*; mss. almost all *bibhṛto* or *bibhrato*, tho the comm. reads *vi-*, and so both editions. All three mss. of KS. *bi-* (vv. 11. *bibhṛto* and *bibhṛyato*). In spite of all this, it seems hardly possible to construe anything but *vi-bhṛto* (note that the accent must be also changed in both texts). Cf. next.

*alandrāso yucatayo vibhṛtram* (TB. Conc. *vibhartram*, Poona ed. text and comm. *bibhṛ°*) RV. TB. Cf. preceding; here we have adjective epithets of Agni (TB. comm. *poṣakam*, understanding a reduplicated form of *bhr*).

*sakhāyau sapta-padāḥ abhūva* (ApMB. °*padā babhūva*) ApMB. HG. The

absurd form of most ApMB. mss. is retained for reasons explained by Winternitz, *Introd.*, xvi.

*usrā* (MŚ. *usrāu*) *etaṁ dhūrvāhan* (KS. *dhūrbādā*) . . . VSK. KS. MŚ. Others, §122.

*yāu* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhr̥to* (KS.† *°tho*, AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS. *°thah*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

[*tujo yujo vanan̥* (ŚŚ. text, *balan̥*) *sahā* AA. ŚŚ.: *tuje janā* (ArS. *jano*) *vanan̥ wāḥ* AV. ArS. This difficult passage only seemingly concerns our theme, since *balan̥* is Hillebrandt's emendation in ŚŚ.]

§208. All the remaining cases concern the same word which appears now with *b*, now with *v*, the meaning being precisely the same. There are no school customs governing the sounds as a whole, tho there are some as regards individual words. The variation is about equally common with original *b* and original *v*, and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially *b* is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Wackernagel I §§158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain *v*.

#### Original *v*

§209. We begin with forms in which *v* is certainly or probably original. There are no less than nine variants (not all textually certain) containing forms of the root *vadh* or *badh*, of which the former seems older (*badh* not in RV.) and remains commoner thru the language. The occasional *b*-forms met with from AV. on are probably in part due to the suggestion of the root *bādh* (and perhaps of *bandh*). In several variants, VS. texts (particularly VSK.) seem to favor *badh*; but contrary instances occur:

*dr̥iṣato badho* (MŚ. *vadho*) *'si* VS. KŚ. MŚ.

*mā tvā samudra ud vadh̥in* (VSK. *badh̥in*) *mā suparṇah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*teyāyān̥ vṛtram vadhyāt* (VSK. *ba°*, VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mā me dīkṣān̥ mā tapo nīr vadhiṣṭa* (KŚ. *ba°*) TS. KŚ. MŚ.

*ābadhiṣma rakṣo* *'badhiṣmāmum asau hataḥ* (VSK. *rakṣo* *'muṣya tvā badhāyāmum ābadhiṣma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *avadhīṣma rakṣah* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.



*vīrān mā no rudra bhāmilo* (SMB, ŚvetU. °mino, Jørgensen °mito for SMB.) *vadhīh* (TAA, SMB. *badhīh*; but Poona ed. of TAA. and Jørgensen's of SMB. both *vā*°) RV. TS. MS. KS. TAA. ŚvetU. SMB.: *mā ne vīrān rudro bhāmīno vadhīh* VS.

*avartyai badhāyopamanthitāram* (TB. *avartyai* [vadhā°) VS. TB. (so Poona ed.)

*nātirid* (TB. °rīr) *asya samptim vadhānām* (TB. *hā*°, but Poona ed. *vā*°) RV. TB.

*ayanam mā vīvadhīr* (TAA. *vīvā*°, but Poona ed. text and comm. *vīvā*°) *vīkramasva* TA. TAA.

Cf. also the following, in which MS. is surely corrupt (see §260). Apparently MS. MŚ. understand forms of *vadh*, *badh*, while TA. has a form of *vrdh*:

*mā rudriyāso abhī gur vrdhānuh* (MS. *abhī gulbadhānuh*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhī gur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuh*) MŚ.

§210. Another group of seven variants contains the name of the demon Vala, also written Bala from AV. on (under the influence of *bala* 'strength'?). Aside from the fact that Vala is the exclusive form in RV., the word is probably connected with root *vr*:

*īndro valam* (MS. *balam*) *rakṣitāram dughānām* RV. AV. MS.

*tvastī valasya* (AŚ. *balasya*) *gomatah* RV. †1. 11. 5, SV. AŚ.

*bībheda valam* (AV. AŚ. *balam* but many AV. mss. *valam*) *bhrgur na saśāhe* (AV. *saśahe*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*ud valasyābhīnat* (but all mss. °nas, which read) *tvacam* ApŚ.: *ud balasyābhī nas* (read *balasyābhīnas*) *tvacam* MŚ. The form *abhīnas* is for *abhīnat*, 2d person imperf., with *s* for *t* by analogy with 2d persons in *s*. This curious and interesting form might be recorded in VV I §262; but there is no real variant, the true reading of both texts being *abhīnas*.

*yo gā udājad apa* (MS. *apī*) *hi valam* (MS. *balam*) *vah* RV. MS.

*īndro yad abhīnad valam* (GB. *balam*, but Gaviṣṭra *valam* with most of his mss.) RV. AV. SV. AB. GB.

*sa bībheda balam* (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. *valam*) *magham* (MS. *madyam*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

§211. There is no doubt that the words for fat, *pīṣas* etc., have original *v*, as shown by the cognate languages as well as by the preponderance of *v* in Sanskrit. Nevertheless there are a few *b* forms, some of them of doubtful textual authenticity:

*pīvo vrkka ulārathīh* RV. KS.: *pīvasphakam ulārathīm* AV. In AV. Shankar Pandit prints *pīvaspākam* (comm. *pīvaspākam*, explained

as 'fat-cooking'), and declares this to be the unanimous reading of his authorities, which is at variance with Whitney's mss. Ppp. has *pivassākam* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 191, em. *pīvaspākam*) *udāhṛtam*. Cf. Whitney on AV. 4. 7. 3, 3. 17. 3, and Index Verborum of AV. under *pīb*<sup>o</sup> and *pīw*<sup>o</sup>.

*praphareyam ca pīvarīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.: *pībarīm ca praphareyam* AV. (comm. *pīw*<sup>o</sup>; Ppp. according to Roth reads like VS. etc. except *praphareyām*).

*neva māṁse na pīvasi* AV.: *naiva māṁsena pīvari* PG.—SPP. with some mss. and comm. reads *pīvasi* in AV.; so also Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 205). PG., tho with correct *v*, is corrupt otherwise (as if voc. sing. fem. of *pīvan*).

§212. In the root *vṛh* or *bṛh* 'tear', the original consonant is uncertain. It has no known etymology, and both *b* and *v* are traditionally recorded in RV. Wackernagel I §161 regards *v* as original, on not very substantial grounds. He also points out that confusion between this and the other root *bṛh* 'be great' etc., has helped the variation in spelling (cf. §215). Later, *bṛh* seems to be commoner in the sense of 'tear'. The two variants recorded amount practically to only one, as they are modulations of the same formula in the same passage. In them *vṛh* is the real reading of all texts; Weber erroneously prints *bṛh*- in TS. against nearly all his mss.

*ādityās tvā pra bṛhantu* (most mss. *vṛh*<sup>o</sup>) . . . TS.: *viśvebhyas tvā devebhyah pra vṛhāmi* . . . KS.; *ādityebhyas tvā pra vṛhāmi* . . . MS. Add to VV I §312.

*rasavas tvā pra vṛhantu* (TS. ed. *bṛh*<sup>o</sup>, most mss. *vṛh*<sup>o</sup>) *gāyatreyā chandasa* TS. ApŚ.

§213. There are five examples, mostly dubious, of *vandhura* (*vandhur*): *bandhura*; RV. always spells the word with *v*. Connexion with root *bandh* is therefore unlikely. Bloomfield, *RVRep.* 236, analyzes the word as *van* + *dhura* (*dhur*) 'board at the head of the wagon pole': *trivandhura* (TB. *triban*<sup>o</sup>; Poona ed. *trivan*<sup>o</sup>, comm. *triban*<sup>o</sup>) *manasā gātu yuktah* RV. TB. (in Conc. by error, TS.) MS.

*a yāhy arvān upa vandhureṣṭhāh* (GB. AA. *ban*<sup>o</sup>; but Gaastra and Keith in both *van*<sup>o</sup>) RV. AB. KB. GB. AA. ŚŚ.

*pra nūnam pūrṇavandhura* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *ban*<sup>o</sup>) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*ratham hiranyavandhuram* (TA. *sahasraban*<sup>o</sup>; but Poona ed. text and comm. *van*<sup>o</sup>; with v. l. *ban*<sup>o</sup>) RV. TA.

*trivandhureṇa* (KS. *triban*<sup>o</sup>) *trivṛtā rathena* RV. KS.



§214. In the following isolated cases *v* is also probably original:  
*vahiṣṭhebbir* (MS. *ba*°) *viharan. yāsi* (TB. *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona ed. text, *yāsi*) *tantum* RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. The word can only mean 'swiftest', root *vah*.  
*etaḥ brahmann upavahāmsi* (AŚ. *apa*°, LŚ. *upabalihāmahe*) *teḍ* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The root is *valh*, apparently always except here in LŚ. It is perhaps a form of *vṛh*, §212.  
*cappam* (TB. Poona ed. *cappam*) *nā pāyur bhiṣag ayya vālah* (KS. *vārah*, TB. *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The word means 'sieve' and is regularly *vāla*, or in the older language *vāra*. The converse of this in the variant *kūrkuro bālabandhanah* (*vāla*°), where properly *bāla* 'child': §215.

Original *b*

§215. In the following the *b* form is certainly or probably original. The VS. texts seem to show a tendency towards *v*, in spite of their seeming (?) preference for *b* in forms of *vadh* (§209). First, three cases in which etymology proves *b* the older:

*savitṛprasūtā bṛhaspataye* (PB. LŚ.† *†vṛh*°) *stuta* GB. PB. Vait. LŚ. Twice in LŚ., once printed *vṛ*° and once *bṛ*°, but comm. both times *vṛ*° which must be correct (since quoted from PB. which has *vṛ*°).—On the other root *vṛh*, 'tear', see §212.  
*kūrkuro bālabandhanah* (ApMB. *vāla*°) PG. ApMB. Both must intend *bāla*, 'child', probably connected with Russian *balovat* 'spoil' (treat as a child).

*ya ābabhūca* (PB. *āvā*°) *bhuranāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāḥ*!, comm. *viśvāni*) VS. JB. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. The PB. comm. repeats the incredible *ārababhūca*, it is doubtless corrupt.

§216. In the following *b* forms are older or more usual, tho the etymologies of the words are unknown:

*yad dhasiābhyaṁ cakṛma* (MS. TB. TA. *cakara*) *kilbiṣāni* (TA. *kile*°, but Poona ed. *kilb*°) AV. MS. TB. TA.  
*viśvasmād devakilbiṣāt* AV. MS.: *sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt* (VS. °*kile*°, LŚ. °*va kilb*°) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ.  
*krte yonau* (KS. *krto yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS. ŚB. *vījam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*basto* (VS. *vasto*) *vajrah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.  
*dhamanti bākuraṁ* (JB. *vā*°) *dṛtim* RV. JB.

Original *b* or *v* uncertain

§217. In the rest there seems to be no decisive evidence as to the originality of *b* or *v*. The VS. texts again seem to favor *v*. First, three cases of *padbīṣa* or *\*vīṣa* 'fetter'. It is always spelled with *b* in RV., which is not favorable to its connexion with Latin *vincio* (Wackernagel I §161); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30, and on the false form *\*vinīṣa*, *JAOS* 51. 170:

*atho* (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīṣāt* (VS. *\*vīṣāt*, LŚ.† *ṣadvīṣāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ.

*samdānam arvantam padbīṣam* (VS. MS. *\*vīṣam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. *yac ca padbīṣam* (VS. MS. *\*vīṣam*) *arcataḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Here the sole ms. of KS. has *\*vīṣam*.

§218. Two variants contain the word *bāṇa* or *vāṇa* 'arrow', both Rigvedic. In later Sanskrit the *v* form is commoner:

*yatra bāṇāḥ* (VS. *vāṇāḥ*) *sampratanti* RV. SV. VS. TS. AG.

*viśalyo vāṇavān* (TS. *bāṇ*, MS. *bāṇavan*, KS. *bāṇavān*, NīlarU. *vāṇavān*) *uta* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.

§219. The rest are sporadic, and all concern words of obscure origin: *māgadhah punṣcali kitarah klībo* . . . (VSK. *punṣcali klīvaḥ kitaro* . . .)

*te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. *klība* appears to be commoner.

*diḡbhyo vadābe* (KSA. *vaḍave*) TS. KSA. *baḍabā* and *vāḍ* are also found. *drvāsi* VS.: *drbāsi* KŚ.: *drubāsi* VSK. An arrow is addressed; said to mean 'piercing' (root *dṛ*).

*ṣṣatrasyoḷbam* (VS. TB. *\*eam*, but TB. Poona ed. *\*ham*) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both common; RV. knows only *b* (once).

*viśvarūpā kabalīr* (KS. *śavalī*) *agniketuh* TS. KS. PG. *b* is commoner.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MS. *\*dhebhhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS. *vaṣṇ*, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ. Rare and obscure.

*subhṛaya* (HG. *subhṛīṇah*) *srja-srja* (ApMB. adds *śunaka*); and,

*śunām agraṇ subhṛīṇah* (HG. *subhṛīṇah*) HG. ApMB. Anomalous name of a dog-demon. The ApMB. mss. are discordant.

*aulaba* (HG. *\*ra*) *il tam upā heayatha* (HG. *\*ta*) HG. ApMB. In same context as the preceding.

*bh* and *v*

§220. These variants, few in number, are never purely phonetic but always involve tolerable lexical shifts. From out of the facile interchanges of all prepositions come a small group involving *abhi* and *vi*, in most, probably all, of which the *abhi* forms are prior:

*viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (MS. *\*nā vicaṣṭe*) RV. MS. TB.: *viśvānyo*



*bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV. Cf. *abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV., and *abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV.  
*devānām viṣṭhām* (ApŚ.† *niṣṭhām*) *anu yo vi taṣṭe* VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.:  
*divo vābhiṣṭhām anu yo vi caṣṭe* MŚ.  
*mandrābhībhūtiḥ* (MŚ. *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur . . .* TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*asṛṇmukho rudhīreṇābhyaktaḥ* (TA. °*āvyaktaḥ*) MS. TA. *abhyaktaḥ*  
 'smeared', is clearly original. TA. comm. understands *a-vyaktaḥ*  
 (not ā-), explaining *idṛg-jātir iti nīcetum asakyaḥ*.

§221. The participles *ābhṛtam* and *āṛtam* exchange in two pādas of the same stanza, the original form of which contained both; secondary texts variously assimilate each to the other; see Whitney on AV. 6. 125. 2:

*vanaspatibhyaḥ pary ābhṛtam* (MS. *āṛtam*) *sahāḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*apām ajmānam pari gohīr āṛtam* (AV. *ābhṛtam*), same texts. SPP. with some mss. and comm. *āṛtam* for AV.

§222. The rest are sporadic:

*yamīr yamasya bibhṛpād* (AV. *virṇād*) *ajāmi* RV. AV. *virṇād* is unintelligible; it has intruded from the two preceding stanzas where it makes good sense. See Whitney's note.

*ye no dviṣṇaty anu tān rabhasva* AV.: *yo no dviṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dviṣṭy anu taṁ ravasva* ApŚ. See AJP 27. 413; Caland on ApŚ. 7. 17. 2.

*adrūhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapi* (MŚ. *trībhrṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original means 'Thou hast made thyself firm over heaven with pebbles'. The MŚ. assimilates the last word in meaning to *śarkarābhis*, 'thou hast made thyself firm with three-pointed pebbles'.

*bhaṇsaso* (ApMB. *dhvaṇsaso*) *vi vṛhāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. Cf. §176; *dhva*° has a sort of assonance to *bha*°.

*v* and *m*, phonetic changes

§223. This theme is important both for text-variation, and for the history of Indian dialects. Much is here added to Bloomfield's paper JAOS 13. xevii ff., and it may be remarked that grammatical treatises since that time (1886) hardly credit the phenomenon with the degree of importance that attaches to it. See Wackernagel I §177 note.

§224. The cases which seem most clearly phonetic, in the sense that they defy independent lexical interpretation, are presented first. They are, to be sure, often mere corruptions; but even these contribute their

mite of evidence to the proof of instability between these sounds. First, with original *e*:

*ue chvañcasva* (TA. *chmañ*<sup>2</sup>) *prthivi mā ni bādhatāh* (TA. *vi bādhitāh*)  
RV. AV. TA. And:

*ucchrañcamānā* (TA. *ucchmañ*<sup>2</sup>) *prthivi su tiṣṭhatu* (TA. *hi tiṣṭhasi*) RV.  
AV. TA. (To be added to VV I §§118 and 332.) See Wackernagel I §177.

*susīman somasatsaru* AV.: *suśeram somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*)  
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. Attempts are made to explain *susīman* as *su-sīman*, or from root *ṣi* with suffix *ma*; but while some such influence may have contributed, probably the variant is essentially phonetic.

*jyog jñema sarowīrā vayanā tama* MG. (all mss.): *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayanā tava* RV. AV. SV. MS. SMB. HG. ApMB.: *mā riṣāmā vayanā tava* Vait. GB. AVPpp. (Barret, JAOS 26, 278). The formula *vayanā tava* 'we belong to thee' seems to have been mispronounced in MG.; was the latter vaguely felt as vocative of an impossible \**vayanātama* (as if superlative to *vayanā*)?

*ā tvaṃ* (GB. *ātman*, Gastra *ā tvaṃ* with v. l. *ātman*; LŚ. *ā svam*)  
*indrāya pyāyasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. (Probably *ā tvaṃ* is to be read in LŚ.; its edition is very untrustworthy.) The converse corruption in Kauś. 65. 15, where four of seven mss. read *devā tva* for *devātma*.

*anamivāsa idayā* (MS. *anamimāsa idayā*, but p.p. \**vāsah*, *idayā*) *mad-antah* RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. *anamimāsa*, if correct, might perhaps be a case of assimilation; but it may be only a misprint which escaped the editor's attention. The pratika occurs as *anamivāsah* later in MS. 4. 12. 6 (197. 8).

*nī dūrākravase vaha* (ŚŚ. *mahah*, all mss.; ed. em. *vahah*) AV. ŚŚ.

§225. On the other hand the *m* forms are original in the following, the *v* forms being often mere corruptions; cf. JB. *pratītam devabhya juṣtam ha vyavasthāt*, where \**havyam* *asthāt* is pretty certainly intended: *ā galdā dhamanīnām* MŚ. N.: *ā galgā dhavanīnām* ApŚ. *dhamanī* 'vein' is correct; indeed the whole pāda is corrupt in ApŚ., see §144. Possibly thought of *dhas*(*dhu*) = *dhāu* 'run' may have flitted thru the mind of the ApŚ. redactor.

*agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah* (TB. *dūtyam vāriṣanyah*) RV. MS. TB. ApŚ. Comm. on TB. *vāriṣanyo mā ririṣah* (= *māriṣanyah*!).

*punar dātām* (TA. *dattār*) *asum adyeha bhadrām* RV. AV. TA. 'Let them (the two dogs of Yama) today give back happy life.' The



preceding pāda is *tāv asmabhyam dṛśaye sūryāya*; perhaps TA's *dattāv* is contaminated by the preceding *tāv*. The comm., at any rate, feels it as 3 dual impv. act. = *dattām* (*dattau prayachātām*). There is no accent on *dattāv*.

*su mā mṛta* (MG. *ṛtāt*, one ms. *mṛtam*) AG. ApMB. MG.: cf. *taṁ mā mṛdhaḥ* ŚG. *mṛta* is required: 'may he not die'.

*sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS. *mānā*, SMB. Conc. *vanāva*, Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṣuḥ* (*acarkṣuḥ*, *carkṛdhi*, see §170) KS. TB. ApŚ.: *sarasvatyām adhi maṇāv acarkṣuḥ* AV. The mss. of SMB. which read *vanāva* have simply a phonetic corruption.

*bṛhaspatiḥ tvā* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *\*tis tvā*) *sumne ramātu* (TS. ApŚ. *raṇvatu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. And:

*deva touṣṭar vāsu rama* (TS. *raṇva*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Here the verb stem *raṇva* of the Tait. school is based on the adjective *raṇva*, but surely promoted by the affinity between the sounds *m* and *v*. Comm. on TS. 1. 3. 7. 1, *raṇva ramaṇīyam kuru*. See VV I p. 121.

#### *v* and *m*, lexical variants

§226. Next we come to cases in which the lexical element is more prominent than the phonetic. That is to say, taken case by case, these interchanges might be regarded as involving synonymic pādas or formulas, in the sense in which they are dealt with in *RVRep.* 553ff. Yet, because a large number of such cases persist in showing variation between *m* and *v*, there is surely a phonetic basis for even these as a whole.

§227. Thus the roots *man* and *van*, and derivatives, interchange a number of times, beginning with the RV. itself:

*śīdantu manuṣo yathā* RV.: *śīdanto vanuṣo yathā* RV. SV. LŚ. In *RVRep.* 60ff. the first form is taken to be original. The mental operation at the bottom of the change reappears in the next variant (there discussed), in which, as in nearly all the cases in this paragraph, *m* is again prior:

*manuṣvād* (TB. *vanuṣvād*) *deva dhīmahi pracetasam* RV. TB.

*etat tvātra* (LŚ. *etat tām*) *pratimanvāno* (AŚ. *\*vanvāno*) *asmī* (AŚ.† LŚ. *asmīn*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. 'Thinking in reply': 'offering, presenting in return'.

*puratṛa te manulām* (AV. *vanulām*) *viṣṭhitām jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. 'Take note of': 'acquire'; *jagat* is subject in RV. etc., object in AV. See VV I p. 266.

*surilasya mandmahe* (SV. *ca*\*) RV. SV. 'Have in mind, purpose': 'desire'.  
*urjam bibhrad vasumanih* (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ.\* *vah sumanāh*, ApŚ.\* *vah  
 suvanih*, ApŚ.\* *vasumandh*) *sumedhāh* AV. VS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.  
 HG. 'Winning wealth' or 'very acquisitive': 'well-minded' or  
 'minded to wealth'. Note three different readings in ApŚ. AVPpp.  
 has *vasumatih*. Epithet of an owner of a house; all epithets fit well  
 enough, but the readings with *man* may be assimilated in meaning  
 to the following *sumedhāh*.

§228. In three cases, somewhat dubious forms in *ūr-* and *ūrv-* (*urv-*)  
 interchange; perhaps this is partly a matter of genuine phonetics, and  
 not lexical; cf. *ūrmilā*, in the Rāmāyaṇa personified as sister of Sītā,  
 probably connected with Vedic *urvarā* 'field of grain', which is asso-  
 ciated with *śītā* 'furrow' among the geniuses of the field PG. 2. 17. 9;  
 see JAOS 13 p. xevii:

*namā ūrvyāya* (MS. *namā ūrmyāya*) *ca sūrvyāya* (TS. MS. *sūrmyāya*)  
*ca* VS. TS. MS.: *namas sūrmyāya cormyāya ca* KS. Mahidhara on  
 VS. derives from *urvī* 'earth' with *ā* by Vedic license, or alternatively  
 from *ūrva* 'submarine fire'. Keith adopts the first interpretation.  
 Neither is plausible, and *ūrmya* is probably the true form; *ūrvya*  
 possibly merely a phonetic equivalent.

*ulsam juṣṣam madhumantam ūva* (KS. MŚ. *ūrmim*, VS. *arvan*, VSK.  
 °*sa śatadhāram arvan*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The com-  
 bination *ūrmi madhumat* 'honeyed flood' is frequent: RV. 4. 57. 2,  
 58. 1, 7. 47. 2, 96. 5. The vocative *ūva* in TS. is, as Keith remarks,  
 probably incorrect (he renders 'ocean'). This vocative seems fur-  
 ther corrupted into the common adjective *arvan* in VS. VSK.

*rudrāyām ūrvyāyām* (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) *svādityā aditaye  
 syāmānehasah* (ApŚ. *aditaye 'nehasah*, ŚŚ. *adityā anehasah*) ŚB. ŚŚ.  
 ApŚ. ŚB., 'in the vastness of the Rudras'; ŚŚ., 'in the favor of the  
 Rudras'. ApŚ. seems secondarily to blend the forms of the other  
 two; *ūrmyā* 'night' (RV.) gives no chance for intelligent interpreta-  
 tion.

§229. In two variations of the roots *mand* 'rejoice' and *vand* 'extol',  
 each is once prior:

*mandadvīrāyendave* RV.: *vandadvīrāyendave* SV.

*mogham vandiṣtmahi* (TS. MS. KS. LŚ. *mand*°) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
 ŚB. LŚ.

§230. The noun *medhā* (*medhas*) 'hymn' and its derivative adjective  
*medhya*, vary with *vedhā* (*vedhas*) 'pious', or with *vedya* 'well-known':  
*vedhām aśāsata* (SV. *medhām āś*°) *īriye* RV. SV.†



*avocāma karaye medhyāya* RV. VS. TS. MS.: *pra vedhase karaye vedyāya* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *medhyāya*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *śrutakarnāya karaye vedyāya* AV. KS. ApŚ.

§231. Somewhat similarly, the word *medin* 'ally' is replaced by a slovenly *vedin*, if Scheftelowitz's ms. of RVKh. is to be trusted (note also the corruption *kṛvo* for *kṛmo* in the ms. of AVPpp.):

*asya* (KS. and RVKh. Scheftelowitz, *īha*) *kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, Scheft. em. *kurmo*; KS. *kṛmo*; AVPpp. ms. *kṛvo*, for *kṛmo*) *kurvo medinam* (RVKh. Scheft. *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh. TS. KS. TB. AVPpp. (Barret, JAOS 37. 263f.): *asmākam abhūr haryaśva medī* AV. Cf. §263.

§232. The words *mayas* and *vayas*, practically synonyms, exchange in two associated formulas:

*haya dātra ehi vayo* (VSK.† ŚŚ. *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahitre* (ŚŚ. °*grhate*) VS. VSK.† ŚB. ŚŚ. And, in same passage:  
*prāṇo dātra ehi vayo* (VSK. ŚŚ. *mayo*) *mahyam pratigrahitre* (ŚŚ. °*grhate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. In two accompanying formulas all texts read *mayo*; VS. ŚB. vary the expression with *vayo*.

§233. In two cases the syllables *sama* are changed to *sava* on faint lexical suggestions issuing from the root *su* in the context:

*sahasrasamam prasutena yantah* PB. TB. ApŚ.: *sahasrasataprasavena yantah* MS.

*tasmā u adya samam* (SV. *savane*) *sutam bhara* RV. AV. SV.

§234. The rest are sporadic:

*brīṇānā apsa mṛṇjala* (SV. *mṛjate*) RV. SV. Subject is *somāh*; 'are purified in the waters'. It is hard to see other than phonetic reasons for the SV. alteration of this pāda, which occurs twice in RV. Possibly, however, SV. means 'are worked, operated', assimilating the idea to the sphere of the *barhis*; cf. Bloomfield, JAOS 35. 273ff.

*achā mā* (SV. Svidh. *vā*) *indrām matayah svarvidah* (SV. *svaryumāh*) RV. AV. SV. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh. Change of person as in *indro vah* (AV. *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS., or in the persons of the verb, VV 1 §§290, 307. For others of this sort see our future volume on Pronouns.

*amba nīpara* (*nīvara*, *nīvara*, *nīmara*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.; see §200.

*rdhag ayā* (TS. MS. KS. *ayāḍ*) *rdhag utākamizthāh* (MS. KS. °*ṣta*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.: *dhruvam ayā* (AV. *ayo*) *dhruvam utākamizthāh* (AV. *utā haviṣtha*) RV. AV. The AV. is clearly a phonetic variant or corruption (comm. and Ppp. *utākamizthāh*). See §86.

*yai kṣureṇa marcayātā* (MG. *varlayatā*) *sulejaśi* (AG. PG. ApMB. HG. *supēkaśi*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Injuring': 'moving'. In AVPPP, we find *varcayātā*, a sort of *var media*, perhaps with thought of *varcaś*, but really of course corrupt.

*yuktāś tīrā vimṛjaḥ* . . . : *yunaḥmī tīrā vimṛcaḥ* (*vīṛtaḥ*) . . . , see §57.

§235. In some of the preceding, other changes than this one are made in the words. In the remainder these changes are rather more drastic, so that the phonetic resemblance between the two words becomes much fainter; the variation in these is presumably almost purely lexical, with only the slightest phonetic tinge:

*ā raśmīn* (RV. *raśmīn*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *śaśvān* (RV. TB. *śaśvāḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Tho TB. is secondary, it makes about as good sense as the others; comm. *raśmīn pragrahān āyuvase ādāya mīrīkuru*.

*drapavāś caśkanda prthivīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamān anu dyām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Interesting case of the spread of *dyu* in the sense of 'heaven', producing its opposite *prthivī* in all later texts against RV.

*kauberakā viśvavāśaḥ* HG.: *miśravāśasaḥ kauberakāḥ* ApMB. (probably original).

*avimuktacakra* (v. l. *°rā*) *āsiran* PG.: *vīṛttacakra āśināḥ* HG. ApMB.

*sa me mukham pra mārkyate* (ApMB. *vekṣyati*) PG. ApMB. 'He will cleanse (enter) my mouth.' Probably PG. is original.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu* (AV. *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.—PPP. (Roth) *viśanta*.

*adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā* ApMB.: *adharo vad asau vadā svāhā* HG.†; *adhō vadādharo vadā* HG. ApMB. certainly original; the first form of HG. unquestionably intends the same, and *vad* is a corruption or phonetic variant for *mad*.

*vṛtrasyāśi* (KS. *mitro*°) *kanīnikā* (VS. ŚB. *°nakāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāśi* (VSK. *°nakāśi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ.

Secondary change in KS.

*anu tvā harīṇa vṛṣā* (ApŚ. *mṛgaḥ*) AV. ApŚ.

*aśādhyā sahamāndya vedhase* (TB. *mīdhyā*) RV. TB. N.

*mitro* (VS. *vipro*) *babhūra saprathāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA.

*pra haśśasas tṛpalam manyum* (SV. *°lā vagnum*) *acha* RV. SV.

*kalpantām te* (TA. *° me*) *dīśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA. *° śagmāḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. (both)

§236. Deserving separate rubrication are a few cases which involve differences in word-division, or in division of parts of compound words. Here the partially phonetic character of the change seems particularly clear, even if the secondary reading yields good sense:



- utem anamnamuḥ* TS. MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ: *utera namnamuḥ* KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ.
- athem ava sya* (AV. *athemam asyā*) *vara ā prthivyā* AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. The original is *ava sya* 'set free'; AV. secondarily brings in the familiar notion of *iyam* . . . *prthivī* (in genitive form).
- turi-ṣṇāsam* (TS. JB. *turiṣ-manāsam*) *suyajam phṛtakriyam* RV. TS. JB. ŚB. MŚ. The RV. supports its reading by numerous instances of *turi-ṣṇa* (-ī, -as), whereas *turiṣ-* does not occur in compounds.
- viścavidam* (AV. °*vido*) *vācam avīśvam-invām* (AV. *avīśva-vinnām*) RV. AV. The AV. change is due to preceding *viśva-vido*; see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 128.
- manmā dīdhānā utā naḥ sakhāyā* MS.: *anvādīdhāyāthām iha naḥ sakhāyā* TB. See the context, quoted VV I p. 163; note that the preceding *pāda* ends in *m*.
- dame-dame suṣṭutir* (AV. KS. °*tyā*, TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*) *cāvr̥dhānā* (AV. °*nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām īpānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The *sūtra* texts mouth over the passage into a sort of nonsensical sense: 'good praise (is) going to you two in every house'.
- bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiṅca* (MŚ. *uddharema vanuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The TB. comm. says that *im* (in *uddhara-im*) is for *imam*: *chāndaso 'yam mavaryalopah*. The corrupt MŚ. reading then seems to have a phonetic substitution of *v* for *m*.
- vatsa virāja vṛṣabho matīnām* AV.: *pīḍa virājām vṛṣabho rayiṇām* TB. See §359.

#### *v* and *m* in inflectional endings

§237. Variations in nominal and verbal inflection elicit interchange between acc. sing. and nom.-acc. dual; between nom.-acc. dual and gen. plur.; between 1st person dual and plural, and so on. Similar cases occur among corruptions of the mss.; thus in Kauś. 60. 19 two mss. read *manthantām* for *manthantāv*; and in Kauś. 71. 1 all mss. *aṅśo rājā vibhajatīmām agnī*, where the ed. emends *imām* to *imāv*.

*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte* 'va) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūṇāv*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṅśa* (MG. *vaṅśah*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Roth quotes Ppp. as *sthūṇā dhi*.

*apa(h)sthūṇam* (TS. °*ṇān*) *uditā* (MS. TS. KS. °*tan*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. For the VS. ŚB. form see §188.

*putrah pitarāv* (AV. °*ram*) *ayṣṭa pūṣā* RV. AV. The original dual refers to the Aśvins; AV. has a stupid simplification.

*yeṇa śriyam* (PG. *śriyam*, ŚŚ. *śriyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām*, ŚŚ. *akurutam*) ŚŚ. PG. SMB. GG. The ŚŚ. is secondary and poor.

*apsarasāṁ anu dattām ṛṇāṁ yat* (TB. TA. *ṛṇāni*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsara-sām anudattāṅṛṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu, dattāni, ṛṇāni*). MS. is hopeless; see VV I p. 282.

*idaṁ vatsyāvaḥ* (AG. *vatsyāmo bhoḥ*) AG. HG. See VV I p. 249; others on the same page and on pp. 263, 276.

*adhṛṣṭaṁ dhṛṣṇvojasā* (SV. *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. 'Having terrible strength': 'terrible in strength'.

*v* and *m* in noun-suffixes

§238. On this subject cf. Bender, *Suffixes mant and vant*, Baltimore, 1910. The variation between *mant* and *vant* is there shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants. If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular; otherwise the *m* form. In prehistoric times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels; cf. Sturtevant, *AJP* 50. 360ff., *TAPA* 60. 33ff. The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels; and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position. In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earliest texts. Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later. The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant*. Variants occur in the readings of individual mss.; thus at AV. 19. 42. 3 *sutrāṁṣe* for *sutrāṁṣe*, and at Kauś. 89.1 four out of seven mss. *manvabhīḥ* for *manmubhīḥ*. We shall return to this subject in our volume on Noun Formation.

§239. We begin with variations of *mant* and *vant* (or, once, *vin*; once, *vari*):

*udyan nakṣatram arcivat* (TB. °*mat*) RV. SV. TB. Note that RV. also knows *arcimat*.

*lapur yayastu carur agnivaṇ* (AV. KŚ. °*mān*) *iva* RV. AV. KŚ. N. *agnivaṇ* is read by AVPpp.; *agnimant* not in RV. This may perhaps be used in support of Sturtevant's theory.

*pūṣā jñātīmān* . . . ŚG.: *pūṣā jātivin* (read *jñātī*°) . . . Kauś.

*trītyasya sananasya ṛbhumato* (ApŚ. °*nyarbhū*°) . . . *bṛhaspativato* (KŚ. °*mato*) . . . KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The majority show *vat* after *i*.

*indram ādityavantaṁ* . . . *vājavantaṁ bṛhaspatimantaṁ* (AŚ. °*vantam*) *viśvadevavantaṁ ācāha* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here only AŚ. has *vant*,



and it is doubtless secondary, since the Brāhmaṇa text has *mant*; *vant* may be due to the influence of the surrounding forms in *rant*. But cf. next.

*tāse adhvaryo* (ŚŚ. °*yan*) . . . *vājavate bṛhaspativate* (ŚŚ. °*mate*) *vikṛode-vyāvate* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here again we might suggest the surrounding *rant* forms as source of *bṛhaspati-vate*; but this time the older Brāhmaṇa text reads *-rate*. Note that AŚ. belongs to the school of AB., and ŚŚ. to that of KB. (cf. *prece*); the two schools seem to have affected different forms.

*pūṣparatīh* (TS. ViDh. *pūṣpā*°) *prasūvarīh* (AV. KS. °*śmatīh*, TS. °*śveatīh*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ViDh. The original form has suffixal *vart*, fem. of *van*; according to any theory it must be judged as unhistoric. It is replaced in later texts by the more regular *matī*, or in TS. by the still irregular *vati*, which looks like a blend of the other two.

*apānī napād* . . . *kakudmān* (MS. *kakubhvan*) . . . TS. MS. KS.: *devīr āpo* . . . *kakumān* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. See §178.

*hīranyarad annarad dhehī* (ApŚ. [read] *anvīmad dhehī*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ. See *AJP* 27. 415.

*treṣaṁ cakṣur dadhīre codayanmatī* (RV. °*matī*) RV. TB. ApŚ. Psychologically, tho not formally, this variant belongs here; *codayan-matī* in RV. is a compound with the noun *matī*: 'they made (thee, Agni) a bright eye that inspires devotion'. Later texts conceive the word as containing a suffix, allowing it the *r* form required after an *a*-vowel. TB. *commun.*, accordingly, *vidhāyakaedhāyayukte (karmanī)*.

§240. The rest concern *man* and *van* or related suffixal forms:

*nṛṣadoḥ* (SV. °*mā*) *śīdad apām upasthe* (SV. *apām vīrarte*) RV. SV. *sadman* (also RV.) is in the mind of SV.

*kṣipreṣane devāya svadhāvne* (TB. °*mne*) RV. TB. N. The otherwise unquoted form of TB. plays upon *dhāman* (*sva-dhāman*: *svadhāvan*).

*ādityānām patvān* (PB. °*mām*) *īhī* (KSA.† *ehī*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApMB. Both forms are Rigvedic; cf. next.

*āyoh patmane svāhā* KS.: *āyoh patvane svāhā* ApŚ. Cf. *prece*.

*karīm prchāmī vidmane* (AV. *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. Assimilation to *vidvān* in AV.

*mitajñavo varimann* (TB. °*vann*, but Poona ed. *mitajmavo varimann*) *d prthivyaḥ* RV. MS. TB. *varican* is not recorded, unless here.

*varṣmā* (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, KS. *drāghvā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KapS. *drāghīmā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. The curious TS. form seems to contain in its *u* a relic of suffixal *van*.

[*āpataye tvā parīpataye gṛhṇāmi*] *tanūnaptre* (KS. adds *śakmane*) *śāk-varāya śakvana* (KS. *śakmann*) *ojīṣṭhāya* VS. KS. ŚB.: *tanūnaptre śakmane śākvarāya śakmanā ojīṣṭhāya* MS.; *tanū° śākvarāya śakmann ojīṣṭhāya* VSK. In KS. the stem *śakman* is first used as an adjective 'strong', then as a noun 'strength'.

*abhihiyā bhāsā brhatā śukukranīh* RV.: *āśe* (MS. *āśā*) *ca bhāsā brhatā śukukranīh* (KS. *\*vabhih*, MS. *śukikmanā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. form owes its *i* to dissimilation or thought of the word *śikran* 'able' (RV.); the change to *m* may be due to the feeling that *m* should occur after a non-*a* vowel.

*avavyayann aśitam deva vasma* (TB. ApS. *vasvāh*) RV. MS. KS. TB. ApS. Comm. on TB. explains *vasvāh* as acc. sing. of an agent noun, *vāsayitāram āchādakam*. The form is very difficult, but one may think of *vasvāh* as voc. of a stem *vasvan* 'wealthy', agreeing with *deva*, in which case the accent in TB. must be deleted.

*prathamāya januṣe bhuvaneṣṭhāh* (ŚŚ. *bhūma neṣṭhāh*, AŚ. ed. *bhūmanēṣṭhāh*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Ppp. has *bhūm°*. The ŚŚ. reading makes good sense: 'thou shalt lead the world'. AVŚ. has *bhuvaneṣṭhāh*.

#### *m* and *b*

§241. The few variations of *m* and *b* are related to those of *m* and *v* thru the medium of the unstable conditions that govern the relation of *b* and *v*. A large number of interchanges between *mahat* and *brhat* are not included here, as being too simply and obviously lexical; see, provisionally, the Conc. under these words.

*parā dehi śāmulyam* (ApMB. *śābalyam*) RV. AV. ApMB. The bridal garment, defiled after the wedding night, is named here alone *śāmulyam*, which at least suggests *śamala* 'stain'. Apparently ApMB. is influenced by *śabala* 'spotted'. See §607.

*asambādham badhyato* (many AV. miss. *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *\*veṣu*) AV. Kauś.: *asambādḥ yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS. Sense and text tradition require *madhyato*. The form *ba°* is probably due to assimilation to the preceding *-bādham* (so Whitney); it is in any case a corruption. This is immediately followed by:

*yasyā udatāḥ pravatāḥ samam bahu* (MS. *mahat*) AV. MS. Synonyms; cf. *brhat*: *mahat*, referred to above. But the occurrence of *b* for *m* twice in one stanza suggests phonetic moments.



*aiḍamṛdā yaryudhaḥ* KS.: *ailabrdā* (MS. °mṛdā; KapS. *ilamṛdā*) *dyuryudhaḥ* (TS. *yaryudhaḥ*, MS. *yo yuihaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. The belongings of the word in question are entirely obscure; Mahidhara on VS. desperately, 'bringers of food' (*bhṛtaḥ*!).  
*anuṣṭub* (°tum) *mitrasya*, see §412.

#### m and bh

§242. The equally small group of *m* and *bh* variants is in general purely lexical:

*indrā ukthebbhir mandīṣṭhaḥ* (ŚŚ. *bhand*°) SV, ŚŚ. Cf. next; the roots are quasi-synonyms.

*divas* (*divaḥ*) *prṣṭham* (PB. *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānaḥ* (PB. *mand*°) *suman-mabhiḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Cf. *prec.*

*tāsām iśāno bhagavaḥ* (MS. *maghavan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Practically synonyms.

*sarvaṁ tāṁ* (AV. *sarvān nī*, MS. KS. TA. *sarvāṁs tān*) *maṣmaṣā* (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*, MS. *†mṛsmṛsā*, v. l. *mṛsmṛjā*, VS. *bhasmasā*) *kuru* (AV. *-karam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The onomatopoetic word found in various forms in the others is made into *bhasmasā*, as if 'to ashes', in VS.

*savitā bhṛtyām* (KS. ms.† *manyām*) TS. KS.; von Schroeder emends to *bhṛtyām*.

*aciṣyāma* (p.p. *amī*, for *abhi*, *syāma*) *erjane viśva ūā* MS.: *abhi syāma erjane sarvavīrāḥ* RV. KS. Corruption if not misprint.

*yuktāa hīro vimṛjaḥ* (*vibhṛjaḥ*) . . ., and others, see §57.

## CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES OF Y, R, L, V, AND H

§243. Most of the sections included in this chapter are small and of little phonetic importance. That on *y* and *v*, however, is extensive, and while largely dealing with matters of noun formation (suffixes) or with lexical interchanges, contains also some curious and interesting phonetic shifts. And the large group of variations between *r* and *l* is almost purely phonetic in character, as is also the smaller group concerning *l* and *ḍ* which we add at the end of the chapter.

### *y* and *r*

§244. Under this head occur chiefly variations between lexically different words, more or less close in meaning, and as usual often under suspicion of corruption:

*dviṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ. °*yai*) *ṛṇayā na iyase* (SV. *ṛase*) RV. SV. KS. AB.

ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV. Roots *ir* and *i* (intensive), both 'go'.

*śaṇḍikera* (PG. *śaṇḍikeya*) *ulūkhalaḥ* PG. HG.: *śaṇḍerathāś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB. Fanciful names of demons.

*vāyosāvitṛa* (MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA.

*sahvatsarāya paryāyiniṁ* (TB. *paryāriṇiṁ*) VS. TB. Fanciful epithets of doubtful meaning.

*ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā* (ApMB. *kāmān*) *ayaṁsata* (AV. *araṁsata*) RV. AV. ApMB. *nī-yam* 'settle', and *nī-ram* 'rest'.

*prāṇasya vidvān samare na dhīraḥ* TS. MS.: *yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīraḥ* AV. Both *samara* and *samaya* mean something like 'juncture'.

*apo* (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyān acāriṣam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. IŚ. MŚ. ApMB. MG.: *apo anu acāriṣam* (JB. *†acārīṣam*) TS. TB. JB. ApŚ.: *apo divyā acāyīṣam* AV. *anu-car* 'follow after'; *cāy* 'fear, revere'.

*vasūni cārrur* (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhājāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Stönnert on SMB. understands *ca ārye*, 'O lady'. Is HG. Prakritie for *ca āryo*? (cf. Pali *ayyo*.) One ms. of ApMB. also *cāyyo*. All very doubtful.

*yasyedam ā rajo yujah* AV. ArŚ.: *yasyedam ā rajah* AA.: *yasyedam cōā*



*ārajah* ŚŚ. Obscure in all. ŚŚ's *ārajah* looks as if blended of *ā rajo* and *yujah*, whereas AA. seems to have lost (haplographically) two syllables, *āru(ja-yu) jah*. Or ŚŚ. may be regarded as showing a sort of metathesis of *r*; *ojah* vaguely = *ā(y)ujah*.

*gohya* *ṭupagohya marūko* (PG. *mayūkho*) *manohāh* PG. SMB. See §81.

*śulā yācann āhān girā* (SV. *jyā*) RV. SV. N. See §134.

*rudra yat te kravī* (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) . . . see §47.

*tāh pūṣānu yachatu* (AV. *pūṣābhi rakṣatu*) RV. AV. See §184.

*antah śubhrāvatā* (SV. *śundhyāvatā*) *pathā* RV. SV. See §173.

*vijye* *ṭeiryē vikṣipe* (p.p. *vi-kṣepe*) MS.: *vijre vikṣipe vidhame* MŚ.

(Read *vikṣipe* in MS.) According to Knauer (note on MŚ.) these words are vocatives of cow-names. No etymology for \**vijyā* or

\**vijrā* suggests itself which would seem appropriate to a cow.

*raṇiṣṭhor hrdayād* (AV. \**ularād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

*agor arir* (SV. *nāgo rayir*) *ā cikela* RV. SV. Wholly different words and constructions.

*yena bhūyaś carāty* (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG, PG, ApMB. MG. *bhūyaś* and *bhūriś* are different suffixal formations from the same root.

*śukram te* (TA. \**vām*) *anyad yajataṁ* (TA. \**raj*<sup>o</sup>) *te* (TA. \**vām*) *anyat* RV. SV. TS. MS. KŚ. AB. KB. TA. (both) AŚ. Svīdh. N. The Poona ed. of TA. reads *yajataṁ* for *raj*<sup>o</sup>, but with v. l. *raj*<sup>o</sup>, which the comm. also reads; he has a labored and worthless explanation.

#### y and l

§245. Under this head we find only partly synonymous variants concerning the roots *yup* on the one hand, and *lubh* or *lup* on the other. The two instances of *yup*: *lubh* have been quoted in §113, which see. The other is:

*mṛtyoh padān* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. °*ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *etu* (RV. *aita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

#### y and v

§246. Both *y* and *v* appear very frequently in suffixal and inflectional elements; among these must be included cases in which the *y* and *v* represent the vowels *i* and *u* under conditions required by morphology. There are, besides these, not a few variants of the kind which we call purely lexical, that is concerning radically different words. Not infrequently either the *y* or *v* form of a given variant is suffixal or inflectional while the other is radical. Indeed the rather numerous

variations in this section are unusually hard to classify. They present an aspect of great heterogeneity, suggesting in the large that the phonetic relations between the sounds *y* and *v* must have played some part in the matter, even tho in individual instances the precise extent of that influence is extremely hard to determine. It was probably most marked in the cases where a suffix containing *y*, such as *yin*, exchanges with one in *v*, such as *vin* (see the next paragraph). In the aggregate, these numerous variants form an important bulwark for the theory of interchange between the two sounds in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as recognized by Wackernagel I §188c. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §254.

§247. We begin with cases which seem most clearly to contain noun suffixes in both *y* and *v* forms. Prominent among them is a group of forms in suffixal *yin* and *vin*, found, as far as the variants are concerned, collectively only in YV. texts, and that too so that the *v* forms occur only in Taittiriya texts, the *y* forms in those of other YV. schools. We must associate this fact first with an apparent tendency of Tait. texts to prefer *v* in other suffixal forms (§248), and further with the preference of the same school for the vowel *u* in place of *i* (§622). The relation between *yin* and *vin* seems to be this. The *yin* forms contain really suffixal *in*, added to stems in *ā* (all the variants noted concern such stems). The *y* bridges euphonically the gap between *ā* and *i* (cf. §§338ff.), precisely as e.g. in aorist passives from roots ending in *ā* (*adhāyi* etc.) The *vin* of Tait. texts is best explained as a blend of *vant* or *van* with this *in*; e.g. *svadhā-vin*, product of *svadhā-vant* (RV.) and *svadhā-van* with *svadhā-y-in*. It is therefore likely that these *vin* forms are secondary to those in *yin*. See Whitney, *Grammar* §§258a, 1230e; Brugmann, *Zur Geschichte der hiatischen Vokalverbindungen*, *BKSGW* 65 (1913), part 3, pp. 211ff.; Wackernagel I §188c (where, however, it is represented that the *y* and *v* forms exchange at random). Besides the forms noted in the following list, note *yāyin*, *sthāyin*, *ṛgubha-dhāyin*, in addition to Whitney's list §1230e:

*nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaś* (TS. \**vibhyaś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namaḥ sṛkāyibhyo* (TS. \**vibhyo*, MS. *sṛgāyi*?) *jighāṁsadbhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namo rudrāyātātāyine* (TS. \**vīne*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

*pītāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. \**vibhyaḥ*) *svadhā namaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Also with *pitr̥bhyaḥ* and *prapītāmahebhyaḥ*.

*ūrjaspātīḥ svadhāyiniḥ* (TS. \**vīniḥ*) TS. KS.

§248. Besides these we find a considerable number of miscellaneous



cases in which *y* and *v* are in some sense suffixal; it is hard to classify them more precisely, and the degree of phonetic influence at work is likewise hard to determine. But it is to be noted that in not a few of them; also, Tait. texts seem to prefer the *v* forms, altho instances of the contrary are not lacking:

*aramgamāya jagmaye* (TB. ApŚ. *jagmave*) RV. SV. TB. Ap. Note stem *jagmu*, otherwise unknown, in Tait. texts, for regular *jagmi*. *divasyave* (TA. *divasvate*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* MS. TA. Stems *divasyu* and *divasvant*; but MS. has v. l. *divasvate*.

*ojasvinī nāmāsi* TS. ApMB.: *ojasyā nāmāsi* MS. Again Tait. texts with *v*:

*atharya pitum me pāhi* VS. ŚŚ.: *athareva pitum me gopāya* (AŚ. †*pāhi*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *atharva* looks like a phonetic variant, suggested by *atharvan*, for *atharya* (cf. RV. *athari*, *atharya*), epithet of Fire. Note *v* in Tait. texts (to be sure also in AŚ.).

*tapyatvai svāhā* TS.: *tapatyai svāhā* KSA. TA. Stems *tapyatu* (RV.) and *tapati*. Poona ed. of TA. *tapyatvai*, v. l. *tapatyai*.

*ye te agni medāyo* (KS. °*ro*) *ya indavaḥ* TS. KS. Here TS. has the regular *i*-stem *modi*, while KS. substitutes an otherwise unknown *modu*.

*puṁse putrāya vettavai* (ŚB. [so, for Conc. ŚG.] BṛhU. *vittaye*, MG. *kartavai*, KS.† and v. l. of MG. *kartave*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB.

*tram no devatātaye* (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. N. See §61.

*śrudhi śruta śraddhivam* (AV. *śraddhivam*) *te vadāmi* RV. AV. The anomalous RV. form is, as it were, explained in AV.

*viśvacarṣaṇiḥ sahurib sahvān* (AV. *sahvān*) RV. AV. MS. Again AV. eliminates a rare hieratic form.

*śā tanūr baladeyāya mehi* (AV. *baladdēvā na ehi*) RV. AV. 'Come to me unto strength-giving' (RV. p.p. *mā*, *ā*, *ihi*): 'come to us, giving strength'.

*namo hradayyāya* (KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca niveśyāya* (KS. *niveśyāya*) *ca* TS. KS.: *namo niveśyāya* (p.p. *nī*°) *ca hṛdayāya ca* MS.: *namo hṛdayyāya ca niveśyāya ca* VS. Anomalous forms seemingly from *hrd* and *hṛdaya* (but cf. §658), or from *hrada* (Keith, 'of the lake'). Stem *hradarya* quoted Pāṇ. 6. 1. 83, Vārtt. 2, Pāt.

*idā manuṣvaḥ* (AV. mss. *manuṣyaḥ*) *iha cetayanti* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. The mss. reading of AV. is supported by APr. 4.65 (comm. *manuṣyavat*) and adopted by Whitney. The APr. comm. looks in the right direction; it is a blend of *manuṣvat* and *manuṣya*.

*namah sūtāyāhantyaī* (TS. °*hantyaī*, MS. KS. °*hantāya*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. *a-hanti*, 'not smiting': *a-hantya* = *a-hantva* 'not to be smitten'.  
*arāyo śasmān abhiduchunāyate* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *arāṇ yō no abhi duchu-*  
*nāyate* RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ. The stem *a-rāy-a* (rai) is bahuvrīhi,  
*a-rā-van* karmadhāraya. Caland would read *arāṇ yō śmān* in  
 ApŚ.; it seems indeed that the syllable *yō* is inherited from the  
 RV. form of the pāda.

*vasuranyo* (MahānU. °*nyo*) *vibhūr asi* TA. MahānU. *anya* is from root  
*raṇ*; as to *raṇea* we must remember the quasi-root *raṇv* (see last  
 variant in §225). Both comms. have fatuous explanations; that  
 on MahānU. divides *vasur anyo* (= *stutya*!).

*etena tvam atra śirṣanyān* (MŚ. *tvam śirṣanyām*, Conc., but Van Gelder's  
 ed., 6. 1. 2, *śirṣanyān*) *edhi* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The KS. ApŚ. reading  
 alone makes sense: 'by this be thou headed' = 'let this be thy  
 head'. The MŚ. form, if Van Gelder is correct, can only be a  
 phonetic variant for °*ēdn*.

*unnetar un non* (read *no*) *nayonnetar vasso abhy un nayā nah* AŚ.:  
*unnetar vasiyo na un nayābhi* (KS. *vasyo 'bhy un nayā nah*)  
 MS. KS. ApŚ. The AŚ. form may be felt as acc. pl. of *Vasu*  
 (n. pr.), but is really only a phonetic variant or corruption for  
*vasyo* (*vasīyo*): 'lead us unto welfare'.

§249. In a little group of three cases, AV. substitutes the more popular  
*varīyah* for *varivah*, of which the *v* is certainly connected with the *u*  
 of *uru*:

*asmabhyam indra varivah* (AV. *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asma-*  
*bhyam mahi varivah sugam kah* RV.

*sakhā sakhībhyo varivah* (AV. \**varīyah*) *kṛṇotu* RV. AV. (both) TS. KS.  
 GB. Here Ppp. has *varivah*; one ms. of GB. *varīyah*, which, it  
 seems, ought to be read in GB. in accord with AV., unless GB.  
 quoted from Ppp.

*tenṣā no atra varivah* (AV. *varīyah*) *kṛṇotu* AV. TS.

§250. In another small group the *y* is definitely part of a case-ending,  
 while the *v* remains suffixal or is a stem final:

*yābhīr indro vāṛdhe vīryāyā* (AV. *vīryāvān*) RV. AV. N. 'Increased unto  
 heroism': 'increased, (so as to be) full of heroism'.

*gārhapatyah* (ŚŚ. °*tyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK. *prajāvān*) *vasuṣṭamāh* VS. VSK.

ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Objective gen. varying with possessive adjective.  
*prajānanāh vai pratīṣṭhā loke sādhu prajāyās* (MahānU. *sādhu prajāvān*)  
*tantum taneṇāh* . . . TA. MahānU. But most mss. of MahānU.  
 agree with TA.; the ed. follows one ms. and the comm.



*namah śaṁgave* (TS.† *śaṁgāya*) *ca paśupatiḥ ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.  
 Wackernagel, II. 1 p. 315, plausibly takes *śaṁgāya* for *śaṁgayāya*.  
*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, read *sa ghā* with Poona ed.) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā*  
 (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§251. In alternating verbal endings the same change between *y* and *v* occurs repeatedly. It is especially common in 3d person indicative-imperative variations; see VV I §§116, 104. We quote a single example here:

*pra śamā yanty* (SV. *yante*) *agnaye* RV. SV.

Another stray variant concerning verbal inflection has been noted:  
*brahmatad upāsvaitat* (MahānU. °*svaitat*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. The reading of TA. is uncertain; see VV I pp. 45, 125.

[*madhye poṣasya* (AG. °*sva*) *tr̥mpatām* (MG. *piṣyatām*, AG. *tiṣṭhantām*)  
 AG. ŚG. MG. For *poṣasya* read °*sva* with Stenzler's Translation.]

And in different present stem-formations of verbs:

*manve* (ArŚ. *manye*) *vān dyāvūprthivī* (ArŚ. adds *subhojasau*) AV. ArŚ.  
 Vait. See VV I p. 125.

§252. We now come to the more strictly lexical variants, in which at least one of the two sounds *y* and *v* is not in any sense suffixal or inflectional (usually both are not). They are fairly numerous, but so miscellaneous that it is hardly profitable to try to group most of them. There are several interchanges of the pronoun forms *tyam* (*tyat*) and *tvam*:

*tam u tvam* (SV. *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhi* RV. SV.

*tvam* (KS. *tyam*) *hy agne agnina* RV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. JB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.

*imam ā* (MS. *u*, p.p. *ā[m]*) *su tvam asmākam* (TA. ApŚ. *tyam asma-bhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§253. Another little group concerns real or specious derivatives of the root *ī* 'go' in variation with *av*. They tend to confirm the use of *av* as a verb of motion; see Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV* 123ff.:

*āpo agre viśvam āvan* AV. : *āpo ha yad bṛhatīr* (TS. MS. KS. *yan mahatīr*) *viśvam* (TA. *garbham*) *āyan* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. 'Went (rushed?) into the all'; AV. is of course secondary but perhaps intends substantially the same as the rest, rather than the banal 'helped all'.

*atī setuṁ durāvyam* (SV. *durāvyam*) RV. SV. The derivation of the RV. form is uncertain, see Oldenberg, *Naten* on 9. 41. 2. The SV. form, at least, is clearly meant to be taken from root *ī* ('hard to cross').

*ayebhyaḥ* (TB. *ave*<sup>2</sup>) *kūlavam* VS. TB. *aya* 'dice-throws' is of course original; note that *av-* occurs in a Tait. text (see §247); is it a mere phonetic variant for *ay-*? (comm. 'to helpers'). Tho *aya* may not be derived from root *i*, the variant belongs to this group.

§254. Another group of cases is united by the circumstance that differences of word division produce different words in one form of the variant. In the instances first mentioned the *v* (or, once, the *y*) is suffixal, the other sound belonging to a separate word (particle or light monosyllable):

*ṛṣiṇām pūro abhiśastipā u* (VS. ŚB. <sup>2</sup>*pāvā*, TB. <sup>2</sup>*pā ayaṁ*) AV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*tanūpāśnas* (AV. *tanūpā ye nas*) *tanvas tapojāḥ* (AV. *tanūjāḥ*) AV. AB. AŚ, *tanūpāvan* = *tanūpā*.

*śvarāḥ* (AV. *śvar yaḥ*) *jyotiḥ abhayaṁ śasti* RV. AV. KB. TB.

*satyaṁ* (SV. ApŚ. *sā tūm*) *vr̥ṣan vr̥ṣed aśi* RV. SV. ApŚ. The RV. original is less commonplace than the later substitute, which opens countless Vedic *pādas*.

*utānyo asmad yajate vi cāvaḥ* (TB. *vicāyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. N. The original has *vi-ca-āvaḥ*; *vicāyaḥ* (comm. *viśeṣeṇa pājānyuktaḥ*) is ἀπ.λεγ., corrupt, and untranslatable. See Kaegi, *Festgruss Roth* 159, 165.

*yeṇa bhūyaś carāty* (MG. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. The PG. reading is clearly secondary.

*nāvaś caranti śasica iḡānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo vi yanti śasico na vāṇiḥ* MS. KS. The passage is mystical and obscure, tho the individual words are simple enough; VS. etc. may have a lect. fac.

*pītā bhāṣvaty anūpamā* TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838.

*praty eva* (ŚŚ. *pra treva*) *gr̥bhāyata* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

§255. The rest we shall not attempt to classify; note that in some of them one or the other form still contains suffixal *y* or *v* (tho not both): *ghṛtāṁ ghṛtavyam* (MS. *ghṛtavane*) *piba* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Home of ghee': 'rich in ghee'; *ghṛtavani* is a secondary blend of the common epithets *ghṛta-rant* and *ghṛta-yoni* (both RV.), *anuvāsi* (VS. *anuyā*, MS. *anuvāya*, GB.† Vait.† *ahnānsi*, em. Vait. ed. to *anuvāsi*) *rātriyai* (VS. *rātryā*, MS. KS.† Vait.† *rātriyai*) *tvā* (VS. MS. omit) *rātrīm* (VS. MS. KS.† *rātrīm*) *jineva* VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait. (pratika in GB.) The two forms are quite uncertain and may be phonetic variants. The lexicons take them as containing the



roots *ed* and *yā*. But note that MS. presupposes a stem *anura*, with short *a*.

*trāḍīram indram akṛṇor aradhyam* (VSK. *ayudhyam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Synonyms; note the *u*, preserving a trace of original *v*. Something like the reverse process in Pāli *ārudha* = Skt. *āyudha*.

*āvṛti* (MS. *āvukṣi*) *sarvā oṣadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Roots *ā-vi-* *ā-yu-*. Other interchanges of *vi:* *yu* in §805.

*nādyā śatruḥ nanu* (ŚB.† *na nu*) *purā vivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB. Metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*vi:* *yu*).

*rāyah syāma rathyo yayasvataḥ* (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV. MS. TB. The startling change in TB. is probably suggested by *su-yamasya* in the prec. pāda. Vivasvant goes well with Yama!

*śaṅgayī* (MS. ŚB. °*gavi*, TB. °*gayé*) *ñradānā* (ŚB. *ñradānū*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *gaya* 'chattels': *go* 'cow'.

*somī ghoseṇa yachatu* (SV. *vakṣatu*) RV. SV. Substantially synonyms. *spariḥante dhīyah* (TS. KSA. *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśah* RV. SV. TS. KSA. See §109.

*sarvasvatyai yaśobhagīnyai* (KS. *ceśabha*°) *svāhā* VS. KS.

*brhann asi brhadravā* (TS. KS. °*dgrāvā*, MS. °*drāyāḥ*, MŚ. °*drāyah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The Maitr. texts obviously secondary. *malmalābhavanīṣi* *te* (N. °*ttiyā*, corrupt) *ādayāmi* TS. MS. KS. TA. N. *rudra yat te krāyī* (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*) . . . see §47.

*dhuāṅkṣāgneṇī* (VSK. vv. II. *dhuāṅkṣyā*° and *dhuāṅkṣvā*°) VS. VSK. MS.; *agnaye dhuāṅkṣyā* (KSA.° *ṣā*) TS. KSA. Wholly obscure words.

*nigīrya* (MŚ. *nigīrya*) *tubhyam abhya āsam* (ApŚ. *tubhyam madhye*, MŚ. *tubhyam madhvah*) Vali. ApŚ. MŚ.: *nigīrya sarvā ādhīḥ* KS. A desperate passage; see §47.

*duṣṣvapnahan duruṣyaha* TA. Bibl. Ind.; *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm.: *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU. Comm. on TA. *duruṣṣaha duḥkham utkarṣeṇyābhībhava*; comm. on MahānU. *duruṣṣahā tvam, duṣṭam uṣṣam* (!) *dāham hanti*. The word seems to be *durasyuha* (°*hā*) 'killing him who plans evil (*durasyu*)'.

*aśvān anaśṣato* (KS.† ApŚ. *anabyato*, MŚ. Van Gelder *anaśvato*, without v. l.) *dānam* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Poona ed. of TA. reads *anaśṣato*, v. l. *anuśyato*; the comm. *ayuhṣaphān*, with v. l. *anaśato*. Obscure. *revatī ramadhvam* (MS.\* °*fir amedhyam*) VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. The variant of MS. is corrupt; see *AJP* 27. 403. But the reading of the ed. is an emendation; mss. °*ramadhyam*.

*ayuktāso abrahmatā vidasāma* (RV. *yad asan*) RV. VS. ŚB. *vi-dasāma*, taken by Mahidhara as from *vī + das* 'fail'.

y and h

§256. A very few cases of miscellaneous character, consisting of easy lexical substitutions or corruptions. Cf. Weber, *ISl.* 4. 224; *dyutāno vājibhir yatah* (SV. *hitah*) RV. SV.

*sañ sravantu diśo mahih* (HG. *mayi*) ApMB. HG.

*endram vagnunā vahata* PB.: *vagnunendram hvayata* TB. ApŚ. Note the metathesis of *h* from the beginning of the original *hvayata* to the middle in *vahata*. PB. comm. glosses *āhvayata*.

*yamtr yamasya bibhryād* (AV. *virhād*) *ajāmi* RV. AV. See §222.

*taṁ ahañ punar ādade* KŚ. PG.: *imañ tañ punar ādade* 'yam (read 'ham) HG. (plainly corrupt).

*hinvāno hetrbhir yatah* (SV. *hitah*) RV. SV.

*ṣnuṣā sapatnā* (TB. comm. and Poons ed. text °*nāh*) *śvakuro* 'yam *astu* (AŚ. 'ham *asmī*) TB. AŚ.

r and l

§257. Nearly all the numerous variants under this heading are purely phonetic; the same word is spelled with *r* or *l*. The number in which lexical or other real difference is even conceivable is quite negligible. While the variants can hardly be said to establish any new principle, they furnish a large amount of new evidence for facts which have, on the whole, been fairly well recognized.

§258. There is a tendency towards *l* noticeable in younger and less hieratic texts. The RV., especially in its oldest stratum, has a marked fondness for *r*. In the RV. itself are found doublets such as the roots *pru:plu*, *mruc:mluc*, *car:cal*, *pruḥ:pluḥ*; the words *puru:pulu*, *aram:alakam* [despite Wüst, in *Ehrensache W. Geiger* 185ff., which does not convince me—F. E.], *sahamāra:sahamāla*, and the intensive stems *jarḡur:jalḡul*. Such instability continues after the Mantra period thru the history of the two sounds in Sanskrit and the medieval dialects, until in Māgadhī Prakrit, and sporadically elsewhere, *l* stands for any and every *r*. The reverse is also found, tho only sporadically in the Prakrit dialects recorded: Pischel §259, and cf. Wackernagel I p. 215f., Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 30f. This confusion is reflected in the earliest language and thruout the Vedic period, not only in the variations of parallel texts, but in the ms. readings of one and the same text.



§259. The variants confirm and extend by further examples the scope of these known facts. A few other stray instances which have come to our notice and are not included in Wackernagel: MS. 3. 7. 9 has *akṣavāra* and *dṣavāra* against *akṣavāla* and *dṣ°* in the corresponding passages of KS. 24.8 and KapS. 38. 1 (see Von Schroeder, MS., p. xv). PG. 1. 15. 4 has *grapsa* 'tuft of grass' for AG. 1. 14. 4 *glapsa* (GG. 2. 7. 4 *grathna*). The variant *pleṅgha* for *preṅkha* 'swing' occurs in ApDh. 1. 11. 31. 16. Later on, similarly, derivatives of the roots *jvar* and *jval* figure on the same page of the Kathāsaritsāgara (5. 118, 122). In Aufrecht's edition of AB., p. 428, it has been pointed out that this text has a number of cases of *r* for more usual *l* (*urāka*, *bahura*, etc.). Such a thing is not surprising in a Rīgvedic Brāhmana; and certainly AB's *bahura* goes RV. one better, for that form is unknown in RV., where *bahula* is common. In fact, the AB. passage in question, 2. 20. 14 (also in AŚ. 5. 1. 15), containing *bahuramadhyam*, imitates RV. 10. 42. 8, which contains *bahulāntāsa*(ḥ).—The statement was made by Von Schroeder, ZDMG 33. 196, that MS. has a general preference for *l* over *r*. But this is not repeated, so far as we can see, in his edition of the text; we gather that it was tacitly withdrawn. In fact, the variants do not show any such preference for *l* in MS. While Maitr. texts sometimes show *l* for *r* of other texts, one of these cases is a lexical variant (§260), and in most of the others the *l* form is more usual thruout the language generally. Per contra, note MS. *aṣṣavāra* above in this section, and *kharrvā* (to be sure with v. 1. *khar°*), the only recorded occurrence of this word with *r* (§265).

§260. The very small group of lexical variants is now given first; one of them, even (the last), may possibly be purely phonetic—if not that, it is certainly corrupt:

*te no 'gnayah paprayah pārayantu* (MŚ. MG. *pāla°*) TS. TB. PB. ApMB.

MŚ. PG. MG. The two words are practically synonyms, the unrelated; both mean in effect 'preserve'. Note the adjacent *paprayah*, related to *pārayantu*.

*adhī skanda* (Ppp. *kranda*) *vīrayasva* AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. 'Play the hero': 'be strong' (*vīl°* for *vīd°*). See §272.

*dhik tvā jāraṁ parasya janasya nirmājmi*... MŚ.: *dhik tvā jālmī*...

LŚ. The words are quite different in meaning and construction. *mā rudrīyāso abhi gur vṛdhānaḥ* (MS. *abhi gulbadhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vudhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. See §209. *gulbadhānaḥ* is not divided in p.p.; it can only be a corruption (or phonetic variant) for *gur* (etc.) = *guh*, 3 pl. aorist.

§261. The rest are all purely phonetic in character. We begin with a group in which *r* is regular in RV., but *l* is regular in later or less hieratic texts. The *r* forms are either Rigvedic, and in later texts copied from RV., or conscious archaisms imitating Rigvedic diction, like *bahura* in AB. (§259):

*ākṛīrā* (AV. ApMB. *aślīlā*) *tanūr bhuvati* RV. AV. ApMB. The *r* form is not recorded outside of RV., which is the more remarkable because of its obvious connexion with the common word *śrī*. For this the suffix *ra* is responsible, first by dissimilation of one of the liquids, then by reassimilation of the remaining *r* to *l*.

*āśrīram* (TB.† *aślīlam*, both edd.) *cū kṛyuthā* (TB.† *°thāt*, comm. and Poona ed. text *°thā*) *supratīkam* RV. AV. TB.

*samūḍham* (VSK. *samūlham*) *asya pāśure* (SV. *°le*) RV. AV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The *l* form is regular after RV.; the *r* form in RV. only in this passage, directly repeated in all later texts. *mā tad bhūmyām ā kṛīṣan* (VSK. v. l. *ślīṣan*) *mā tṛṇeṣu* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. *aślēṣā* (*āśreṣā*) . . . below, §265.

*andhākīn* (TS. *°he*, KSA. *°heh*, em., ms. *°he*) *sthūragudayā* (TS. KSA. *°gudā*, VS. *sthūlagudayā*, and so MS. p.p.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The RV. knows only *sthūra*, but *sthūla* is regular later (cf. however *sthavira*).

*anu na mārṣtu* (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. *anu mārṣtu*) *tanno yad viriṣtam* (VS. TS. KS.† ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *rilīṣtam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. *riṣ* is Rigvedic, rare later.

*cappam* (TB. Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur bhīṣag asya vālah* (KS. *vārah*, TB. *bālah*, Poona ed. *vālah*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The *r* form is almost limited to RV.; cf. however *aśvavāra* in MS., §259.

*devāṅho yasmai tvede tat satyam-upariṣrutā* (ApŚ. *aparīplutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ. *bhaṅgena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ. The root is commonly *pru* [in RV., only very rarely so later,

*aślonā*\* (comm. *aśronā*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svargē* AV.: *aślonāṅgair ahrutā* (read *ahrutāḥ* or *°tā* with Poona ed.) *svargē* TA. *śrona* chiefly RV.

§262. Next, a group concerning words in which both *r* and *l* are common in most periods of the language, but RV. as a rule has *r* almost or quite exclusively. Here are included two variants in which AV. goes RV. one better in its hieratic *r*; but both RV. passages are from the largely popular Book 10. Both cases, adjacent to each other, concern the root *rabh*: *labh*, which in RV. always has *r* except in a few passages of the tenth book, of which these are two. Both forms are common later:



*utālabdham* (AV. *utārabdhān*, Ppp. *utāl°*) *apṛyuhī jātavedaḥ*; followed by: *ālebhānād rṣibhīr yātudhānāt* (AV. *utārebhānād rṣ° yātudhānāt*) RV. AV.

The AV. is secondary and corrupt in its construction; see Whitney's note.

The other variants in this section do not involve RV. Two concern *śukla* and *śukra*, both fairly common later, but the former not in RV. Another concerns *rohita*: *lohita*, of which again RV. has only the *r* form. The case of *kṣudra*: *kṣulla*, where the *l* form is clearly Prakritic (with assimilated consonant group), also concerns words both of which are well known in the language as a whole:

*śukrāya svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB.: *śuklāya svāhā* VS. MS.

*peśo na śukram* (KS. TB. *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS. samh. mss. *aś°*) *caśāte* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*varuṇāya rājñe trayo rohitalalāmāḥ* (TS.† misprinted *rohito-la°*; KSA. *lohita°*) TS. KSA.

*atho ye kṣullakā iva* AV.: *hataḥ krimīṇām kṣudrakāḥ* SMB.: *atho athūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA. (perhaps consciously hieratic as regards both adjectives).

§263. Next, words in which *r* forms (all prehistoric) are more common in all periods, the *l* forms being largely problematic or textually uncertain (Wackernagel I §192b). In this group might perhaps have been placed *gulbadhānaḥ* of MS., see §260:

*asya kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, AVPpp. ms. *krṇvā*) *harivo medinām tvā* RVKh. TS. TB. AVPpp. (Barret, JAOS. 37. 263f.): *asmākam abhūr haryakva medī* AV.: *ika krṇmo harivo medināḥ tvā* KS. Scheftelowitz p. 112 reads for RVKh. *ika kurmo ha° vedināḥ tvā*. But his *kurmo* is an emendation of a ms. reading *kutso*, which is probably a graphic corruption for *kulmo*.

*upapṛavada* (RVKh. *upapṛa°*) *manḍāki* RVKh. AV. N. Again Scheftelowitz reads *upapṛa°* in RVKh., this time with his ms. The form intended is *upa-pra-vada*, cf. *ā-vada* in next pāda. The reading with *pla*, if it is anything more than a ms. corruption, is mechanically assimilated to *plavaśva* in the second half stanza.

*antarikṣam puritatā* (TS. *puri°*, MS. *pul°*, KSA. *pul°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA. The *r* forms are commoner.

*salatam tu śirābhis tu* MahānU.: *saṁtatam śirābhis* (Poona ed. *śir°*, but v. l. and comm. *śir°*, gloss *naḍibhiḥ*) *tu* TA. No *l* form of this word is otherwise recorded.

§264. Words in which *l* is regular, *r* rare. Here, first, eight passages containing *śarira* or *salila* 'ocean'. That MS. invariably has *salila*

cannot be considered significant (cf. §259, end), since this is the regular form in all periods, even RV.; neither RV. nor AV. knows *sarira*, which is practically restricted to YV. texts and, along with many other *r* forms, may be regarded as a conscious hieraticism:

*aśvañ jajñānañ sarīrasya* (MS. *salīlasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *prapīnam* (MŚ. v. 1. °*lam*) *agne sarīrasya* (MŚ. *salīlasya*) *madhye* VS.

KS. MŚ.: *prapyātām* etc. TS. ApŚ.

*vibhrājamānañ sarīrasya* (MS. *salīlasya*) *madhye* (TA. °*yāt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*vyacyamānañ salīlasya* (VS. KS. ŚB. *sarīrasya*, TS. TA. *bhuvanasya*) *madhye* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*sarīrañ chandañ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *salīrañ ch°* TS. MS.

*sarīrāya svāhā* VS.: *salīlāya tvā* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *salīlāya svāhā* ŚB.

*sarīrāya* (MS. TA. *salīlāya*) *tvā vātāya svāhā* VS. MS. ŚB. TA.

*sarīre tvā sūlane sādyañmi* VS. KS. ŚB.: *salīle* etc. MS.: *salīle sadane sīda* TA.

§265. The rest are miscellaneous:

*kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe* (MŚ. *lalāṭe*) *purastāt* VS. MS. The *l* form is commoner.

*aśleṣā* (TS. *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. In MS. p.p. *aśl°*; KS. may intend either *a-* or *ā-*. The word regularly has *l*. Cf. *mā tad bhūmyām* etc., §261.

*adhorañmā* (HG. text *atho°*) *ulumbalañ* (HG. *†ulumbarañ*) ApMB. HG. The word (usually *udum°*, probably related to *udumbara*, *uq°* 'fig-tree') appears in RV. AV. etc., always with *l* in the last syllable, except here in HG., which may show dissimilation to preceding *l*. Cf. §273.

*mudgāś ca me khalvāś* (MS. *kharvāś*, v. 1. *khal°*) *ca me* TS. MS. KS. A kind of grain; the *r* form not found elsewhere. Note that it occurs in MS. (cf. §259).

*achalābhīh* (KSA. °*rābhīh*, MS. [m] *atsarābhīh*, VS. *ṛkṣalābhīh*) *kapiñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184.

#### *r* and *ṛ*

§266. These interchanges, with the yet more scanty groups concerning *r* and *ṛ* and *h*, are sporadic and of slight phonetic importance. We record them on the chance that there may be a quasi-phonetic glide from one to the other in words that are lexically similar, which are regularly involved. In fact, so far as they do not concern corruptions



(as is often the case), they mean substitution of one word for another similar in sound. Thus the very hieratic word *jīva-dānu* is twice replaced by *jīva-dānu* at a time when the former is no longer understood:

*udādāya pṛthivīm jīradānum* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °nuh; VS. ŚB. jīvadānum)  
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.  
*śamgayā* (TB. °ye, MS. ŚB. °gavī) *jīradānā* (ŚB. jīva°) MS. ŚB. TB.  
AŚ. ŚŚ.

§267. The rest are individual cases of more or less close synonymy, tapering off into doubtful or corrupt readings:

*avakraśiṇam vṛṣabham yathājuram* (SV. *yathā juram*) RV. AV. SV.  
'Ageless': 'swift'.

*ārjamañśr oṣadhī ā riśantām* (KSA. *viś°*) RV. TS. KSA.† 'Graze on':  
'enter', the latter an evident lect. fac.

*purā reto dadhīre sūryakṣitah* (AV. °śritah) RV. AV. KS. The AV. is secondary and not very intelligent; 'sun-shining' and not 'sun-resorting' is original. Yet KapŚ. (see note on KS.) has °śritah, evidently intending °śritah.

*rudra yat te krayī* (*krinī, krayī, giri-*)... see §47.

*pāti priyam ripo* (and *rupo*) *agram padam vḥ* RV. (bis): *pāty agnir ripo*  
*agram padam vḥ* AŚ.

*dāredṛśam grhapatim atharyum* (SV. *athavyum*) RV. SV. KS. ApŚ.  
MŚ. N. The SV. form is desperate. Benfey suggests *athare-yan* with simplification of the group of three consonants (cf. §§419ff.). In some way the *v* of *atharvan* seems to be concerned.

*akṣinā gharman pātām hārdvānam* (TA. *hārddivānam*, read *hārdi°* with Poona ed.; LŚ. *pātām ahavyānam*, MS. *pibatām hārdvānam*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. The MS. corruptly mouths over an obscure form. Note that the *v* of the original, by a kind of metathesis, reappears as the vowel *u*.

*hīte* (SV. *hīte*) *hīro jīhveyā vōvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.  
*lutra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam* (MŚ. °retām; AŚ. corruptly °bharatām)  
TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*rathe akṣeṣe vṛṣabhasya* (KS. TB. °ṣu vṛ°) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣe*  
*akṣeṣu vṛṣabharājāḥ* VIdh. See §359.

*miśravāsasaḥ kauberakāḥ* ApMB.: *kauberakā viśravāsah* HG.

*dyurdā* (*dyuṣmān*) *deva* (*agne*) *jarasam* (*haviṣā, °ṣo*) *vṛṣānah* (etc.), see §854.

*asmān* (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avatā hareṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣu ā*) RV. SV.  
VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso* †*vātā hareṣu* AV.

*varuṇāya riśādase* (KSA. *vidase*)... TS. KSA. So the ms. of KSA.:  
but von Schroeder emends to *riśādase*.

§268. In several cases assimilation or dissimilation is concerned: *ugram oṣiṣṭham tarasam* (SV. *tarasam*) *tarasvinam* RV, AV, SV. Assimilation to *tarasvinam* in SV.

*vātajavair* (HG. *vātājirair*) *balavadbhir manojavarib* MS. HG. Either assimilation in MS., or avoidance by dissimilation in HG. of the banal sequence *vātajavair* . . . *manojavarib*. Since the latter process seems almost too clever for a sūtra text, probably MS. is secondary. *dhanamjayan dharuṣam dhārayiṣu* RVKh.; *bhūmidrīham acyutam pārayiṣu* AV.; *bhūmidrīho 'cyutaś cyāvayīṣuḥ* AV. The last, unquestionably secondary, changes to *cyāve*<sup>o</sup> after *acyutam*, 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)', an enticing mode of expression in the Veda (e.g. *ajuryam jarayantam*, RV, 2. 18. 1).

*r* or *e* and *h*

§269. These cases are yet fewer and slighter in phonetic significance; cf. §260:

*areḍatā* (KS.\* *ahed*<sup>o</sup>, so ed., but nis. *īdatā*; read probably *areḍ*<sup>o</sup> with v. Schr. on KS. 32. 3, n. 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ. *gamyāt*, TS. *manasā tac chakeyam*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *ahedatā* (ŚŚ. *ahel*<sup>o</sup>) *manasedam juṣasva* AŚ. ŚŚ. The root *reḍ* in Naigh. 2. 12 is followed immediately by *hed* in a list of ten words for 'be angry'.

*sahamānā sahasvatī* (PG. *sarasvatī*) PG. ApMB. HG. *sarasvatī* is a blunder.

*taṁ tvā bhṛatarah suvṛdhā* (ApMB. *°dho*, HG. *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. See §109.

*tā (tāv) ehi* (*cha, iha*, MG. *eva*) . . ., see §§578, 688.

*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*; Poona ed. *sa ghā*) *no devaḥ savitā sahāvā* (TB. *savīya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*l* and *ḍ*

§270. It is a familiar fact (Wackernagel I §222) that every *ḍ* and *ḍh* between vowels is changed in the Śākala and Bāskala recensions of the RV. to *l* and *lh*. This variation is ignored in the Conc., because it is carried out with mechanical completeness. Clearly related to it is the change between vowels of the same sounds to dental *l* and *lh* in later Vedic texts; Wackernagel I §194. This alteration is carried thru, with as absolute completeness as in RV., in two texts, VSK. and ŚŚ.; and also in the twentieth book of AV. These cases are recorded in the Conc., but we deem it a waste of space to list here the variants which concern VSK. and ŚŚ. alone. Elsewhere the same change occurs sporadically.



It is clear that ms. tradition in this regard is untrustworthy, and that editors have exercised their discretion to some extent. Thus N. seems to intend to write *l* thruout. In the following list all the variants with *l* in AV. occur in Book 20, and mainly in those parts of it which are copied from RV. So far as we have observed, these are the only variations from the text of RV. in those parts of AV. 20.

§271. The list follows:

*idāsmān anu vastān ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.: *idāivāsmān* (RVKh. *ilaiva vām*) *anu vastān vrutenā* RVKh. AV. Vait. But Scheftelowitz reads *idāiva . . . ghṛtena* for RVKh.

*aīdamṛdā yavyudhah* KŚ.: *ailabṛdā* (MŚ. °mṛdā, KapŚ. *ilamṛdā*) *ayuryudhah* (TS. *yavyudhah*; MS. *yo yudhah*) VS. TS. MS. See §241. *ādityā rudrā vasavas tvelate* (AB. *tee*°, for *tee*°; GB. Gaastra *†tenute*, with all mss.) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

*aśtrāni tādān pratināhā* (ApŚ. *† tālān pratināham*) MŚ. ApŚ.

*yad devā devahedanam* (VSK. TA. °helanam, but TA. Poona ed. both times °heḷ°, with v. l. °hed°) AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. (bia) Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. BDh. GDh.

*nahy anyam badākaram* (AA. *balā*°) RV. AA. AŚ. But Keith reads AA. *balā*° (*ās* is read in RV.).

*aśrathnan dṛghāvradata viditā* RV.: *avradanta vilitā* (fragment) N. *indraś ca mṛdayāti* (AV. ŚG. *mṛ*°) *nah* RV. AV. ŚG.

*ide* (ŚŚ. VHDh. *ile*) *dyāvāpṛthivī pūrvacittaye* RV. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. VHDh.

*īdenyo* (AV. ŚŚ. Vait. *ilenyo*) *namasyah* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait. *krīdanta* (N. *krī*°) *putrair naptṛbhīh* RV. AV. N.

*yad vidāv* (AV. *vīlāv*) *indra yut sthīre* RV. AV. SV. Svidh.

*vīdu* (AV. Vait. *vīlu*) *cīd ārajatnubhīh* RV. AV. SV. Vait.

*vīhī sūra* (TB. *sūra*) *puroḍāsam* (AV. °iāsam) RV. AV. KS. TB. N.

*vauṣaḥ* (ŚBK. ŚŚ. *vauṣaḥ*) AB. GB. ŚB. ŚBK. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ.

*vj ānaḥ* (AV. *ānaḥ*) *indraḥ pṛtanāḥ sojāḥ* RV. AV.

#### *ḍ* and *r*

§272. The same change occurs sporadically also between *ḍ* and *r*. Twice this concerns the word *idā*, *ilā*, or *irā*; the other cases are lexical or corrupt. Cf. also *aḥar divābhīr ūtibhīh*, §360; here MS. has (for *aḥar*) *vahad* (cf. next §), but one ms. *vahad* and p.p. *vahaḥ*.

*irāvatī* (KS. *idā*°) *dhenumatī hi bhūtam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*idā* (ŚŚ. *ilā*, MS. MŚ. *idā*, ApŚ. °*irā*, in the same passage with °*idā*) *chī* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

*dṛṇhasva vīdayasva* (MS. *vīr°*) *su* TS. MS.: *adhiskanda vīrayasva* AV.; *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. See §260.

*vīruc chapathayopani* AV.: *vīdu chapathajambhaniḥ* ApŚ. The latter is a clear corruption of the AV. reading, which Caland adopts.

*vareṇyakraṭūr* (AV. *°tur*, ApŚ. *īdenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: *vireṇ-yah kratur indrah suśastih* RV. See §§383, 554.

#### *d* and *r*

§272a. On this subject see Hanna Oertel's helpful review of VV I, in *GLA* 1931 236ff., especially 239f., and his article in *Ehrenpfeife für Wilhelm Geiger* 136f. He refers to Patañjali (Introd. to *Mahābhāṣya*, on Vārtt. 9, p. 11, 11, Kielhorn), who mentions the mispronunciations *yareṇyas*, *taruṇyas*, for *yadeṇyas*, *tadeṇyas*; and to Wackernagel I p. 212. Oertel would see in such variations as *nātārīd* (TB. *°rīr*) *asya samptim vadhānām* (TB. *ba°*) RV. TB., where a difficult 2d person sing. is substituted for a 3d person (cf. VV I p. 237), traces of this phonetic tendency. (Cf. ChU. 4. 1. 2 *pradhākṣīr* for *°ṣīd*, Oertel, II. cc.) It seems indeed possible that this has something to do with such variations, altho it should be remembered that there are many other equally curious variations in person of verbs which cannot be thus explained (VV I passim, especially p. 195f.). Other cases mentioned by Oertel (see also his note in *ZII* 8. 289f.) are:

*mayi rāyo mayi rakṣah* MS. 4. 9. 13: 134. 5, for which the Conc. suggests *dakṣah* for *rakṣah*: *mayi dakṣakratū* TS. †2. 5. 2. 4, ApŚ. AG. HG.: *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh* VS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ.

*na me tod upadambhiṣar dhṛṣīr brahmā yad dadau* MS. (originally *°dambhiṣad ṛṣīr°*, Caland, *ZDMG* 72. 10 *infra*): *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udambhiṣag*) *ṛṣīr brahmā yad dade* ApŚ. (bis). Here the ApŚ. form seems to stand for *upadambhiṣad*, with final *g* for *d* (= *k* for *t*), see our §142.

*yadā rāghaṣi varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yad adyārā-dhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §70.

To these materials collected by Oertel may be added the following: *ahar* (MS. *vahad*) *divābhīr* (MS. *divyābhīr*) *ātībhīh* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. IŚ. One ms. and p.p. of MS. *vahad* (*vahat*); see §360, and the preceding §272. The MS. is secondary, and may be considered hyper-Sanskritic.

*dadhīr* (SV. *dadhad*) *ya dhāyī sa te* (SV. *sute*) *rayāṁsi* RV. SV.

*balim ichanto vītudasya* (AG. *vī tu tasya*, v. l. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāh* (MahānU. AG. *preṣthāh*) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.



*dvīṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ. °yāi) *rṇayā na tyase* (SV. *trase*) RV. SV. KS.  
AB. ApŚ.: *dvīṣas tad adhy arṇaveneyase* AV.

*l and d and ṇ*

§273. By way of appendix may be mentioned a few stray cases in which *l* varies with lingual *ṇ* and with dental *d*; these evidently show tendencies related to the preceding. (A couple of variations between *l* and dental *n* might perhaps also be recorded here; but because of the case of graphic confusion between these letters we have quoted them in §878, q.v.) In two contiguous passages *harikṇikā*, fem. of the color-adjective *harita*, is changed in ŚŚ. to *hariklikā*, perhaps by partial assimilation to the preceding *r*; but the characters are graphically much alike:

*tāsām ekā harikṇikā* (ŚŚ. °klikā) AV. ŚŚ.  
*harikṇike* (ŚŚ. °klike) *kim ichasi* AV. ŚŚ.

There remain a couple of partly phonetic variants between *d* and *l*:  
*urūṇasān* (TA. *uru*°) *asutrṇā* (AV. TA. °pāv) *udumbalan* (TA. *ulum*°)  
RV. AV. TA. AŚ. See Lanman apud Whitney AV. The TA. comm., fatuously, *prabhūtabalayuktan* (as if *uru-bala*!). See *adhorāma* etc., §265.

*nī nīcartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB.  
Both *ân. ley.*; obscure epithets of Indra. KS. looks suspiciously like a case of popular etymology (as if 'rejoicing strength'), and is therefore probably secondary.

## CHAPTER VIII. THE SIBILANTS

§274. The general confusion of the sibilants, doubtless due to popular quasi-Prakritic influences (since they all become fused in the Prakrit dialects), goes back to a very early date. From the Veda down to modern times instability in this regard is habitual rather than exceptional in certain roots and words. The sibilants of such words as *koṣa*: *koṣa* (cf. §289, end), *śrambh*: *śrambh*, are really never determined; and even so clear a root as *śru* 'flow' threatens surprisingly to become *śru*, as we shall see (§275). See Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13, cxvii ff.; Bloomfield, *Kauśika Sūtra*, p. lx; Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xvi, and Wackernagel I §197e. The following variants are in large measure purely phonetic, due to this traditional instability. But real lexical changes also occur often. Our treatment tries to consider both elements.

### ś and ṣ

§275. We begin with purely phonetic interchanges; and first those in which *ś* takes the place of regular or etymological *s*. In a number of cases the root *śru*, 'flow', of known etymology, appears as *śru*; the Pet. Lex. goes so far as to postulate a collateral root *śru* in that sense: *śam yor abhi śravantu* (MŚ. *śra*°) *naḥ* RV, AV. SV. VS. KS. TB. TA.

ApŚ. MŚ. HG. So Conc. from Knauer's report of mss.; but Van Gelder's ed. reads *śra*° for MŚ. without v. l.

*vī śrutayo* (AŚ. *visru*°, ŚŚ. *viśru*°) *yathā pathaḥ* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. One ms. of ŚŚ. *visru*°.

*dadhi mantham pariśrutam* (ŚŚ. *manthām pariśrutam*, one ms. °*śrutam*) AV. ŚŚ.

*ā tvā pariśrutaḥ* (MG. °*śṛtaḥ*, mss. °*śṛtam*; AG. °*śṛtaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. † °*āḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *emām* (ŚG. *enam*) *pariśrutaḥ kumbhaḥ* (ŚG. *kumbhyā*) AV. ŚG.—AYPpp. *ā tvā pariśṛtaḥ*, for which Barret *JAOS* 32. 366 °*śṛtaḥ*. The readings of AG. MG., tho certainly secondary, make sense.

*pratyañ* (VS. TS. ŚB.\* TB. °*yañk*, MS. †\* and KS. v. l. °*yak*) *soma atidrutaḥ* (AV. text *atī hrutaḥ*, VS. †\* MS. *atīśrutaḥ*, KS. v. l. °*śrutaḥ*) AV. VS. (bis) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (bis) TB. ApŚ. The true reading of AV. is °*drutaḥ*, see Whitney's note.



§276. The small words *śam* 'weal', and *sam* 'together', interchange reciprocally; see §§278 and 280 for cases in which *śam* is original or both are justified:

*śam ūdho romaśam hatah* ApMB.; *sam ūdho romaśam hatah* RV.

Comm. on ApMB. takes *śam* as 'Vedic' for *sam*; see Winternitz, p.

xx.

§277. The rest are sporadic:

*indrāya tvā srno* 'dadāt' (ŚG. *śramo dadāt*) MS. ŚG. MŚ. SMB. *Srma* is a name of an Asura; in the adjoining Brāhmaṇa of MS. it is explained by a myth which says that the earth, full of cattle, belonged to *Srma*, and that Indra got the cattle from him. There is no reason to question this myth; cf. *Srpa*, *Srmara*, and *Srmala*, names of Asuras (Harivaṃśa, see *Pet. Lex.*). ŚG. has a secondary or corrupt reading ('dem Indra gebe dich die Ermüdung', Oldenberg). The theme of the passage is branding cattle.

*astām jālma* (KS. *jālma*) *udaram* *braṇṣayitva* (KS. *śraṇṣo*) AV. KS. Both edd. of AV. read thus; some mss. *braṇṣo* and some *śraṇṣo*, none the 'correct' *śraṇṣo*.

*śam te hiraṇyāṃ śam u śantu* (ApMB. *sam u śantu*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. Metathesis of *ś* and *s* in ApMB.; see Winternitz, p. xvi. *somaś caturakṣarasyāśrūt* (MS. *°śrūt*) *nakṣatrāṇi* MS. KS. A rare word, which however seems always to be written *asrūt* except here in MS.

*peśo na śukram* (KS. TB. *śuklam*) *asitam* (MS. all *samhitā* mss. *akitam*, ed. em. *asitam* with p.p.) *vasāte* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*ā śirṣṇaḥ śamopyāt* AV.; comm. and Ppp. *samopyāt*, which is probably right and is assumed by Whitney. Cf. however Bloomfield, *SBE* 42. 255 (*keśam opyāt*).

*śāṇṛt tat* HG. Kirste suggests *śv-āṇṛt*; the context gives no help in interpretation.

*madhu vaṇṣiṣṭya* AV. Read *vaṇṣo*: cf. *JAOS* 13. cxviii, and Whitney on AV. 9. 1. 14.

§278. In the following *s* takes the place of regular or etymological *ś*:

*śam te hiraṇyāṃ śam u śantu* (ApMB. *sam u śantu*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277; and for other *sam*: *śam*, §§276, 280.

[*agnīṃ ca viśvakumbhuvam* RV.† AV.†. KS. TB.†. ApŚ.†. No variant; correct Conc.]

*śimāḥ* (VS. *śimāḥ*) *kṛṇvantu* (VS.\* *śamyantu*) *śimyantah* (VS. *śamyantīḥ*) VS. TS. KSA.† The word can only be a form from *śim* = *śam*,

occurring in the same pāda; is the *s* of VS. due to dissimilation? Mahīdhara = *śimāh*, glossed *rekhāh* or *maryādāh*.

*parṇasado* (ŚŚ. °*sado*) *jaritah* (AV. Vait. °*daḥ*, om. *jar*°) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Original certainly *śad-*, 'the fall of a leaf'. ŚŚ. possibly understands 'settling down of a leaf' (root *śad*).

*viśve devā nātividhyantī sarve* (KS. *śūrāh*, ApŚ. *sūrāh*) AV. KS. ApŚ. The latter can only intend *śūrāh*. Other cases of these two words, capable of lexical explanation, §284.

*yam eva vidyāh śucim* (VāDh. *sucim*) *apramattam* ViDh. VāDh. N. *śukeṣu me* (AV. *sukeṣu te*) *hurimūṣam* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. 3 of SPP.'s mss., comm., and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26, 228) read *śukeṣu*.

*mṛgasya śṛtam* (HG. *śṛtam*) *akṣmayā* ApMB. HG. (vv. ll. *aridam* and *śrutam* in ApMB.) Kirste says 'probably *śṛtam*'. More likely *śrutam* is intended in both texts. It is a question of ill-omened sounds (*śakunai ruditam ca yat* is the preceding pāda of HG.). 'Whatever (cry) of an animal is heard (that is) amiss.' For *śru*: *sru* cf. §§275, 283.

*preṭ u harivah śrutasya* (SV. *sutasya*) RV. SV. TS. The word refers to Indra; SV. is perhaps thinking of Soma. Benfey abandons it and translates the RV.

*namaḥ śaṣpiṇjardya* (TS. *śaṣp*°) *tvīṣimate* VS. TS. MS. †KS. See next. *ye raneṣu śaṣpiṇjarāh* KS.: *ye vrkṣeṣu śaṣpiṇjarāh* (TS. *śaṣp*°) VS. TS. MS. MG. See prec. Except in TS. the word is always written *śaṣp*°, and it is doubtless connected with *śaṣpa* (with haplogy, Wackernagel I p. 279). Perhaps TS. gets its *s* by confusion with *śasya* 'grain', which is itself sometimes written *śasya*, cf. Wackernagel I c., Keith on TS.

*yā na ūrū uśālī viśrayāte* (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *viśrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG. Comm. on ApMB., *śakārasya śakārah*; cf. Winternitz p. xvi.

*krīḍī* (VSK. °*ti*) *ca śākī cojjeṣṭī* (ApŚ. *śākī* †*cojjeṣṭī*, v. l. °*jīṣī*, *ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. Name or epithet of one of the Maruts. Doubtless 'mighty', root *śak*; so Mahīdhara; and *śākī* seems incapable of other interpretation.

*jīmūtān hṛdayaupasābhyām* (VS. °*śena*; VSK. v. l. °*śena*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.

*na jyotiṣī cakāśati* Suparn.: *jyotiṣam na prakāśate* RVKh.

*trīṣaṇi pīṣitam aśyate* AV. 5, 19, 5b. Whitney accepts Zimmer's emendation *aśyate*.

*yad asṛavan paśava udyamānam* AV. 7, 66, 1. Read or understand *aśṛavan* with SPP., comm., and Whitney.



*śarau paṇam ivādadhat* AV. 5. 25. 1. Read or understand *śarau* with Whitney.

§279. In a couple of phonetic variants the words are so obscure that it is impossible to say which is original:

*ṛkṣo jatūh suṣilika* (MS. *śuśubika*) *ta itarajanānām* VS. MS. The p.p. of MS. reads *suṣiliketi suṣi-likā*, suggesting that VS. has the true reading. But *śuśulika* occurs once in RV. Both meaning and original form are obscure; folk-etymology may have been at work; Sāyaṇa thinks of *śiku* and *ulūka*; in RV. it is associated with *ulūka*.

*grāmyamañkīradāsakau* ApŚ.: *grāmyaṇ mañgīradāsakau* MŚ.: *vyāghram mañgīradāsa gauh* Vait. Obscure proper names; see §49.

§280. In some of the preceding there are perhaps possibilities of lexical variation, tho they seem to us too faint to be important. While the line is not hard and fast between the two groups, it seems to us that the following cases are lexically defensible in both forms. Thus the words *sam* and *śam* each make sense in these passages; cf. §§276, 278: *śam abdhyaḥ* TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *sam adbhyaḥ* (supplying *śundhasva* from the preceding) KS.

*maṇḍūkyā su sam īgomah* (TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV. The latter reconstructs the passage secondarily.

*yat ta āśhitam śam u tat te astu* TB.: *yat te viriṣtam sam u tat ta etat* Vait. 'That shall be all right for thee': 'that which was torn shall be (put) together for thee'.

§281. When other changes accompany the alteration of the sibilant, the lexical element becomes clearer. Thus in three cases of the roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁ-viś*, which are practically synonyms, we are evidently dealing with a primarily lexical substitution, affected by phonetic moments:

*teṣu ahaṇḥ suṁanāḥ saṁ viśāmi* (AŚ. *viśāti*, for *\*ni*; MG. *vasāma*) AŚ.

ApŚ. HG. ApMB. MG. See Knauer's note on MG.

*amāvāsyē saṁvasanto* (MŚ. *\*viśanto*) *mahitvā* AV. TS. MŚ.

*tasyām devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* TS. TB.: *tasyām devāḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā* AV.: *tayor devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* ApŚ.: *yasyām* (v. l. *asyām*) *devā abhi saṁviśantaḥ* MŚ.

§282. The root *āś* 'sit' varies thrice with augmented forms of *āś* 'attain'; they are practically synonyms in these passages. The *āś* forms all occur in RV., the *aś* forms in SV., which is contaminated from such expressions as *barhiṣ āśāte* RV. 8. 31. 6 and 1. 144. 6: *sahasrasthūṇa āśāte* (SV. *aś*) RV. SV.

*samicināsa āsate* (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

*yatrāmyāsa āsate* (SV. *āsata*) RV. SV.

§283. The particle *su* varies with the reduplicating syllable *śu*; in the first variant also the roots *śru* and *śru*, cf. §§275, 278:

*nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug* (comm. and Poona ed. text *śuśrug*) *astu* TB.;  
*sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu* MŚ. See §145. *sasrud* is an em. for  
 mss. *sasrud*, *saśrud*, *śuśrud*; Conc. suggests *suśrud*, but *sasrud* occurs  
 in RV., and 'flowing' fits Soma as well as 'hearing'. Perhaps  
*suśrut* should be read in MŚ.

*dṛśe ca* (MS. *dṛśa ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāśa brhataḥ suśukvanāḥ* (RV.  
*śuś*°, KS. *śukukvabhīḥ*, MS. *śuśikmanā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
 ŚB. See §240.

§284. The words *sūra* and *śūra* interchange twice; cf. *vīśve devā* etc., §278:

*śūro* (TB. *sūro*) *na mitrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṣu* RV. TB. The Maruts yoke  
 their chariots in battle 'like a warrior' or 'as the sun (yokes his  
 chariot)'.

*vīhī śūra* (TB. *sūra*) *puroḍāśam* (AV. \**lāśam*) RV. AV. KS. TB. N. The  
 original is addressed to Indra, the 'hero'; TB. transfers it to an  
 address to the sun.

§285. The word *sarva* varies a number of times with various words  
 in §, some of them rather remote in form:

*sarvataḥ sarvaśarvebhyah* (TA. *śarva sar*°; some mss. add *sarvaśarvebhyah*;  
 MahānU. *sarva sarvebhyah*) MS. TA. MahānU. Sc. *namah*:  
 'homage to every Śarva', or 'homage, O Śarva (or, O All [comm. on  
 MahānU. *sarvātmaka*]), to all (the Rudras)'. MS. has v. l. *śarvataḥ*  
 for *sarvataḥ*. Interesting for the thoro-going confusion of the two  
 sounds; despite lexical possibilities, the case is fundamentally  
 phonetic.

*sarvān agnīn* (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuśado hve vaḥ* (MS. *hve*, AV.  
*havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. AB.

*kalpanān te* (TA. \**me*) *dīśaḥ sarvāḥ* (TA. \**śagmāḥ*) VS. ŚB. TA. (both)  
*vīśve devā nātīvidhyanti sarve* (KS. *śūrāḥ*, ApŚ. *śūrāḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ.

See §278.

§286. The root *sūd* varies with *śudh* and *śubh*; cf. §174, and note  
 AV. *radantam śuddham uddharet* AV. 20. 136. 16d, where *śuddham* is  
 based on mss. readings *śudam* and *śunam* (Index Verborum):

*asūḍanta* (MS. KS. *akūśubhanta*) *yajñiṣṭe ṛtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

*āpo asmān* (MS. *mā*) *mātarāḥ śundhayanu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV.  
 MS. KS. *śūdayantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.



§287. The rest are sporadic, and rather remoter in the formal resemblance between the words in question:

*yena śrīyam* (PG. *śrīyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. *°tām*, ŚŚ. *śrīyāv akurutam*)

ŚŚ. SMB. PG. GG. *śrī* is certainly original.

*śumbhānas* (KS. *śtam*°) *tanvam* (TB. *tanuvam*, SV. *†tanvām*) *mām* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.

*svām tanvam* (TS. TB. *tanuvam*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *abūret*) TS. MS. KS. TB. 'Enlivened': 'entered into'.

*śunām ma iṣṭam*, . . . *svām ma (ma idam) iṣṭam*, . . ., see §353.

*tās te viśantu manasā śivenā* (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB.

*yad anena harīṣāsāste tad aśyāt* (AŚ. *asyām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May he obtain that': 'that (is) in this (offering, *sc. hotrāyām*)', or, 'that here in this (offering) shall prosper' (the following words are *tad rāhyāt*). Earlier in the same section occurs *asyām r̥dhed dhotrāyām*.

*śakma yat te goḥ* KS. MS.: *sagme te goḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *samyat te goḥ* TS. See §47.

*tasthan nākasya śānavi* (SV. *śarmayī*) RV. SV.

*apārvuḥ duro aśmavrajāndm* (MS. *aśmadrathānām*) RV. MS. TA.

*kvātrāḥ pītā* (ViDh. *śnātāḥ prītā*) *bhavata yūyam āpah* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDh.

*sadā* (MS. *śacyā*) *pośyanti śūrayaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. NṛpU. GopālU. VasuU. SkandaU.

*tad aśyā priyam abhi pātho aśyām* (TB. *asthām*) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. Poona ed. text and comm. *aśyām* for TB.; see VV I p. 86.

*aryo naśantu* (SV. *naḥ santu*) *saniṣanta* (SV. *†tu*) *no dhīyaḥ* RV. SV. See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 72.

*āśum jāyantam anu* (KS. *yā sanjāyantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Even the original version is obscure.

*ā eutrāṇe sumatim āvṛpānaḥ* AV. Perhaps originally *āśutrāṇe*; see §355.

#### ś and ṣ

§288. Here the total number of variants is much smaller. More-over many involve lexical changes, while most of the rest concern rare and doubtful words, the true original form of which is uncertain. The genuine phonetic variants are few, and none too certain in some instances. In the following ś seems to replace proper ṣ phonetically: *nainad devā āpnuvan pūrvam arṣat* (VS. *arēat*) VS. VSK. IśāU. The word clearly means 'going' (root *rṣ*); VS. comm. *r̥ṣa gatau*. Cf. however *anarṣarātīm* (*alarṣirātīm*) . . . §292.

*abhyāgikṣi rājābhūm* (MS. v. 1. °bhūt, ApŚ. °bhūvam) MS. ApŚ.: *abhi-  
śikṣa rājābhūvam* (v. 1. °bhūvam) MŚ. (quoted from unedited mss.;  
probably only a textual error).

§289. We find *ṣ* for proper *ś*, aside from a few corruptions, only in the name of an Asura, *Śaṇḍa* or *Ṣaṇḍa*. The weight of evidence seems to favor the spelling with *ś*:

*śaṇḍāya* (VSK. *ṣa°*) *tvā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*nīrastah śaṇḍah* (VSK. MS.† \*4. 6. 3 *ṣa°*) VS. VSK. MS. (bis) ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*aponuttan* (KS. °tā) *śaṇḍāmarkau* (MS. \* *ṣa°*) . . . TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See von Schroeder's note on MS. 4. 6. 3: 82. 16, which indicates that he then believed MS. to intend *ṣaṇḍa* thruout. But need it have been consistent? The mss. are unanimous for *ṣ* in some places, nearly unanimous for *ś* in others. Those of MŚ. vary.

Corruptions:

*yeṇāpāmṣātām* (SMB. v. 1. °ṣātām) *surām* ŚŚ. SMB.: *yeṇāvampṣātām* *surām* PG.

*varuṇeti śapāmahe* (MS.† °hai; LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. The LŚ. has probably a mere misprint.

[*kavaṣyo koṣadhāvanīḥ* (MS. text *kośa°*, all mss. *koṣa°*; TB.† °*koṣa°*) MS. KS. TB. Read °*koṣa°* in all. There would be no variant but for the em. in MS., which is unjustified, altho the word meant is that more commonly written *kośa*.]

§290. The following variants seem also to be purely phonetic, in so far as not mere corruptions; the obscurity of the words makes it impossible to decide which is original:

*indrānyai kīśā* (KSA. °ṣā) TS. KSA.

*ṛkṣo jatūḥ suṣilikā* (MS. *kukulūkā*) . . . VS. MS. See §279.

*kūsmān* (VSK.† v. 1., MS. *kūṣ°*) *chakapiṇḍaiḥ* (MS. *ka°*) VS. VSK. MS.: *kūsmān chakabhīḥ* TS. KSA.

*kūsmāṇḍāḥ*, *ku°*, and *kūś°*, *kuś°*; also °*māṇḍyah* and °*māṇḍāni*, various Dharma texts, see Conc. Names of certain expiatory verses.

*ākarkṣe karkṣo yathā* ApŚ.: *gūḥ koṣṣyaaur yadā girah* Vait.: *madhr ity ākarṣaiḥ kuśair yathā* KŚ. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure.

§291. Coming to lexical variations, we find three cases of *vibha* varying with *viṣu* (*viṣvak*); the meanings are fairly close:

*vīṣvaṁ satyaṁ kṛṇuhi vīṣvaṁ astu* RV.: *viṣvak satyaṁ kṛṇuhi cittaṁ eṣām* AV. See Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* 50; Whitney on AV. 3. 1. 4; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3. 30. 6. [But no emendation of AV.



is necessary. Render: 'Make accomplished on all sides the purpose of these (our party).' Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 32. 35ff.) has *viśvaḥ viśṭam kṛnuhī satyam eṣām*, closer to RV. Same general sense in all. F. E.]

*adhī kṣamī viśurūpam* (ArS. *kṣamā viśva*?) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *asta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. (Add to VV I §229 for the verbs.) *purudasmā viśurūpa* (KS. *\*dasmavad viśvarūpam*, TS, ApS. *urudraspo viśvarūpa*) *induh* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApS.

§292. The rest are isolated and unclassifiable:

*anarīrātīm* (SV. *alarīrātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. AV. SV. N. The RV. form is derivable from root *rs* 'injure'; cf. Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v. The SV. form seems on the face of it to contain the root *r*; it may be corrupt. Benfey, 'rasche Spende habend'.

*nābhīmṛṣe* (MS. KS. *nābhīdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanvā*) *jarbhurāṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Not to be touched (attacked)'.

*asya hotuḥ pradīśy* (AV. *pradīśy*) *ṛtasya vāci* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Synonyms: 'at the command'.

*prāṇān saṁkrośaiḥ* MS.: *saṁkrośān prāṇaiḥ* (VS. *\*krośaiḥ prāṇān*) VS. TS.: *saṁghośān* (ms. *\*gośān*) *prāṇaiḥ* KSA. Synonymous roots *kruś* and *ghuś*.

*yayor vān devau deveṣu anīṣitam* (TS. *anīṣ*?) *ojaḥ* TS. MS. KS. 'Undestroyed', from *a-* and pple. of *nī-ṣyati*; 'incessant', *a-nīṣita*.

*saṁ tvā śikanti* (Vait. *śiṣ*?) Vait. LŚ. KŚ. Garbe takes *śikanti* from *śiṣ* 'leave'; it is more likely from *śās* (*śiṣ*) 'ordain'. Caland apparently rejects it as corrupt, for he translates *śikanti* ('sharpen').

*vanaspatīnṛ oṣadhī rāya eṣe* (*\*rāye aśyāḥ*) RV. (both). Roots *iṣ* and *aś*, practically synonyms. The two versions in adjacent hymns; see *RVRep.* 258. Add to VV I §121, 324.

*aspārṣam enaṁ śataśāradaḥ* RV. AV. In AV. most mss., SPP., and even Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 26. 257), read *aspārśam*; in spite of Whitney, who keeps the RV. form in his Translation (root *spṛ*, aor.), we think that the AV. tradition intended *aspārśam*, as a form of *spṛś*: 'I have touched him with (life of) a hundred years.' Of course the form is highly anomalous.

*dīrghām anu prasṛtīm* (KS. *saṁṛtīm*) *dyuṣe dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB.: *dīrghām anu prasṛtīm saṁspṛśethām* MS. Cf. §78.

*tvē iṣaḥ* (KS. *viśve*, MS. *tvā eṣaḥ*) *saṁdadhur bhūricarpasaḥ* (TS.† *bhū-riretasaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*pratndso agna ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ* (AV. *āśakāṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. 'Blowing upon': 'sharpening' (both practically 'furthering, tending').

*abhiṣṭīr* (HG. °*īr*, ApMB. *abhiṣṭīr*) *yā ca nō yṛhē* (RVKh. *ca me dhruvā*)  
RVKh. ApMB. HG.

*ā darṣate śavasā sapta dānūn* RV. AV. N.: *ā darṣati śavasā bhūryojāh* AV.

The whole thought is made over in AV.

*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam* (KS. *bhadrā vṛṣaṇā agrbhānām*) RV. VS. TS.  
KS.

*akāśubhanta* (TS. TB. *asūśudanta*) *yajñīyā rtena* TS. MS. KS. TB.

See §286.

### ṣ and s

§293. Here there are only a very few variants, and their phonetic interest is slight. Usually the change is due to a change in the preceding vowel from an *a* to an 'alterant' *i*, *u*, or to different word-division which brought *s* into another word where it follows an alterant vowel. The list is not complete:

*daivya mīmāṇā manasā* (VS. *manuṣaḥ*) *purutrā* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*made sūśiprām* (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. PAOS  
13, p. cxviii.

*āprṇo 'si sanḥprṇaḥ* (ApŚ. *āprṇoṣi sanḥprṇa*)... ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is corrupt.

*vasiṣṭhahanaḥ*... VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanaḥ*... TS. TA.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ*  
*karaḥ karasyuh* LŚ.

*tenemām upa śiñcatam* RV. AV. TA. N.: *tena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ.

*asūrte* (MS. KS. °*tā*) *sūrte rajasi nīzalte* (MS. °*tā*, KS. *na satta*) RV. VS.  
MS. KS. N. See §828.

*kratvā variṣṭhaṁ vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemaṁ ām-*  
*urim uta* SV.

*ṛṣiṇām ca stutīr* (SV. *sūṣṭutīr*) *upa* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§294. The rest are scattering:

*ye vṛkṣeṣu* (KS. *vaneṣu*) *śaṣpiñjarāḥ* (TS. *śaṣpi*\*) VS. TS. MS. KS. MG.

See §§32, 278, and next.

*namaḥ śaṣpiñjarāya* (TS. *śaṣpi*\*) *viṣṭimate* VS. TS. MS.† KS.

*sarvaṁ tam* (AV. *sarvān ni*, MS. KS. TA. *sarvāns lān*) *maṣmasā* (TS.

ŚB, *masmasā*, MS.† *mṛamṛā*, one ms. *mṛamṛā*, VS. *bhasmasā*)

*kuru* (AV. *-karam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The word is

sound-imitative (cf. Eng. *mash*, similar but independent). VS.  
rationalizes with thought of 'ashes' (§242).

*ā sūtrāṇye sumatīm āvrñānaḥ* AV.: *oṣiṣṭhādāṇye sumatiḥ grñānāḥ* TS.

Whitney suggests, attractively, *dāsūtrāṇye* (to match *oṣiṣṭha-* in



TS.); but *su-trāman*, *su-trāta*, and *su-trātra* seem to support the tradition of AV. (*āsu* seems not used with the root *trā*).

#### *kh*, *kṣ* and sibilants

§295. In view of the common later confusion of *s* and *kh*, it is surprising to find practically no variants between these sounds; cf. the mss. reading *ṣudasi* at AV. 20. 135. 4, for *khudasi* of ŚŚ.:

*ḥaṣṭkāya svāhā* TA. TAA.: *khakholkāya svāhā* MahānU. Neither word is interpretable.

§296. There are, however, a couple of cases of variation between *kh* and *ś*, which point in a like direction; cf. the reading *khunā* for *śunā* (thru *ṣunā*) 'by a dog', Pārśvanātha Caritra 2. 268:

*ākum tvāṇu* (ApŚ. *ākhum tvā ye*) *dudhīre dēvayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original is *āśum*, which refers to Agni. To make a 'mole' out of Agni seems sufficiently absurd, but the reason is plain. The viniyoga of the sūtra, in both ApŚ. and MŚ., reads *ity ākhukariṣam* (MŚ. *kirim*) *nirapati*, 'he throws down a mole-hill'. Hence the word *akku* has crept into the sūtra in ApŚ. (where Caland translates *āśum*).

*ud vāśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mahābh. 12. 284. 78.

§297. And one case of *kṣ* and *ś* (lexical):

*mayam te kṣu ṣchatu* (KS. *te kṣut*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with other animal names in the same passage.

#### *s*(*ṣ*) and *h*

§298. There is but faint evidence for this interchange. The few instances are all lexical or morphological, or else very much under suspicion of corruption. In so far as phonetics may be concerned as a contributory factor, we may call the change quasi-Prakritic; see Wackernagel I §221, Fisehel §264. In the following it is to be presumed that an original *s* is replaced by *h*:

*dhiyā na* (SV. *no*) *vājāḥ upa māsi* (SV. *nāhi*) *śaśvataḥ* RV. SV. Verb endings; see VV I p. 104. The reverse is found in the first variant in §299.

*dhruvāśaḥ* (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MĠ. The obsolescent ending *āśaḥ* is replaced by the regular *ā(s)* plus the particle *ha*.

*jātavedo nayā hy enam sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* JB: *jātavedo bahemam* (ŚŚ. *bahasevainam*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ. The Conc. suggests possibly *nayāsy* for *nayā hy* in JB.

*āsanniṣūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn* RV, AV, TS, MS, KSA, N.: *āsansi eṣdm*  
*apsuśāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

[*pratyañ* (etc.) *somo atidrutah* (*°srutah* etc., AV, text *°hrutah*), see §275.

The true text of AV, is *°drutah*.]

§299. In the rest it appears that an older *h* is replaced by *s*:

*stuto yāsi* (RV, *yāhi*) *vaśān anu* RV, VS, TS, KS, ŚB, LŚ. See VV I p.

105. The converse of the first variant in §298.

*turyādītya* (VSK, *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV, *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV, VS,

VSK, TS, MS, KS, ŚB. Synonymous roots *su* and *hu*.

*ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu* KS.: *ghṛtapruṣas tvā śarito vahanti* (AŚ,  
*harito vahantu*) TB, AŚ, ApŚ.

*guhā hitām nihitām* (KS, † omits *nihitām*, by haplology) *gahvareṣu* KS,  
 MŚ.: *guhā satīm gahane gahvareṣu* TB, ApŚ.

*pratno hi* (TA, *pratnoṣi*) *kam idyo adhvareṣu* RV, AV, TA, MahānU.

The TA, reading is corrupt; comm. *pratnoṣi*!

[*suhaveha* (AV, misprinted *susaveha*) *haviṁmahe* RV, AV, VS, MS, KS,

See Whitney on AV, 3. 20. 6.]



## CHAPTER IX. PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF NASALS, SEMI-VOWELS, LIQUIDS, SIBILANTS, H, AND VISARGA

### 1. Presence or absence of nasals and anusvāra

§300. This phenomenon occurs mainly but not exclusively before consonants. When it occurs before vowels, it is really a matter of sandhi; namely, of the use of a nasal as a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger', to bridge the gap between two vowels; the semi-vowels are used in the same way. Before consonants, it is to some extent rhythmic, and therefore of genuinely phonetic bearing, even tho rarely if ever purely phonetic, since morphological or lexical considerations play a part. This rhythmic shift is Prakritic in character: see Geiger, *Pali* §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32. It appears most clearly when a short vowel followed by a nasal or anusvāra varies with a long vowel without nasal. Thus in variant forms of the same word, or at least from the same root:

*ya eṣa vṛṇanāṇśanaḥ* (AV. °nāśanaḥ) RV. AV. N.

*pūṣṇe 'āghṛṇaye svāhā* TA.: *pūṣṇa āghṛṇaye* (em., mss. *āpṛṇaye*) *svāhā*

MŚ. *āghṛṇi* is a regular epithet of Pūṣan. For *āghṛṇi*, comm. *āñjanena dīpyamānaḥ*; but it can only be a phonetic variant or semi-corruption for *āgh*°.

§301. From different and equally regular forms of the verb:

*agnim naras triśadhaśthe sam idhīre* (SV. TS. *indhate*) RV. SV. TS. KS.

*agnim idhe* (SV. *indhē*) *vivasvatih* RV. SV.

*atra pitaro yathābhāgam mandadhvam* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *atra pitaro mādayadhvam* . . . VS.VSK.MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.

GG. KhG. ViDh. Add to VV I §240.

*krāram ānāśa* (KS.† ApŚ. *anāśa*) *martyaḥ* (KS.† *martah*) AV. KS.

ApŚ. See VV I p. 187.

*na pāpavāya rāśīya* (SV. *raśīyam*) RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 109.

§302. In words not etymologically related, but more or less similar in sound:

*atho* (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya pūṣṇāśāt* (VS. °*viśāt*, LŚ.† *ṣadviśāt*)

RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

*agnim idhīa* (SV. *indhīta*) *martyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. next; both verbs are common in Agni-worship.

*yam sīm id anyā idhate* RV.; *yam sam id anyā indhate* SV. Cf. prec.

*yāsad* (SV. TS. KS. *yānsad*) *vīśam ny atrīnam* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Roots *yā* and *yam*; quasi-synonyms.

*ato no 'nyat pīlato mā yojā* (HG. *yūdheam*) ApŚ MŚ. HG.: *mā no* (AŚ. *nó*) 'to 'nyat pīlato *yoyuvata* (AŚ. *yūṅgdhvam*) AŚ. Kaus. If we may trust *yūṅgdhvam*, the other verbs are from *yu* 'unite', therefore synonymic. Cf. VV I pp. 42, 150.

*āpo amān* (MS. *mā*) *mālaruḥ śundhayantu* (TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*, AV. MS. KS. *śudayantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

§303. Rather more numerous are cases in which the absence of the nasal does not involve a long preceding vowel, but is due to sundry morphological circumstances which admit of closely related forms with or without nasal. Accidents of nominal and verbal inflexion occasionally involve presence or absence of a nasal. These variations are of course primarily morphological; at most they may be said to have a certain phonetic aspect, so that they are not wholly unrelated to the phonetic shift here considered. It would hardly be profitable to list them all here. So far as they concern verb forms they will be found in VV I: see §192 there (interchange of nasal and non-nasal presents), §§210 and 217 (nasal presents or imperfects varying with non-nasal aorists, as *vida*: *vinda*, *vrjyāḥ*: *vrjyāt*, etc.); §279 (*masīya*: *maṁsīya*); §280 (*adadr̥hanta*: *adadr̥hanta*); and many variations between 3d persons singular and plural in *ti*, *nti*, *te*, *nte*, etc., on pp. 255 ff.

§303a. Twice subjunctives in *-(ā)si* are reported with an anomalous *n* before the *s*. We might be tempted to emend the sole ms. of KS. in the second; in the first no v. l. is reported for ŚG. and Oldenberg keeps *\*yānsi*, tho he translates *\*yāsi* (see his note, p. 36):

*jātānām janayāḥ ca yān* (ŚG. *janayānsi ca*; AVPpp. *janayāsi* [not *\*mī*, as Whitney says] *ca*) AV. ŚG. Barret, JAOS 32. 300, needlessly emends Ppp. to the Ś reading. Add to VV I §253.

*vahāsi mā* (KS.† *vahānsi mā*) *nukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokāḥ*) KS. TB.

§304. Similarly, such cases as *ṛṣā punāna āyuzu* (SV. *dyānsi*) RV. SV., or *svar devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *svar devān*) *aganmā* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., belong to noun declension; and *ajāgram tām* (ApŚ. *tā*) *sabhāpālāḥ* TB. ApŚ. to pronominal declension. In the appropriate volumes of this series such matters will be fully treated; here we content ourselves with examples.

§305. Again, in other cases we find stem-forms with and without nasals, involving no real grammatical change. These concern stem or word formation:

*urī gubhīrā* (TS. *gambhīrā*) *vumatiḥ te astu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In this



and the next TS. replaces an antiquated form with one which is regular in the later language.

*gabhiram* (TS. *gambh<sup>o</sup>*) *imam adhvaram kṛdhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

*samudra ivāsi gahmanā* (TB. *gañh<sup>o</sup>*, but Poona ed. *gah<sup>o</sup>*) TB. ApŚ. *satyaūjasā dr̥ṇhaṇā* (KS.† *dr̥haṇā*, MS. *durhr̥ṇā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS.

KS.: *sacetasu druhaṇo yam nudethe* AV. Both TS. and KS. understand a form of *dr̥h*: *dr̥h* (cf. *adadṛhanta*: *adadṛh<sup>o</sup>*, VV I p. 187); AV. and MS. struggle in common with another idea.

*antah śubhrāvatā* (SV. *śundhyāvata*) *pathā* RV. SV. Cf. §173.

*samudrāya śikūmarāḥ* VS. MS.: *śindhoh śiṅśumārāḥ* (KSA.† *śiśū<sup>o</sup>*) TS. KSA. The form *śiṅśū<sup>o</sup>* occurs in RV.; cf. Pali *suṇsamāra*. Later *śiśū<sup>o</sup>* is regular, but it may well be only a secondary adaptation by popular etymology to *śiśu* 'boy'. The long *ū* of KSA. may be a mere corruption in the single ms.

§306. The prefix *sa-* varies with its own reduced grade, *sa-*, and with a syllable *sa-* of other sorts (some of the cases textually dubious):

*sathvṛd' asi* TS.: *savṛd' asi* VS. KS. PB.: *savṛtā savṛte savṛj' jinra* MS. *samstap chandaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *saṣṭup chandaḥ* TS.

*namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe* (TS. *sathvṛdhvane*, KS. *savṛdhvane*, MS. *savṛdhvane*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*salatam tu śirābhīs tu MahānU*: *samtatam śirābhīs* (Poona ed. *śilā<sup>o</sup>*, v. I *śirā<sup>o</sup>*) *tu* TA.

*nakṣatrāṇām sakāśān mā yaugam* MS.: *nakṣatrāṇām mā samkāśāḥ ca pratikāśāḥ cāvatām* Vait. Kauś.

*ugne saṣṭmahe* (MS. *samṣṭ<sup>o</sup>*) *giraḥ* RV. SV. MS. KS. Here *sa-* is the reduplicating syllable.

*sa* (MS. *sam*) *duṇḍubhe saṣṭur indreṇa devaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. The MS. hardly makes sense; it is probably due to assimilation in meaning to *saṣṭur*.

*sam* (MS. *sa*) *dāśuḥ kiratu bhūri vāmam* TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Again MS. is hardly interpretable; its change is the reverse of the prec.

*sam yajñapatir* (VSK. *yajamāna*) *āśiṣā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *sa yajñapatir āśiṣā* Vait. (probably to be corrected to *sam*; see Caland on Vait. 4. 21).

§307. Other cases of final anuvāra before consonants (cf. also §401): *rajobhūmīs tram mām* (MahānU, *tram ām*, so TA. Poona ed. with v. I *tram mām*) *rodayasva pravadanti dhīrāḥ* TA. Mahān U.

*tato* (PB. *tā*) *ha jajñe* (MŚ. 'ham yajñe') *bhuvanasya popāḥ* (MŚ. *goptā*) TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192; MŚ. clearly secondary.

*ya im vahanta āśubhiḥ* RV.: *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV.

*svahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV.: *svarpatim yad im vṛdhe* RV, AV.

*yo rayivo* (SV, *rayim vo*) *rayintamaḥ* RV, SV, KB, ŚŚ, ŚG. The SV, doubtless corrupt.

*tasyām na devaḥ* (MS, *tasyām devaḥ*) *avitā dharmam* (VS.† VSK.† TS.† ŚB.† *dharmā*) *sāvīḡat* (VSK.<sup>9</sup> *śak*) VS, VSK, TS, MS, KS, ŚB. Stems *dharmā*: *dharmam*.

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsū* (JB, *yono vām hārasih*) PB, JB, LŚ. Incomprehensible in either form.

*sa im* (TS, *i*) *mandrā*... (see §374) VS, TS, MS. The particle *im* becomes *i* in TS., before *m*; this might be put with §401.

*sam im* (SV, *u*) *rebhāso asvāran* RV, AV, SV.

#### Nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'

§308. The Rīgveda itself has a number of instances of nasalization of a final vowel before an initial vowel, in lieu of regular sandhi. Here the nasal (in the recognized RV. cases always *anusvāra*) acts as 'Hiatusstilger'. See most recently Oldenberg, *Noten* on I, 33, 4. The variants present one of these instances in which secondary texts leave the hiatus unrelieved; and in another case ApMB, MG, read *tanūn* for RV, *tanū*, all intending a loc. sing.:

*avāyām tnanūn* (RV, *tanū*) *rtviṣe* (RV.† *°eye*)... RV, ApMB, MG.

See Winternitz, *Introd.* to ApMB., XIX. Knauer mistakenly considers the form an abbreviation of *tanvām*.

*ā te suparṇā aminantaḥ* (MS, TS, *\*ta*) *evaiḥ* RV, TS, MS, KS, AB.

§309. Somewhat similar are cases in which other nasals, *n* or *m*, seem to act in the same way as 'Hiatusstilger' between vowels; or, conversely, we find in some texts omission of final *m* before an initial vowel, either with secondary sandhi of the two vowels thus brought into proximity, or leaving hiatus:

*yadīm* (AV, *yadyi*) *ṛṇam saṃguro devatāsu* AV, TA. Comm. on TA.

*yadīm ṛṇam*, *yad eva prasiddham ṛṇam*. We must apparently understand *im* for *im* (aliter *i*), the particle of emphasis; the TA. form is unprecedented and suggests an attempt to avoid hiatus. A heavy syllable is favored as the second syllable of the pāda, cf. §438.

*abhīm ṛtasya* (SV, *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghṛtāscutah* RV, SV. The SV., tho secondary, suggests light pronunciation of the final nasal, felt as if mere Hiatusstilger.

*abhi* (SV, *abhīm*) *ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata* RV, SV.



*yenāḥkṣā* (SMB. °kṣān, PG. °kṣyān, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyāṣiñcutam*, PG. °tām) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. Nom.: acc. forms.

*ā puṣā ete ā vasu* TS.: *ā puṣām ete ā vasu* AV. If TS. has the original form, AV. may be regarded as a lect. fac., with avoidance of hiatus. *agnir jīhvām abhi* (MS. *jīhvābhi*, p. p. *jīhvām*, *abhi*; AV. KS. *jīhvayābhi*) *ṭṣṇitām* (AV. *grṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Sing to (with) the tongue of Agni.' MS. might intend an instrumental, but note the P.P.

§310. Miscellaneous non-final nasals, before consonants:

*agnir ukthena vāhasā* VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣṣ aṇhasu* AV. *apān rasam udvayasam* (KS. *udayaṇsam*, TA. *udayaṇsan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA.

*agnim adya hotāram arṇātāyam yajamānaḥ pacan pakṭiḥ* (VSK. *pañktiḥ*) *pacan* . . . VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. (See also Cone. under *sīsena agnim adya* etc., TB.; but Poona ed. of TB. lacks the word *sīsena*, which is also shown to be an intrusion by the lack of sandhi.) *pañktiḥ* 'heaps' is secondary or corrupt. The same blunder in Kauś. 22. 10; see Bloomfield, *GGA* 1902. 492.

§311. Miscellaneous non-final nasals before vowels (once before *y*); to these should be added a few cases of presence or absence of initial nasal consonants which we have placed below in §421, where they seem more properly to belong:

*tam āhutaḥ naśimahi* (AV. °tam aś°) RV. AV. AB. Parallel roots *aś* and *naś*.

*tasya rathagṛtsaś* (MS. °gṛtsnaś, KS. °gṛtsaś) ca . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §46.

*namah kṛtsnāyatāya* (VS. °yatayā, KS. *kṛtsamvītāya*, TS. MS. *kṛtsnavītāya*) *dhārate* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. A sort of metathesis of nasal in KS.

*na kir devā minīmasi* RV.: *na ki devā inīmasi* SV. Svidh. The strange *inīmasi* is questioningly classed by Whitney (Roots) as an isolated 9th class present from *i(-noti)*. Benfey equates it with *min*° with unexplained loss of *m*. Reverse of Hiatusstilger?

*eam tva tatakṣuh* (LŚ. °kṣṇuh) Vait. KŚ. LŚ. See VV I p. 146. The monstrous form of LŚ. may be influenced by its viniyoga: *iti takṣṇuyuh* (itself somewhat anomalous).

*agnaye dhūñkṣṇā* (KSA. °kṣā) TS. KSA.: *dhūñkṣāgneyi* (VSK. vv. II. °kṣyā and °kṣvā) VS. VSK. MS. Possibly the second nasal of TS. is due to the influence of the first.

*annam me* (ApŚ. \**no*) *budhya* (ApŚ. \**dhnya*) *pāhi*, and . . . \**yājugupāh*  
MS. ApŚ. One ms. of MS. writes *buddhya* each time; perhaps  
*budhya* is intended.

Cf.: *jivām tlebhyah* (read *mṛ*° with SPP., comm., and many mss.)  
*pariṇīyamānām* AV.

§312. Note finally the following curious variant:

*kāyamāno* (MŚ. *kāmayamāno*) *vanā tvam* RV. SV. MŚ. N. Sāyaṇa  
glosses by *kāmayamāno*, the later regular form, which is secondarily  
introduced in MŚ.

## 2. Presence or absence of *y*

§313. A large proportion of the variants under this head concern  
the presence or absence of suffixal *ya*. A form containing this suffix  
varies with a corresponding form without it, usually either a primary  
noun or adjective in *a*, or a secondary derivative in suffixal *a*. These  
cases belong to Noun Formation and are to be dealt with there more  
fully. To some indeterminate degree they also concern phonetics;  
notably where *y* appears after a double consonant in such pairs as  
*bhaksya*: *bhaksya*, etc. Metrical considerations enter to some extent;  
the form with *y* may be read as a syllable longer than the other form,  
and this occasionally has import for our judgment of the variation, as  
will be pointed out in individual cases.

### (a) Words equivalent in meaning; *y* follows two consonants

§314. We begin with cases where the *y* follows two consonants (and  
is often written, and regularly pronounced, *iya*, see §784), and in which  
the form in *y* is equivalent in meaning to that without *y*. The latter in a  
few instances is formally proved to contain the secondary suffix *a* by  
showing vridhī of the first syllable, while the *y* form lacks vridhī:  
*aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa* (ApMB. *maitreya*, KS. ApŚ. *cakṣuṣāham*  
*śivena*) AV, KS. ApŚ. ApMB. But *maitreya* may be a noun,  
'friendship'; *mitriyeṇa* must be an adjective.

*māhaṁ pautram* (KBU. *putryam*) *aghaṁ rudam* (AG. *niyām*, see §724;  
SMB. *nigām*, and *riṣām*) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.

*ya āntarikṣāḥ* (sc. *sarpās* etc.) HG.: *ye sarpāḥ pāṛthivā ye antarikṣyā* . . .  
AG.

*vāyur na īdīta īdītaryair devair antarikṣyāiḥ* (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu*  
KS. ApŚ.: *vāyuḥ (vāntarikṣāi) pātu sūryo divaḥ* MŚ. The latter  
contains the primary noun and belongs with §321.

*prabhāyā agnyedham* (TB. *āgnendham*) VS. TB. On the troublesome  
TB. form see §491.



§315. In the rest, the great majority, secondary vridhhi appears in neither form or in both:

*sumndya sumaninī sumne mā dhattam* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sumndyuvah* (KS. °yavas) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS. *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS. KS.: *sumne sthah sumne mā dhattam* VS. ŚB. Both *sumna* and *sumnya* are used as both adjectives, 'gracious', and nouns, 'grace'.

*agnir devebhyah suvidatriyebhyah* (TA. °trebhyah) RV. AV. TA. N. *svaryāsi* KS.: *svargyāsi* ApŚ.

*ūrdhvañ manah svargyam* (TA. *suargam*) MS. TA.

*na yajñasya manvate martyānah* (TB. ApŚ. *martānah*) RV. KB. TB.

ApŚ. The reading *martānah* is poor metrically.

*krāram ānāṣa* (KS.† ApŚ. *āṇṣa*) *martyah* (KS.† *martah*) AV. KS. ApŚ.

Again *martah* is unmetrical.

*marṣe* (VS. MS. KS. *martyeṣu*) *agnir amṛto nī dhāyi* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*sumitrā* (VS. ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ. KS. *sumitriyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) *na* (KS. *na*) *āpa oṣadhayaḥ santu* (KS.† °yo bhavantu) VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. Followed by:

*durmitrās* (VS. ŚB. MahānU. KS. °triyās, AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. °tryās) *tasmai santu* (KS.\* TS.† TB. TA. MahānU. BDh. *bhūyāsur*) *yo . . .*, same texts.

*śārgah śrjayaḥ* (TS. KSA. *ākhuh śrjayā*) *śayāṇḍakas* (KSA. °kās, em. v. Schir. °kas, TS. *śayāṇḍakas*) *te mitrāḥ* (KSA. °tryāḥ, em. unnecessarily to °brāḥ in ed.) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*abhi dyumnān* (RV. VS. *sumnān*) *devabhaktam yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*, MS. p. p. °ṣṭha) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. *yaviṣṭha* and °ṭhya are perfect equivalents; the former seems to be preferred at the end of a triṣṭubh pāda, the latter of eight and twelve syllable pādas.

*teām agne samidhānān yaviṣṭha* (RV. °ṭhya) RV. TB. ApŚ. The stanza is pure jagati in RV.; half of it is made triṣṭubh in the others.

*śataḥ pārṣhāir yaviṣṭhya* RV.: . . . *yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasah* RV. TA. See RVRep. 539.

*gambhīrebhīḥ* (AV. TS. HG. °raih) *pathibhīḥ pūrvinebhīḥ* (MS. *pūrvēbhīḥ*, AV. *pūrvāṇaih*, TS. HG. *pūrvyāih*) AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. AŚ. HG.

*bṛhat sāmā ksatrabhyd vṛddhavṛṇyam* (MS. °yam, so ed. with p. p.; other mss. °nim; read probably °nyam; TS. °vṛṇiyam) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*tāsām viśānānām* (KS. °nyānām) MS. KS.

*namo nīveṣyāya* (p. p. *nī*<sup>o</sup>) *ca hṛdyāya ca* MS.: *namo hṛdayyāya ca nīveṣyāya ca* VS.: *namo hṛdayyāya* (KS. *hṛdayyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (KS. *°ṣyāya*) *ca* TS, KS. From the noun *nīveṣyā* 'whirlpool', is derived *nīveṣyā* 'of the whirlpool'. The stem *nīveṣyā* (or *nī*<sup>o</sup>; note accent) is equivalent to this latter and is probably merely a phonetic simplification of it; practically a question of mere orthography. One KS. ms. *nīveṣyāya*.

*namaḥ śighrīyāya* (TS. *śighrīyāya*) *ca śibhīyāya ca* VS TS.: *namaḥ śibhāya ca śighrāya ca* MS, KS.

*tau te bhakṣaṁ* (LŚ. *°ṣyaṁ*) *cakratur agra etam* VS. JB. TB. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚŚ. *tayor anu bhakṣaṁ bhakṣayāmi* TB. ApŚ.: *tayor aham anu bhakṣaṁ* (LŚ. *°ṣyaṁ*) *bhakṣayāmi* VS. LŚ.: *tayor ahaṁ bhakṣaṁ anubhakṣayāmi* JB. ŚŚ.

*jāitṛyā* (ApMB. *°tryāyā*) *viśatād u* (HG. *°tām*, ApMB. *°tān*) *mām* RVKh. VS. ApMB. HG.

*devāṅka yasmai tṛde . . . bhaṅgena* (ApŚ. *bhaṅgena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ. *yamaṁ bhaṅgyaśravo* (KS. MŚ. *bhaṅga*<sup>o</sup>) *gāya* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. *yamaṁ gāya bhaṅgyaśravaḥ* (KS. MŚ. *bhaṅga*<sup>o</sup>) KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. *manūdūkāṁ jambhīyebhīḥ* (KSA. *jambhīḥ*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

*jambhābhīyāṁ taskaraṁ* (p. p. *°rān*) *uta* MS.: *jambhīyais* (KS. *°yebhīs*) *taskarān* (KS.† *°rān*) *uta* VS. TS. KS.

*āsvarya vāje* (KS. *kraṇde*, TB. *kraṇḍye*) *puruṣasya māyau* AV. KS. TB. *yo 'sya* (MŚ. *asya*, but Van Gelder *'sya*) *kauṣṭhya* (KS. *kauṣṭha*) *jaḡataḥ* KS. TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ivetāya vaidarvāya* (PG. *°vyāya*, AG. ŚG. *°dārvāya*, MG. *vaitahavyāya*) . . . AG. PG. ŚG. ApMB. HG. MG.

*pāpāt swapnyād abhūtyāḥ* AV.: *pāpāḥ swapnād abhūtyat* KŚ. It would be pedantry to see in *swapnya* any really different meaning from *swapna*. [*inalamam āptyam* (AV. *āptam*) *āptyānām* RV. AV. N. The AV. must doubtless be emended to *āptyam* with Whitney.]

(b) Words equivalent in meaning; *y* follows one consonant

§316. Next, forms in which the *y* follows a single consonant; both forms still equivalent in meaning. A small group shows the vridhhi of secondary derivation in the form without *y*, not in that with *y*:

*meghā* (VS. *maighr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*bṛhanto daivāḥ* (VS. *divyāḥ*) VS. MS. ApŚ. *divya* from *div*, *daiva* from *deva*, but meaning the same.

*acinno divyaḥ* (KS. ApŚ. *daivyaḥ*) *tantur mā mānuṣaḥ* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaḥ*) *chedi* MŚ. KS. ApŚ. See next.



*bṛhaspatir devānām* (ŚŚ. *daivo*; this belongs to §324) *brahmāhaṁ manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *bṛhaspatir brahmāhaṁ mānuṣaḥ* LŚ. *mānuṣa* and *manuṣya* are precisely equivalent in all uses, tho here the former happens to be an adjective, the latter a noun. Cf. prec.

*kalpayataṁ mānuṣiḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *drāhanātām daivir viśaḥ kalpanātām* {*manuṣyāḥ* KS.

*dhigandasi pārvatī* (VS. ŚB. *par°*, TS. TB. ApŚ. *parvatyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Adjectives *pārvata* and *parvatya* (and, if VS. ŚB. are right, *parvata*; Mahidhara, *parvatātmikā*); all 'of the rock'. The VS. ŚB. reading is supported by the ms. readings (two occurrences) of KS., *parvatī* both times; von Schroeder has emended, with doubtful justice.

*araṇyāya* (MS. *āraṇāya*, but p. p. *araṇyāya*) *ṣmarah* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§317. The rest show vṛddhi either in both forms or in neither. Among them stands out a considerable group of cases of the perfectly equivalent stems *daiva* and *daivya*:

*daivo* (HG. °*vyo*) *yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG.

*daivā hotārah sanīṣan na etat* AV.: *daivyaḥ hotāro* (TS. °*rā*) *vanuṣantā* (TS. *vani°*, KS. {*vanīṣan na*) *pūrre* (KS. *etat*) RV. TS. KS.

*daivya* (AV. °*rā*) *hotārā* (TS. °*rā*, AV. °*rā*) *ūrdhvaṁ* (MS. adds *imam*, KS. *hotārordhvaṁ imam*) *adhvaram naḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. 18. 17a (†).

*daivyaṁ* (MS. °*van*) *mānuṣā yugaḥ* (MS. *yujā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

*pauruṣeyād daivyaṁ* KS.: *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV. 4. 26. 7c.

*mānuṣād daivyaṁ* (MŚ. °*van*) *upaimi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*nam daivena* (VS. ŚB. both also °*vyena*; TA. *devena*) *savitṛā* VS. ŚB. TA.

Mahidhara glosses both forms by *devena*.

§318. Another compact group is formed by variants of *sūra* and *sūrya*, again perfect equivalents:

*lṛhaṭ sūro* (KŚ. *sūryo*) *arocata* RV. KS.

*sūryāso* (SV. *sūrāso*) *na darśatāsaḥ* RV. SV.

*sojāḥ sūra* (MS. *sūrā*, TS. *sūrya*) *etaśena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sa sūra ā* (ŚŚ. *sūrye*) *janayaṁ jyotiḥ indram* (ŚŚ. *indrah*) TB. ŚŚ.

*spardhante dhiyah* (TS. KSA. *divah*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *vijāḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA.

§319. The rest are sporadic:

*āpura ślā mā prajāyā pakubhiḥ pūrayata* ŚŚ.: *āpāryā ślā mā pūrayata prajāyā ca dhanena ca* TS. AŚ.

*agneḥ puriṣavāhanah* (MS. *puriṣya*<sup>o</sup>; VS.† ŠB.† °vāhanah) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. *puriṣa* and °*ṣya* are equivalent; Pāṇ. 3. 2. 65.

*kāmāyui svāhā* MG.: *kāmyāyui svāhā* MS. MŚ. Probably MG. corrupt.

*śakalyam* (AG. *śākalam*; see *tarpayāmi*) ŚG. AG. Both patronymics from *śakala*. Since Oldenberg's translation of ŚG. reads *śāk*<sup>o</sup>, we assume that *śakalyam* is the true reading; *śa*<sup>o</sup> probably misprint. *yakṣmaṇ śronibhyāṇi* (ApMB. *śronṭ*<sup>o</sup>) *bhāsadāt* RV. AV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṇ bhasadyaṇ śronibhyāṇi bhāsadam* AV. In RV, *bhāsada* is a noun; in the second AV. version it and *bhasadya* are both adjectives, and one (probably *bhasadyaṇ*, but Whitney suggests *bhāsadam*) must be omitted as an ancient gloss.

*rāyas poṣom audbhādam* (ApMB. °*dyam*) RVKh. VS. HG. ApMB. *pāvamānāḥ*, °*nyāḥ*, and °*nyah*, various Dharma texts. All adjectives from *paramāna*.

*māyobhavyāya* (ŚG. *āyo*<sup>o</sup>) *catuspadi* AG. ŚG.: *cātvarī māyobhavyā* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. MG. Equivalent nouns.

*adveṣe* (MS. °*ṣya*) *dyāvāpṛthivīḥ hveṣma* (MS. *hveṣ*) RV. VS. MS. 'Having no hostility' = 'not hostile'.

[*mitrāvaruṇābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām* ... VS. TS. MS. KSA.† Cone. wrongly quotes KSA. as *ānuṣṭubhyā*<sup>o</sup>.]

*anyaṇ te asman* (NṛpU. 'aman, AV. *asmat te*) *nī vapantu senāḥ* (AV. *senyam*) RV. AV. TS. NṛpU. *Senyam* must = *senā*.

(c) Words not equivalent in meaning; *y* follows two consonants

§320. In the rest, the two variant stems are not precisely equivalent to each other. In many cases the derivative adjective in *ya* is paralleled by a case-form of the primary noun or its equivalent, or by the primary noun used appositionally, or by a compound of it. In other cases the difference is yet greater, and sometimes the phonetic resemblance becomes rather remote, so that the extent of real phonetic influence is especially tenuous.

§321. As before, we list first cases in which the *y* follows two consonants, being then sometimes written *iy*:

*mandrābhībhūtiḥ* (MŚ. *mandrā vibhūtiḥ*) *ketur yajñānāṇi* (MŚ. *yajñīyā*) *vāg* ... TS. MŚ.

*viśve devā mama śṛṇvantu yajñīyāḥ* (ArŚ. *yajñam*) RV. ArŚ. ŚŚ.

*yajñāṇi-yajñāṇi* (KS. *yajñīyā yajñāṇi*) *prati devayadbhyaḥ* (KS.† ŚŚ.† °*yajñibhyaḥ*) VSK. KS. TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

*mā no rudrāṇo adhiḡur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuh*) MŚ.: *mā rudriyāṇo abhi gulbadhānāḥ* (TA. *gur vṛdhānāḥ*) MS. TA.



*iyam pītryā* (AB. *vai pitre*; AŚ. ŚŚ. *pītre*) *rāstry ety* (AV. GB. *etc*) *agre*  
AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*putrah pitre* (KŚ. *pītrye*) *lokakṛj jātavedah* TB. KŚ. ApŚ. 'As a son to  
his father': 'as a son at the (rite) of the fathers'.

*yā* (AV. omits) *antarikṣa* (KS. AG. °*kṣyā*) *uta pāthivīr yāh* (KS. *pār-  
thivīśah*, AV. *vā pṛthivyām*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. AG. (AVPpp. . . .  
*pārthivā yāh*.)

*namah kāt(yāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya* (MS. °*ṣṭhāya*, p. p. °*ṣṭhāya*) *ca* VS. TS.  
MS. KS.

*indro jyēṣṭhānām* (MS. KS. *jyāiṣṭhānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyāiṣṭhāya*) VS. TS.  
MS. KS. ŚB. 'Of the noblest': 'of the highest nobilities': 'for  
highest nobility'.

*adhvanām adhvapate kṛeṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanah* (ApMB. *ṣreṣṭhasyād-  
vanah*; MG. *śraiṣṭhyasya svastasyādīhvanah*) *pāram aśya* AŚ.  
ApMB. MG. Read *svastyasyā*° in MG. with most mss.

*arghaḥ* HG.: *arghyam* ŚŚ. HG.: *arghyam bhah* Kasi.: *arhanyā apah*  
ApG. *arghyam* '(water) of the argha'.

*adhyakṣyānukṣattāram* TB.: *ādhyakṣyānukṣattāram* VS.

§322. A considerable group concerns *uktha* and *ukthya*, the latter  
meaning 'a ceremony accompanied by *ukthas*', or 'one to be revered  
with *ukthas*':

*uktham vācīndrāya* TS. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.: *uktham avācīndrāya*  
ŚŚ.: *ukthyaḥ vācīndrāya kṛvate tad* AŚ.

*mantram vadaty ukthyaḥ* (NṛpU. *uktham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. AA. ApŚ.  
NṛpU.

*aṅgāni ta ukthyaḥ pātu* MS. ApŚ.: *ukthas* (! read *ukthyas*?) *te* (°*āgāni*  
*pātu asau* AŚ.

*ukthebhyas tookthāvyam gṛhṇāmi* KS.: *ukthebhyā ukthyaṇyam* ApŚ.  
*uktham* (AŚ. *ukthyaḥ*) *indrāya śaṁsyam* RV. SV. AŚ.

(d) Words not equivalent in meaning; *y* follows one consonant

§323. Coming to the cases in which a single consonant precedes the  
*y*, we find first a number of interchanges between *vīra* 'hero' and *vīrya*  
'heroism':

*yau vīryaīr vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* AV.: *vīrebhīr vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* MS.:  
*vīryebhīr vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śac*°) VS. ŚB. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
*eṣa te yajño yajñāpate śahāsūktavākah svītraḥ* (AV. *svīryah*; VS. *sarva-  
vīras* . . .) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*anāmī kṣatram ajaram svīryam* (MS. KS. *svētram*) RV. TS. MS. KS.  
*sa* (also: *sā*) *no dohatām svīryam* (MŚ. *svītram*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (In  
all texts with both *sa* and *sā*.)

*purukṣu teaṣṭa* (MS. °*ṭaḥ*) *suṁryam* (VSK. TS. *suṁtram*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.

*nīrdevam nīrdevam* (KSA. °*ryam*) *kṛta* . . . TS. KSA.

*prajāṁ suṁrāṇ* (PG. *suṁryāṁ*) *kṛta* TS. PG.

§324. Next a group containing forms of stems *div* and *divya*, or once *deva* and *dairya*; cf. several similar cases at the beginning of §316: *divaḥ chadmāsi* AG.: *dīryam chadmāsi* . . . LŚ.

*divo dhārām bhindhi* KS.: *bhindhīdam* (MS. *bhindhy ado*) *dīryam nabhaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*madhye divo* (MS. °*divyo*) *nūhitaḥ prēnir aśmā* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB.

*ahar divābhīr* (MS. *vahad divyābhīr*) *ūtibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. *divābhīr* is for *divā + ābhīr*, but is understood by comm. on TA. as one word, = *dyotamānābhīr*. This misunderstanding is responsible, also, for the variant of MS., which furnishes the only possible form if the word is to be taken as a single adjective.

*vācā tvā hotrā prāṇenodgātā* . . . *pañcabhīr dairyair* (MŚ. *devair*) *ṛtīgabhīr uddharāmi* ApŚ. MŚ.

§325. The rest require no subdivision:

*ātīr* (TS. KSA. *āti*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*pāra* (p. p. of TS. *pāre*) *ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ* (KSA.† 'vāryebhyaḥ) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *avāra* (p. p. of TS. °*re*) *ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA. *pārye*°) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *pāryāṇi pakṣmāṇy avāryā ikṣavaḥ*, and: *avāryāṇi pakṣmāṇi pāryā ikṣavaḥ* VS. MŚ.

*pāryāya kairvartam* TB.: *pārāya mārṅāram* VS.: *avāryāya mārṅāram* TB.: *avārāya ksvartam* VS.

*eṣa u eṣa vṛṣā rathaḥ* RV. SV.: *eṣa sya rāthyo vṛṣa* VS. ŚB.

*eupam ca me eupatham* (VS. KapŚ. °*thyam*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ.

*mā tvat kṣetrāṇy araṇāni* (MS. °*nyāni*, p. p. °*nāni*) *gṛama* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB.

*bṛhata tvā rathanitareṇa traigubhyā* (KS. *trigubhā*) *varṇanyā* . . . MS. KS.:

*bṛhadrathastarayos tvā stomena trigubho varṇanyā* . . . TS.

*sūpasthā aśi vīnāṣpatyaḥ* MŚ.: *sūpasthā deva vīnāṣpatīḥ* TS. ApŚ.

*agne tuvaḥ purīṣyaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agneḥ purīṣam aśi* VS. VSK. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. And others, see Cane.

*namah sōbhyaṇyā ca pratīṣaryaṇyā* (MS. °*arāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namo lopyāya colapyāya* (MS. °*pāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.



*namah parnyāya* (TS, KS.† *parnyāya*) *ca parnasādāya* (VS, °*sādāya*, TS. °*śādāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*kukras te grahah* (VS, ŚB, *grahyah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Draught': '(juice) for the draught'.

*atho varuṇyād uta* RV. AV. VS.; *nir mā varuṇād uta* (ApŚ. *adhi*) LŚ. ApŚ. Inferior meter in the latter.

*sa budhnyād* (TS. KS. AŚ. °*nād*) *āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy* (TS. KS. AŚ. *januṣābhy*) *agram* AV. TS. KS. AŚ. (AVPpp. agrees with the others; Barret, JAOS 37.260.)

*tayā gr̥ṇantah sadhamādeṣu* AV.: *tayā madantah sadhamādyeṣu* (RVKh. VS. °*mādeṣu*) RVKh. VS. MS. KS. TB.: *tasthur gr̥ṇantah sadhamādyāsaḥ* RV. AV. (Scheftelowitz prints °*mādhyeṣu* for RVKh., but his ms. °*mādyeṣu*.) In MS. KS. TB. *sadhamādya* means the same as °*māda* 'feast'; but in RV. AV. 'participant in a *sadhamāda*'. *nir mā muñcāmī śapathāt* LŚ. ApŚ.; *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV. VS.

*agne devānām aya heda iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *aya devānām yaḥ heda agne* (KS. *yaḥ hedyāni*, MŚ. *yaḥ hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *aya devān yaḥ hedyān* TB. ApŚ.

*namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya* (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīpāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*anhasaspataḥ tvā* VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *anhaspataḥ tvā* TS. MS. TB. ApŚ.

§326. We conclude the cases concerning the noun-suffix *ya* with a few variants which are in one way or another anomalous or at least peculiar:

*ārjasmātī rājasvā* (TS. *rājasūyāya*, MS. KS. °*sūyās*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *rājasūya*, adjective in MS. KS., is equivalent to *rājasū*; the suffix *ya* is here added after a vowel. In TS. it appears as a noun. Phonetically, the interchange in this and the next is between -ūy- and -v-.

*sūthā rājasūyāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*svah*, TS. °*sūyāya citānāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. Cf. prec.

*mahādevam antahpārśvena* (VS.† °*parkavyena*) VS. TS. TA. Formally, the VS. form is based on *parku* 'rib'. Mahidhara: *antar... pārśvāsthisambandhinā mānsena*. The form *antahpārśvya* occurs in the next formula.

*agaṇma mitravaruṇā varenpā* (KS. °*yam*; MS. *varena*) TS. MS. KS. Here the adjective *varenya-* is corrupted in MS. to *vareṇa*, instr. sing. of *vare-*.

Other cases of *y* in formative and inflexional elements

§327. There remain a few other cases which concern the presence or absence of a *y* which, when present, is still a formative or inflexional element, tho not the familiar secondary noun suffix which has been dealt with above. Thus, first, a couple of cases concerning the gerund or gerundive endings *ya*:

*upastutyañ mahi jātam* (MS. °*tyañ janima tat*; TS.\* *upastutāñ janima tat*) *te jarvan* RV. VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. Vait. Gerundive varies with past pple.

*uta prahām atidivya jāyāti* (AV. °*divā jāyati*) RV. AV. The RV. has a gerund form; the AV. a nom. sg. of stem -*divan*.

In another case an infinitive *martave* varies with *mṛtyave*, dative of *mṛtyu* (equivalent in meaning):

*jivātave na mṛtyave* (PB. *martave*) RV. PB.

§328. A few variants concern noun inflexion. Thus change of gender accounts for the following (fem. forms in *y-ah* varying with masc. or neut. forms without *y*):

*āpo me hotrāśaśinaḥ* (AG. °*śinaḥ*) ŚB. ApŚ. AG. 'The waters are my Hotrāśaśins'; the priest-name is once made fem. to agree with *āpah*.

*varṣās cākṣuṣyaḥ* VS. ŚB.; *varṣāṇi cākṣuṣāṇi* TS. MS. KS. Here the noun itself changes gender.

Or different case-forms vary:

*vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*; TS. ŚvetU. *śloka yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *pathava*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Alternative forms *pathā* and *pathyā*. The latter may be nom. in RV. (so Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10. 13. 1); in most texts it is certainly instrumental.

*imāñ narāḥ* (MŚ. ApŚ.\* *naraḥ*) *kṛṇuta vedim etya* (MŚ. *etat*, but read *eta* with all mss. but one; ApŚ.† 2. 2. 6a *eta*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland recognizes *eta* as secondary to *etya*. The reading *etat* (actually *etad*, before *d*-) has no standing; were it anything but a blunder it would belong to §401.

*rāñ ma āsan* (MŚ. PG. *āsyē*) AV. TS. GB. TAA. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. PG. BDh. Both these forms are regular, from the related and equivalent stems *āsan* and *āsyā*. Interest attaches to the form *āsyān*, which is read by Gastra in GB. with all his mss., and which is also the reading of most mss. of AV. and Kauś., so that it seems to be the true Atharvan reading and should be adopted in all three texts. (Curiously, however, Garbe reports no such reading from



the mss. of Vail; possibly this is an editorial oversight.) The form *āryan* is evidently a blend of the other two forms.

§329. In the inflexion of the verb, likewise, variant forms with and without *y* occur. Thus, first, an inserted *y* is all that distinguishes a verb-form of the fourth present class from one of the sixth (and sometimes of the first); the same root now and then forms both, cf. VV I p. 125, where other instances are quoted, less close to each other in sound than the following:

*tapate sādā* TS, KSA. TA.: *tapyate sādā* VS.

*tapatyai* (TA. Poona ed. *tapyatyai*, v. l. *tapatyai*) *sādā* KSA. TA.: *tapyateai* (v. l. *tyai*) *sādā* TS. The form *tapyatyai*, if correct, would be from the Rigvedic adjective *tapyatu*, which is based on the present stem *tapyā-* as much as *tapatyai* (pres. ppl.) is based on stem *tapa-*.

§330. So the *y* of the passive, in forms which vary with active or middle forms; see VV I pp. 49 ff., where other cases, most of them more remote from each other in sound:

*yenākṣi* (ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*, SMB. *yenākṣān*, PG. *yenākṣyān*) *abhyāśicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *ṣiñcatām*; PG. *ṣiñcatām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

§331. Other verbal variants will be mentioned in the sections immediately following, where phonetic tendencies are more clearly at work. We will add here a single stray instance of verb forms:

*ubhau lokau sanem* (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA. ApŚ. MŚ. See VV I p. 78.

Presence or absence of *y* after palatal sounds and *kṣ*, *ṣ*, etc.

§332. Deserving of special treatment and emphasis are a considerable number of variants in which this evanescent *y* follows palatal consonants, or sibilants, especially *kṣ*. Here it is not to be doubted that the appearance and disappearance of the sound *y* is phonetic in character; connected, that is, with the difficulty of distinguishing pronunciation or non-pronunciation of *y* after such consonants. The *y* may sometimes be interpreted as an inflectional element, as in the following verb forms (most of them collected in VV I pp. 28-9):

*vācaspati vāco vryeṣa sūbhṛtātumendyakṣase* (TA. *ṣyakṣase*, ŚŚ. *ṣyachase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. Aorist in MS., future in TA.; in ŚŚ. a further phonetic variation (see §184), bringing the form into the sphere of *ā-yam*.

{*net teā . . .*} *dadhyg* (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan paryāṅkhayāte* (TA. *ṣtai*, AV. *vidhakṣān pariāṅkhayātai*) RV. AV. TA. Many mss. of AV. *vidhakṣyan*, which is certainly intended.

*śardhāṣy agne ajarāṇi* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 29.

*bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ* (KS. *bhakṣa*°) VS. KS. So the single ms. of KS.; ed. emends to *bhakṣya*°. If the ms. reading were kept we should have to assume a pple. middle in form but passive in meaning. *mekṣyāmy ūrdhas tiṣṭham* AV., so emended by RWh.; all mss. *mekṣāmy. ymākṣā* (°*kṣyā*, etc.) . . . (see §330). In PG. *akṣyāu* is taken to be from *akṣi* 'eye', but is really a phonetic corruption.

§333. In one verb form the *y* appears after *ts*; it may be regarded as belonging with the *kṣ* cases in view of §§182 ff.:

*tenārātsyam* (GG. ŚŚ. MŚ. °*sam*; so also p. p. of MS.; most mss. of MŚ. °*syam* with MS. text) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. GG. The proper form is *arātsam*, aorist; the conditional does not fit. See VV I p. 29.

§334. Other verb forms which belong in this category:

*rattho na vījaṇ śanīṣyann* (SV. °*ṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV. Clearly a phonetic slip in SV., making a sort of aorist pple.; Benfey, tho he interprets the form as nor., translates a future.

*ā vīścyuntām* (AV. *vīścantām*) *aditaye durenāḥ* RV. AV. The AV. form is evidently a phonetic blunder; cf. VV I pp. 29, 51 f.

§335. Besides the verb forms quoted in §332, and a few containing the noun suffix *ya*, §§314 ff., we find the following cases of *y* present or absent after *kṣ*:

*dhuñkṣāgneyī* (VSK. °*syāgneyī* or °*svāg*°) VS. VSK. MS.: *agnaye dkāñkṣā* (TS. °*ṣṇā*) TS. KSA. See §255.

*tarakṣaḥ* (KSA. † °*kṣaḥ*) *kṛṣṇaḥ śvā caturakṣo* (KSA. °*kṣyā*) *gardabhas ta itarojanānām* TS. KSA. The ed. emends to *caturakṣo*, which seems necessary.

*akṣyos* (mss. *akṣos*) *tanvo rapaḥ* AV.

Cf. further such mss. readings as *vibhuñkṣamāṇa* for *vibhuñkṣya*° at Kauś. 23. 9, 38. 26.

§336. The other cases concern *y* present or absent after palatal consonants. Prominent among them are several cases concerning the root *ścut* (Wackernagel I p. 268). The forms written with *ścyut* may be partly contaminated with *cyu*; indeed the mss. also show forms which might be derived from that root, and sometimes their confusion is such that their intentions are doubtful:

*prasthitā vo madhuścutaḥ* (VSK. MS. °*ścyutaḥ*) VS. VSK. MS. TB. So the editions. But Poona ed. of TB. records a v. l. °*ścyutaḥ*; and per contra, all *sarhitā* mss. of MS. read °*cyutaḥ* or °*ścutaḥ*.

*śrucū devaṁ ghrītaścutā* (KS. and v. l. of MS. °*ścyutā*) RV. TS. MS. KS.



*ghṛtāścyuto madhuścyutah* TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtāścyuto madhuścyutah* VS. MS. So v. l. and p. p. of MS. in the other passage. Moreover KS. has v. l. *ghṛtācyuto*, and for *madhu*° its two mss. read °*ścyutah* and °*cyutah*.

*dyaur yataś cyutat agnāv eva tat* ApŚ: *prthivyām avacutotaitat* TB. ApŚ.: *yata ścutat dhulam agnāv tad astu* KŚ.: *yatra cubcutat agnāv evitat* MŚ. (but the latter is a dubious emendation; better, *yatra ścutat*); *yata ścutat* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ. See on this variant VV I p. 139.

§337. Other, miscellaneous cases after palatals:

*viṣṇoh śnaptre* (TS. *śnyaptre*, MS. *śipre*) *sthaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. The pronunciation of *n* after *ś* must have been approximately *ñ*; this is indicated by the TS. variant (v. l. and p. p., however, *śnaptre*); so the Vyāsaśikṣā 248 prescribes (cf. Keith, *HOS* 18. xxxvii).

*apāśnyuṣṇim apā rakṣaḥ* (and, *apā ragham*) TA.: *apāśnyuṣṇim* etc. TA. So, correctly, Poona ed. *Aśn(y)uṣṇi* is an otherwise unknown epithet of Agni. The comm. explains only the form with *y*, monstrously: *aśnānāḥ bhoktṛṇām uṣṇir dāhako yo 'gmiḥ*. Cf. prec. *mano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtir*) *jusātām ājyasya* (TS. TB. Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyam me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. *divo jyote* (KS. \*°*tir*) *vivasva* (MŚ. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasvān aditir devajūtis* . . . TS.

*mṛkase* (SV. *mṛjyase*) *pavase matī* RV. SV.

*śyāmā sarūpanhkarāṇi* AV. I. 24. 4a. Here the Berlin ed. reads *sāma* with nearly all mss., but against comm., Ppp., and the evident sense, which demands *śyāmā*; see Whitney's note.

#### Presence or absence of *y* before initial vowel

§338. To a considerable extent *y* is evanescent when unconnected with any consonant. That is, first, at the beginning of a word, and most commonly (tho not always) when the preceding word ends in a vowel. Secondly, or better as a special case under the preceding, there are cases in which the *y*, when it occurs, is not initial, but joins into one word two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In either case the forms without *y* often show a hiatus between two vowels, so that *y* presents the aspect of a kind of 'Hiatusstiller', reminding us of the similar use of this sound in Prakrit (Pischel §353) and Pāli (Geiger §73); cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 31. The phenomena are, to be sure, accompanied by all sorts of etymological and grammatical changes; rarely do they show such purely phonetic character as in this:





words *yad* (*yadā*) and *ād* are transposed in KS. owing to the transposition of the two *pādas*.

*ād* (KS. *yad*) *id dyāvōprthivī aprathetām*, same texts. See prec.

*atha* (TB.\* *yathā*; AV. MS. TB.\* *yatra*) *devaiḥ sadhamūdam madema* (AV. *madanti*, comm. *madema*) AV. MS. KS. TB. (all three) ApŚ.

Preceded by a vowel all three times in TB.

*yathā* (RV. *atho*, VS. ŚB. *athā*) *na* (RV. *ta*) *indrah kevaliḥ* (VS. TS. ŚB. *indra id viśaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

*yathainam jarasā nayāt* AV.; *athainam jarimā nayet* HG.

Cf. also: *yasya* (sy *asya*) *yonim prati reto* etc., §363, and *yasyām idam viśvam* (*viśvam hy asyām*) etc., §386.

§342. Less common is the second class of cases, in which *y* in one reading connects two words which are unconnected in the form without *y*. In some cases it is scarcely to be doubted that the appearance of the form with *y* is related to avoidance of hiatus, as in the variant quoted at the end of §338. While no other case is as clear as that, lexical reinterpretation and other sound-changes being always involved, it is significant that the form containing the *y* is more often secondary, namely in the following group:

*vaiśvānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. 'Born for the *ṛta*' is obviously secondary.

*sudevam indre āsvinā* (MS. *indrāyāsvi*) VS. MS. TB. As in the last, a dative is substituted for a locative; both depend on *dadhuh* in the context.

*sahasrākṣo* (VSK. TS. KS. °*kṣa*) *medhāya* (TS. KS. *medha ā*) *cīyamānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'For (at) the sacrifice'; the latter probably original. Keith on TS. 4. 2. 10. 1 translates 'for'; his text seems to require 'at'.

*graha vikvajanīna nyāntar viprāyāma te* (MS. p. p. *viprāya*, *mate*; KS. *nyāntar vipra ā-ṣati*) MS. KS. As in prec., a loc. with *ā* varies with a dat.

*yo gopā apī* (TB. *gopāyati*) *taṁ huve* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.

*ta ā vahanti* (MS. *taivavahante*; KS. *tad āharanti*) *kavayaḥ purastāt* TS. MS. KS. TB. See Keith on TS. 1. 1. 2. 1. The original reading probably in TS.; Keith thinks that MS. may intend the same, with *ta* for *te*, altho its Brāhmaṇa explains *ta* as referring to the *dhiyānā*.

*datto asmabhyam* (KS. *dattayāsmā*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsmā*°, corrupt for *dattvā*°, SMB. *dattāsmā*°) *draviṇcha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS. See §367.

*mahyam vātaḥ pavatām* (KS. \**te*) *kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

§343. In some cases, however, an original single word is broken up by omitting *y*, and leaving hiatus secondarily:

*pāvakayā yaś* (TS. *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyā kṛpā* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 453.

*pāhi gāyāndhaso* (SV. *gā andh<sup>o</sup>*) *madē* RV. SV. The RV. has a regular 2d sing. impv. pres. from *yai*; the SV. an aor. inj., *gās*. Add to VV I §158.

*pīteva putram jarase nayemam* (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The MS. p. p. reads *jarasena, ā, imam*, corruptly pointing to the reading of the other texts.

§344. Consider also the following peculiar case:

*amā mā edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ† *ma*) *indra AŚ. ŚG.*: *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.; *anāmayaedhi mā riśāma indo* Kauś. The mss. of Kauś. read *anāmayedhi*; the emended \**yaidhi* is supposed to contain double sandhi, for \**ya(h) edhi*: 'be free from disease'. But the Kauś. reading may really intend *amā ma(y) edhi*, like AŚ. ŚG., with 'Hiatusstilger' *y* as in §338. See Bloomfield's Introduction, p. lviii; and cf. §78.

§345. We have now considered the cases of plus or minus *y* which seem most clearly phonetic in character, in addition to those in which suffixal *y* is concerned. There is little else to record, except a group of variations between the pronominal stems *ta* and *tya*. The more archaic *tya* is generally the original, but twice it replaces *ta* in secondary texts: *yad dha syā* (AV. *sā*) *te parityasi* RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS.

*mayi tyad* (MS. *tad*) *indriyam bṛhat* (KS. TB. TA. *mahat*, MS. *vīryam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Prātika in MŚ.: *mayi tyad* (so Knauer, but mss. mostly *tād*).

*yathā ha tyad* (TS. ApŚ. HG. *tad*) *vasava gauryam cit* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. HG. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*ā nu tac* (SV. *tyac*) *chardho divyam vṛṣṇimāhe* RV. SV.

*prati te* (AV. *tye*) *te ajardas tapisthāh* RV. AV.

*ud it te vasuvittamāh* ApŚ.; *ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāh* RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

§346. Other lexical variants, except those considered above where phonetic conditions are favorable, are very few:

*peśasvañ tanūnā samvayanñi* (KS. TB. \**vjayanñi*) MS. KS. TB. Roots *vñ* and *vjñ*.

*endran vagnunā vahata* PB.: *vagnunendran huayata* TB. ApŚ. (with metathesis of *h*).



§347. We conclude with a few textual errors and false readings which should probably all be eliminated:

*susatyam id garām asyazi pra khudasi* ŚŚ.: *sasadam id garām asti pra khuda* AV. Berlin ed., violently emending the mss. which agree precisely with ŚŚ. but for the slight corruptions *garom* and *zudasi*. *vidad garyam saramā dr̥gham ūvam* (TB, *ūreyam*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. has the correct *ūvam*, text and comm., without v. 1. *satāsati* (comm. *satyasati*) *prajāputih* TB. But Poona ed. comm. *satāsati*.

*hiranyavad annavad dhehi* (ApŚ. *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ. The corruption may be graphic in nature. *prayapeyam iṣa sakthyau* (TB. text *sakthau*) TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed. text and comm. *sakthyau*, the only possible reading.

*oṣiṣṭhahanah śiṅginīkoṣyābhyām* (TA. *°koṣābhyām*) TS. TA.: *vasiṣṭha-hanuh śiṅginī koṣyābhyām* VS. Poona ed. of TA. *°koṣyā*?

*ayoddheva* (TB. *°dhyeva*) *durmada ā hi juhve* RV. TB. The Poona ed. has the same reading, it is surely corrupt; perhaps graphic. The comm. has the same, but explains it as the *ayodihā-iva*.

### 3. Presence or absence of r

§348. Owing to the rarity of *r* in formative syllables, this interchange appears mainly in radical syllables, producing lexical variations which are naturally along the line of least resistance; that is, the variant words are more or less synonyms. It may be assumed that the relatively faint pronunciation of the liquid was a contributory cause. The materials are very heterogeneous, however, and of less phonetic significance than was the case with *y*.

§349. We begin with groups of variants concerning nearly synonymous words and roots; and first, *śravas* and *śaras* and related words: *śūro nṛṣātā śarasaś* (SV. MS. *śra°*) *cakānah* (SV. ca *†kame*) RV. SV. TS.

MS.

*gr̥hānāh śravase* (SV. *śra°*) *mahe* RV. SV.

*sataś dadhānam apratiṣkutaś śavāśai* (SV. *śracāśai bhūri*) RV. AV. SV.

TB.

*ā yo vīśvāni śarasaś* (SV. *śra°*) *tatāna* RV. AV. SV.

*śraviṣṭhāh stha* MS. KS.: *śaviṣṭhā stha vāṣṭradāh* VS. ŚB.

§350. The roots *dhā* and *dhr̥* and the like, in virtual synonyms:

*sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe* (SV. *dadhriṣe*) RV. SV.

*vṛṣā dharmāṣi dadhiṣe* (SV. *dadhriṣe*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*yo nah pitā janitā yo vidhātā* (MS. *vidhartā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*dhātā vidhātū* (MS. *dhartā vidhartū*) *paramota samudṛk* (KS. *paramo na samudṛk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*daivyaḍya dhartre joṣṭre* (MS. *dhātre deṣṭre*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*devayur dharme* (MS. *°mā*, AV. *dhāmann*) *asthīran* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*kṣayasyāsi vidhataḥ* (SV. *vidhartā*) RV. SV. Here *vidhataḥ* from root *vidh*.

§351. Roots *pā* and *pr*:

*atirātram vacarṣvān pūrta rāvat* (KS. *vacṛṣvān pūrta rāvat*, TS. *varṣan pūrtir āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

*apālām indra* (MG. *indras*) *triṣ* (ApMB. MG. *triḥ*) *pūtei* (AV. *pūtvā*, MG. *pūty a°*, ApMB. *pūrtey a°*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

§352. Roots *prī* and *pā*:

*svātrāḥ pītā* (ViDh. *svātāḥ prītā*) *bhavatu yūyam āpah* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ViDh.

*pra vām adheuryuk carati prayasvān* (AV. *°tu payasvān*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

Comm. on AV. *prayasvān*.

§353. Miscellaneous synonyms or near-synonyms, with some corruptions involving no further changes, or very slight ones, in the words; in the first case *r* possibly plays the rôle of 'Hiatusilger':

*ahim budhnyam* (TS. *°niyam*) *anu riyamānāḥ* (TS. *saṁhcarantīḥ*, MS.

KS. *anu iyamānāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms;

note that *r* is initial, after a vowel, and probably secondary; a sort of 'Hiatusilger'? *r* is used in this way in Pāli.

*antarikṣe pathibhir iyamānāḥ* (GB. *hrīyamānāḥ*, so Gnastra without the *v*. 1. *hrīyamānāḥ* recorded in Bibl. Ind. ed.) RV. GB. The AVPpp. 1. 107. 4 (Barret, *JAOs* 26.290) has the RV. reading; GB. perhaps corrupt, certainly secondary. Note the final *r* of the preceding word.

*vanasade* (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṣ* (TS. MS. *vaṣ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

*mā tevaḥ hāryāḥ krutāḥ mayi* PG.: *krutāḥ me mā pra hāsiḥ* RVKh. 'Take away': 'abandon'.

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jatṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātrdaḥ* (MS. *°da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. Comm. on TA. tries to derive its corrupt form from root *jar* (*jr*).

*vikirida* (KS. *°da*, VS. *°dru*, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vīlohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. See §168.

*ya rte* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rte*, PB.† *yakṣate*) *cit abhiṛiṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB.: *jari cetid abhiṛiṣaḥ* MS. (corrupt, see §193).

*jāgrīyas* (mss., *v*. 1. *yā gr°*) *tripaṇcāśīḥ* AV.: *yā(h) kṛochrāḥ tri°* AVPpp. See §§185, 192.



*śunamā ma iṣṭam śunamā śāntam* (p.p. *śrāntam*) . . . MS.: *śamā ma* (AB. *ma idam*) *iṣṭam* . . . *śamā śrāntam* (TB. text *śrāntam*, Poona ed. *śrāntam*) . . . AB. TB. ApŚ.: *śamā ma iṣṭam astu śunamā śāntam* . . . KS.

*hola yukṣat sarasvatīm* (KS. *bṛhaspatīm*) . . . *śconīlāḥ* (KS. *śonīlāḥ*; Conc. suggests reading *śro*°) . . . VS. KS.

*prthivi bhūvari* (KS. *vibhā*°) *śinīvāly urandhra* (KS. *urandha*) *ścille* . . . KS ApŚ. An obscure epithet of earth; perhaps belongs in §350.

*agne 'dabdhāyo 'ārtatano pāhī vidyot* KS.: *agne 'dabdhāyo 'ārtatana pāhī mādyā divah* . . . TS. TB. ApŚ.: *agne 'dabdhāyo 'ārtatana pāhī mā didyoh* VS. ŚB. In KS., apparently the original, 'having uninjured body'; TS., 'having not cold body', an over-sophisticated lect. fac. VS. has a further change, by haplogy, and is really uninterpretable; comm. either 'most eating' or 'most obtaining', of which the former is adopted by BR. and fits Agni well enough, but is formally unsatisfactory.

*vī jihīṣva lokam kṛṇu* AV.: *vī jihīṣva lokam kṛdhi* TA. The AV. is original: 'go apart (root *hā*), make room.' TA. comm. takes it as desiderative from *hr* (*vihartum icha*), which would require *jihīṣasva*. *anādhyakṣam sahasyam* (TS. KS. *sahasriyam*) *sahasvat* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Thousandfold mighty', probably original: 'powerful and mighty', lect. fac.

*yo agniḥ kravyavāhanah* (VS. KS. *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: *yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. Euphemistic change of *kravya*° to *kavya*°.

*yata āttas* (AŚ. *ārttas*) *tad ayan punah* TS. AŚ. 'Whence it was taken, to it it has returned.' AŚ. mere blunder or misprint.

*prati vator aha* (AV.\* *ahar*) *dyubhiḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. ArS. VS. KS. ŚB.: *praty asya vaha dyubhiḥ* TS. The comm. on AV. has *aha*; *ahar* is a blunder suggested by *dyubhiḥ*.

*apām tvā sadhiṣi* (MS.† *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *sadhriṣi*, 'in the seat'; *sadhriṣu* ('mere blunder', Keith on TS. 4, 3, 1, 1) perhaps with thought of RV. *sadhri*.

*ānābha mṛṣa dhūrta* (MS. °te, v. l. °ta) MS. MŚ.: *anārbhava mṛṣa* KS. ApŚ. See §749.

*śam na bhava kṛda ā pita indo* RV. GB. AŚ. Valt. MŚ. According to Gausta, all his mss. read *intro* for *indo*, a stupid blunder which he disregards, printing *indo* in his text.

*a na indra* (and, *indo*) *mahim iṣam* RV. (both)

*vṛddhyā apagalbham* (TB. *apra*°, but Poona ed. text and comm. *apa*°) VS. TB. Probably mere misprint.

*potrāgnūdhro* (read with Gaastra *potā°*) *nīkīlām pādām ekam* GB.

§354. The following involve different word-divisions:

*yasya* (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonīm patireto grbhāya* (ApMB. HG. *prati reto grhāya*) ŚG. HG. ApMB.

*āyuhpati rathantaram* (MŚ. *āyuh protirath°*) *taḍ aṣṭya* etc. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter corrupt.

*yena bhāyaś* (PG. *bhūriś*) *caraty* (MS. *caraty*) *ayam* (AG. *ca rātryām*, corrupt; PG. *carā diyam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

*tan mā jineva* (KS. *mārjiteḍ*) TS. MS. KS. 'Quicken me': 'cleansing it'. *sa vah sarvāh sam carati prajānan* AV.: *sarvāh sared* (p.p. *sah, saredh*) *vī caratu prajānan* MS. The latter carelessly assimilates to the following *sarvāh*.

*mā mā yūnarod hāṣṭ* (JB. *yono vām hārasih*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

*agnir hotreṇedam* (ŚŚ. *hotreṇa*) *haviṣ ajuṣata* MS. ŚŚ.: *agnihotreṇedam haviṣ* . . . TB. AŚ. But *agnir ho°* must certainly be read in all texts, with Poona ed. of TB.

*ud varṣam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire* Mbh.

§355. In the next group accompanying changes in adjoining vowels or consonants make the two variant words less close phonetically:

*ūrdhvacitah* (MS. KS. *\*śritah*) *śrayadheam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. See §195.

*svān tanvaṁ* (*tanuwaṁ*) *varuṇo 'suṣot* (TS. TB. *asīśret*) TS. MS. KS. TB. See §287.

*pred u harivaḥ śrutasya* (SV. *rutasya*) RV. SV. TS. See §278.

*trīkuḡ* (AŚ. *trīśrud*) *gharmo vibhātu me* (KS. *gharmas sadam in me vibhāti*) KS. TB. TA. AŚ. See §145.

*śivaḥ rutasya* (TS. and v. l. of MŚ. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva rtasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. *\*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

*apūlapā ādhūyamānaḥ* TS.: *viṣṇur āprūlapā āpyāyāmanah* VS. 'Drinker of unpurified (soma)': 'protecting when propitiated (?)'.

*rudrāyām urvyāyām* (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ApŚ. ŚŚ. See §228.

*amocī* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. PB. ApMB. See §60.

*anu daha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ* (SV. *kavyādaḥ*) RV. SV.: *sahamūrān anu daha kravyādaḥ* AV. Benfey explains the SV. form as from *kaya* = *kāya* + *ad*, 'body-eating'. This would imply metric shortening of *d* to *a*. There may be involved euphemistic avoidance of the word *kravyād*, as in *kravyāvahana: kavya°*, §353.



*ā sūtrāṇe* (MS, KS. *bhāyīṣṭhadāṇe*) *sumatīm āryānāḥ* AV. MS. KS.: *oṣiṣṭhadāṇe sumatīm grāṇāḥ* TS. It is likely that the original form was *āsūtrāṇe*, cf. Whitney on AV. 19. 42. 3. The TS. form, tho impeccable, is secondary.

§356. Among the rarer cases of presence or absence of *r* in formative elements, we begin with a miscellaneous group concerning verb inflexion: *ghṛtaṁ duhata* (RV.\* *duhrata*) *dśiram* RV. (both) SV. See RVRep. 137, 562, and VV I p. 169.

*te dakṣiṇām duhate* (AV. *te duhrate dakṣiṇām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV. See VV I, l. c.

*utainam* (NīlarU. *uta teā*) *gopā adṛśan* (TS. NīlarU. *adṛśan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. See VV I p. 170. Followed by:

*adṛśana* (TS.† *adṛśann*) *udahāryaḥ* VS. TS. See *ibid*,  
*apa snēhitir* (SV. *snēhitim*) *nṛmanā adhata* (SV. *adhā rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛma-  
nām adadhāra*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stūhi* (Poona ed. *snūhi*)  
*tān nṛmanān athadrām* TA. See §110, and VV I p. 170.

*sarasvatyā* (AV. °*yām*) *adhi mānā* (KS. *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; SMB. *randva*, but Jørgensen *manār*; AV. *manā*) *acarkṣuḥ* (KS. and SMB. Jørg. *acak*°; SMB. Conc. *carkṛdhi*) AV. KS. TB. ApS. MŚ. SMB. PG. The KS. also has v.l. *acark*°, which perhaps should be read thruout. Jørgensen assumes dissimilation; see VV I p. 149.

Compare further variants between the verbal endings *-re* and *-rīre*, VV I p. 170, and: *ghṛtaṁ mimikṣe* (TA. °*kṣīre*) *ghṛtam aya yonih* RV. VS. TA., *ibid*. p. 214.

§357. Finally, another not much larger group concerns suffixal or inflexional syllables of nouns. These cases belong to noun formation or inflexion. It may be noted, however, that in a number of cases—those listed first—the *r*, when present, follows a consonant group. In these, especially, some phonetic element in the shift may be suspected; cf. the similar cases with *y*, §§314-5, 321-2, and our chapter on Consonant Groups below:

*bhūri śastan* (SV. *śastan*) *prthuh svaruḥ* RV. SV. VS. Synonyms; but here the form without *r* is older.

*ativeddhā vithareṇā cid aśtrā* (MS. *aśtrā*) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is secondary and may be a phonetic simplification or corruption.

*na kir devā minīmasi* RV.: *na kī devā inīmasi* SV. Anomalous reduction of *na-kis* to *na-kī*.

*śūro rathasya naptiḥ* (ArS. *naptriḥ*, TB. *naptriyah*) RV. AV. ArS. KS. TB. Feminine stems *napī* and *naptrī*, the latter influenced by *naplar*.

*taṣṭimati* (TA. Cone. *taṣṭrī*<sup>o</sup>, which is a v. l. in Poona ed., its text *taṣṭrī*<sup>o</sup>) *te sapeya* TS. ApŚ. TA.: *taṣṭrīmantas* (MS. MŚ. *taṣṭrī*<sup>o</sup>, ApŚ. *taṣṭrī*<sup>o</sup>) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The MS. MŚ. ApŚ. forms are Prakritic in vocalism. In the Tait. school form, which concerns us here, the stem *taṣṭrī* is, as it were, feminized. Add to VV I §345.

*praty eti vānā . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ. °vaktā, v. l. °vaktar) *uta . . .* KB. ŚŚ.: *praty eti sunvan . . . pratiṣṭhotopavaktar uta . . .* AŚ. The form can only be construed as nom.; °vaktā, if it is intended, must stand for °vaktā with partial sandhi (ā shortened, §991). But it looks as if all texts intended °vaktar. Hillebrandt, on ŚŚ., p. 252 note, suggests that *ru* is a bad writing for *u*; but it is pretty widespread to be a mere graphic error. Is *r* a kind of sandhi consonant or Hiatusstilger, as in Pāli? Cf. the first variant in §353. Or is °vaktar used as nom.? Cf. the nom. neut. (?) forms in *-tari*, Wackernagel III p. 205 supra.

*vīśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °ṣebhyah) AV. KS.: *vīśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah* VS. TS. See §783.

*vaptā* (ApMB. *vaptṛā*, HG. MG. *vaptur*) *vapasi* (PG. °ti) *keśakmaṣru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *vaptṛā* is an assimilation to preceding instrumentals.

*ā mā stutasya stutaḥ gamyāt* (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotraḥ gamyāt* PB. Synonyms.

*matyai śrutāya* (mahe śrotṛāya) *caḥṣase* AV. (both)

*gharmam pāta vasavo yajata* (TA. °tā, MS. °trā) *vā* (MS. *ve*, TA. *va*) VS. MS. TA. ŚB. *yajata* (°tā) is a verb, 'sacrifice ye'.

*gaur dhenubharyā* (HG. *dhenur bharyā*) ApMB. HG. See §818.

*agner agneyāny* (KS. *agniyāny*) *asi* (one ms. and p.p. of MS. *agner agner yāny asi*) MS. KS.: *devānām agneyāny asi* TS.: *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *agneyāntī*, certainly the true reading of TS. and probably of MS., is a curious tatpuruṣa compound in which the stem vowel of the first member is assimilated to the vowel of the genitive ending. 'Path of Agni' is meant in every case. KS. has the regular form, and for that reason may be suspected of being secondary.

*bṛhaspatistutasya* (TS. MS. add *ta*, VS. VSK. ŚB. add *deva soma ta*) *inda* (TS. *indo*, VS. ŚB. *indar*) *indriyāvataḥ . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Gen.: voc.

*sa vīśvācīr* (KS. °cī) *abhi caṣṭe ghrīlācīḥ* (KS. °cī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. \*The KS. changes an accus. plur., with which a noun has to be



supplied (the commentators and translators are at sea as to what noun), into a dual form agreeing with *radasi* in the preceding pāda. *derī deāraia* (Vait. *derīr deāro*) *nā mā samlāptam* TS. AŚ. Vait. Cf. prec., and §732.

*asmadrātā madhumatīr* (KS. °rī) . . . MS. KS. ŚŚ. and others; §800. *gaurīr* (°rī) *mimāya* . . . , see §545.

#### 4. Presence or absence of *v*

§358. Doublets with or without *v* seem to have existed to some slight extent in IE times, and still exist historically in the Veda and even in Sanskrit (cf. Wackernagel I §232c). Among the variants they are fairly numerous. Undoubtedly most interesting is the large class in which *v* is initial before a vowel. Frequently, tho not always, the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we seem to be dealing with a tendency to bridge over hiatus by the sound *v*, as in the case of *y* (§§335-44), and to a much slighter extent *r* (§353). As with those sounds, however, the form with *v* is not by any means always secondary in text history.

#### *v* initial before a vowel

§359. Here the place of honor belongs to the rime-words *r̥ṣabha* and *vr̥ṣabha*, perfect synonyms, which exchange on a large scale. In some cases we seem to detect quite clearly the above-mentioned tendency to avoid hiatus by using the form with *v* when the last word ends in a vowel. But this is by no means universal.

*vr̥ṣabhena* (TS. *r̥ṣ*°) *traṣṭā* TS. KS. This is an instructive case; it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in KS., in a consonant in TS. We can hardly believe that it is entirely accidental that KS. begins with *v*.

*vatsa virājo vr̥ṣabha matinām* AV.: *pītā virājām r̥ṣabha rayiṇām* TB. Observe that *r̥ṣ*- is preceded by a final -*m*, *vr̥ṣ*- by a final vowel. It is as if *v* shifted to *m* (§236).

*vr̥ṣabhena* (TS. *r̥ṣ*°) *gāh* (KS. *gāvah*) TS. KS. KSA. The single ms. of KSA. has corruptly *aśvā-vr̥ṣa*°, which Von Schroeder emends to *aśvān vr̥*°, but he adds a note that perhaps the TS. reading (*aśvān r̥ṣ*°) should be adopted.

*vr̥ṣabham* (VS.\* *r̥ṣ*°) *naryāpasam* RV. AV. SV. VS. (both) MS. TB. Here preceded by a consonant.

*r̥ṣabhāya* (MS. *vr̥ṣ*°) *garayī* (TS. KSA. *rājñe garayah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. A consonant precedes.

*r̥ṣabho* (KS. *vr̥*°) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. A consonant precedes.

*vr̥ṣabho 'si svargah* AV.; *ṛṣabho 'si svargo lokah* TB. Initial in verse. *kakubham* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °ham) *rūpam vr̥ṣabhasya* (KS. *rūpam ṛṣ°*) *rocate bṛhat* (VSK. *bṛhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*astabhnād dyām vr̥ṣabho* (TS. MS. *dyām ṛṣ°*) *antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KŚ.

*bṛhad ṛṣabham* (TB. *vr̥°*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *ṛ°*) *gām nayo dadhat* VS. TB.

*śakvarā* (IŚ. *ye śāk°*) *ṛṣabhā* (AV. *vr̥ṣ°*) *ye svarājah* AV. IŚ. Note the vowel preceding.

*rathe akṣeṣu ṛṣabhasya* (KS. TB. °ṣu *vr̥°*; so AV. comm., and so Ppp. intends, Barret, *JAOS* 30. 204) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣu akṣeṣu vr̥ṣabharājāḥ* ViDh.

§360. There are no other forms with and without *r* that are precisely identical in meaning. But we find a considerable number of other cases of presence or absence of initial *r* before a vowel, in many of which the preceding word ends in a vowel, so that we may suspect influence of the tendency to avoid hiatus, even tho the lexical considerations always play their part, and even tho the form with hiatus is sometimes secondary, reversing the direction of the process:

*te arṣantu te varṣantu* . . . IŚ.; *te varṣanti te varṣayanti* AV. Roots *arṣ* 'rush' and *varṣ* 'rain'. One is inclined to suspect assimilation to the following *varṣ-* in AV.

*r̥jīte* (KS. *vr̥j°*) *pari vr̥ndhī nah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Initial in the verse: Von Schroeder says on KSA., 'wohl fehlerhaft für *r̥jīte*'. Perhaps assimilated to the following *vr̥ndhī*.

*śalmalir vr̥ddhyā* (KSA. *ṛddhyā*) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. Synonyms.

*agne vājajid vājam tvā* . . . VS. ŚB. TB. Vait. ApŚ.: *ājim tvāgne* . . . MŚ.

Synonyms since earliest times. Note preceding vowel before *vāja°*. *vareṇyakraṭūr* (AV. °tur, ApŚ. *īdenya°*) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.: *vireṇyuh kratur indrah vāsastih* RV.

*hṛtsu kratus varuṇo* (MS. °ṇam) *vikṣe* (RV. *apṣe*, MS. *dikṣe*) *agnim* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.† For the RV, original is substituted *vikṣe* after preceding vowel, with quasi-'Hiatusilger' *r* and other phonetic changes (cf. especially §153a). On MS. see §869 (a further, graphic change).

*tad āyuh* (ApŚ. *vāyuh*) MS. KS. ApŚ. 'That is life (wind, breath)'. *asum* (AV. TS. *vasum*) *gharmam divam* (VS. *sva*) *ā tiṣṭhatānu* (AV. *rohātānu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *asu* 'life': *vasu* 'weal' (with ungrammatical *m*); preceded by vowel; *asu* is original, as shown by RV. 10. 14. 12, 15. 1 (cf. 10. 15. 9, 10).



*devā gātusido gātum vitta* (VSK. *gātum itā*) *gātum ita* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Cf. *gātum vitta gātum ihi* MS. ApŚ.; *devā gātusido* (MŚ. adds *gātum vitta*) *gātum yajñāya vindata* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Finding' and 'going upon' the way are much the same thing, but the former is obviously original; VSK. assimilates to the following *ita*.

*tee iṣaḥ* (KS. *viṣre*, MS. *tea eṣaḥ*) *zamidadhur bhūricarpasah* (TS.† *bhūri-relasah*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. On MS. see §694. KS. clearly secondary, with quasi-epenthetic *r* between vowels.

*dhiṣaṇe vidā* (VS. VSK. *vidē*, KS. *vīte*, MS. MŚ. *idite*) *sati* (MS. KS. MŚ. omit) *vidayethām* (MS. MŚ. *idethām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §169.

*tigmam anikam viditam sahasvat* AV.; *tigmam ayudham viditam* (KS. *dhām iditam*) *saahasvat* TS. MS. KS. 'Implored' of KS. is secondary to 'strong'; AV. is still farther afield, see §169.

*yo antaro mitramaho ranusyāt* (KS. *anu*°) RV. KS. ApŚ. 'Who . . . fights against us.' KS. seems to feel a form from *anu* + *as*, as in English slang, 'who is after us'. Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'. KapŚ. *vanuṣyā*.

*namo vidhryāya* (MS. *vidhriyāya*, p.p. *vidhryāya*; TS. *nama idhriyāya*) *cātapāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both forms are obscure; TS. probably secondary. See Keith's note.

*isāna imā bhuvanāni riyase* (SV. *iyase*) RV. SV. Note absence of sandhi (complete hiatus) in SV.; reverse of 'Hiatusstilger' with a vengeance!

*mahīca dyaur adha* (AV. *vadha*) *tmanā* RV. AV. *vadhatmānā* (sic) not divided in p.p., and regarded by Whitney as a mere corruption; he translates the RV. Still, the AV. may be rendered: 'slay (our assailant, O Soma) by thyself'.

*ahar* (MS. *vahad*) *divābhir* (MS. *divyābhir*) *atibhiḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. *ahar*, adverb. 'by day'. One ms. of MS. with p.p. *vahad* (*d* or *d* for *r*, §§272, 272a); preceded by a vowel, so that it is a case of 'Hiatusstilger'.

*viśām satarjuzāṇām* (AV. *viśām avar*°) RV. AV. The original means, 'of the folk who have prepared (the *barhīs*)', Bloomfield, *JAOS* 35. 275. The AV. uses it in a patchwork hymn dealing with a wholly different situation; the initial *a-* must be taken as privative, 'who have not defended themselves' (*erj* = *pari-erj* as in Classical Skt.). Cf. Whitney ad loc. The retention of the perfect ppl. form shows the badness of the AV.

*mahl no vāta iha vānta bhūmau* AV.: *miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV. Reverse of 'Hiatusstilger'.

*abhūr āpinām* (HG. °pām; AV. mss. *v āpi*°) *abhīstapāśā* (AV. °pā u) AV. HG. ApMB. Others, §46.

*rāmayuta* (KS. °tā) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretam rājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*mā tvā ke cin ni* (AV. *cid tvī*) *yemur vim* (SV. *cin ni yemur in*, TA. *cin nyemur in*) *na pāśīnaḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TA. *vim*, acc. of *vi*, secondarily reduced to the particle *in* (*id*).

*vidvīr yāmann avaradhayan* VS.: *vidvīr yāman varardhayan* TB. (Conc.).

But Poona ed. of TB. has correctly *yāmann avar*°.

§361. In two cases of this kind the secondary form with initial *v* (after a vowel; 'Hiatusstilger') is felt as containing the preposition *ava*: *pro ārata* (TB. 'ārata) *maruto durmadā iva* RV. TB. 'Rush along, Maruts, like madmen.' Comm. on TB. *avārata dhārata*.

*urugya rāya igo* (VSK. *rāyo* 'rego, i.e. *ava, igo*; TS. MS. KS. *rāyah sam igo*) *yajasma* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *ava-gaj* 'remove by sacrifice' with object *igo*, is peculiarly inept.

§362. A couple of other peculiar cases seem also to belong in this category, altho the *v*, when found, is not initial in its word:

*agninendreya samena...* *upa te huve savāham* (KSA. *huve* 'sā aham') TS. KSA. 'I summon for thee, O offering': 'I, so and so (*asau* 'N.N.'), summon for thee'. If, as we are inclined to assume, KSA. is original, the TS. reading uses *v* as a sort of 'Hiatusstilger', yielding a different lexical result. The same with *brāhmaṇān pṛviḥ devān...* *iṣṭena pakvam...* *devān sendrān...*

*añkāñkam* (MS. *añkār-añkam*, so divided in p.p.; KS. *añkañkam*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nothing is known of the original form or meaning of this word (said by comma. to mean 'water'); note the curious KS. variant, with short *a*. It may be that MS. has a kind of 'Hiatusstilger' with its *v*.

#### *v* initial before a consonant

§363. So far initial *v* before a vowel. In a few cases the same *v* appears or disappears before an initial consonant:

*reśinām* (VS. ŚB. *vre*°) *tvā patmann ādhūnomi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *reṣiṣu* (sc. *te kukro kukram ādhūnomi*) TS. An epithet of water, of unknown etymology and meaning; *v*-presumably unoriginal.

*agne yajasma* (AV. *yajasma*) *redast urūcī* RV. AV. MS. See §57.

*apācṛṇod duro aknavrajanām* (MS. *asmod-rathānām*, p.p. *asmin*, *ra*°) RV. MS. TA. The MS. is hardly interpretable.



*yasya* (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto grhāṇa* (ŚG: *patireto grhāṇa*)  
 ŚG. ApMB. HG. Cf. §354. *vy asya* 'open' must be intended;  
*yasya* makes no sense.

*r* not initial

§364. Coming to non-initial *r*, present or absent, we shall find that strictly phonetic influences are more indeterminate, tho even here we believe that they are not absent. We shall, however, begin with several groups of cases which concern lexical interchanges between familiar forms both well established in the language. In them probably the phonetic moment is evanescent. Thus, first, the prefixes *va-* and *sa-* vary. Comment is hardly necessary, except that both vary equally easily with *su-*, see §§612 and 741:

*satavaseṃamāḥ* (KS. *sa<sup>o</sup>*) *yajñam divi deveṣu dhātām* MS. KS. TB.

*sūro na sayugvabhīḥ* (SV. *sayu<sup>o</sup>*) RV. SV.

*vīkṣā deṣāṇsi taratī sayugvabhīḥ* (SV. *sayu<sup>o</sup>*) RV. SV. Better meter in RV. (anapest after cesura).

*indra sayugbhīr matseha* (ApŚ. *sayugbhīr didyūn na matseḥ matōya*)  
*mithe ranāya* AV. ApŚ.

*yajño bhūtvā yajñam āśida . . . sakṣaya* (MŚ. *śakṣaya*) *chi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§365. There is, of course, a much clearer change of meaning in the rather numerous cases of shift between various forms of the pronouns in *te-* and forms of the demonstrative stem *ta-*. At the end of the list we add, because of the phonetic similarity, a single case each of shift between a *te-* form and the enclitic *te* (2d person), and between *kva* and *kā* (both from the interrogative stem):

*tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam ā* RV.: *trām arbhasya haviṣy samānam*

*it* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Followed by:

*tam in māhe vṛgate nānyam tat* RV.: *teḥ māho vṛgate* (TB. ApŚ.  
*vṛgate naro*) *nānyam tat*, same texts.

*tam* (TA. *trām*) *u nir vāpayā punaḥ* RV. TA.

*trām* (MS. *tām*) *śubhranta* (MS. *°lā*) *upa yanti vājāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS.  
 KS.

*paramām tam* (TB. ApŚ. *taḥ*) *parāvalam* AV. TB. ApŚ.

*etat teḥtra pratimanvāno* (AŚ. *°rauvāno*) *asmi* (AŚ. *īasmin*) VS. AŚ ŚŚ.

Valt.: *etat tān pratimanvāno asmin* LŚ.

*yā tān rātrīm upāśmahe* PG.: *yām teḥ rātry upāśmahe* (TS. *upāśate*,  
 SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. SMB.: *ye teḥ rātry* (MG. *rāt-īm*)  
*upāśate* KS. MG.

*trām gopāya* MG.: *tām gopāya* etc., see Conc.

*prajāyai mṛtyavo tvā* (TA. *ta*) RV. TA. Here the stem *tvā-* is not the 2d personal pronoun.

*taṇnantam* (MŚ. *tvayāgne*) *kāmam* (ŚŚ. *lokam*) *aham jayāni* (MŚ. \**mī*) AŚ.† ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

*layā* (ApMB. *tvayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB. °*tī*, v. l. °*tu*) ApMB. HG.

*taṇākam* (MŚ. *tvayā*°) *śāntiā... śāntim karomi* MS. TA.: *tābhīh śāntibhīh... samayāmy aham* AV.

*tvayā* (TAA. 10. 1. 9 *layā*) *hateṇa pāpeṇa* TA. TAA.† MahānU.

*yajuryuktam sāmabhīr āktakham tvā* (MS. *rktakham tā*) MS. TA. The words are bad enough in either case. MS. p.p. *rktā-khām, tā*, making *tā* an independent enclitic; *rktakham* is not in any lexicon. But *āktakham* is little better. TA comm.: *āktāny āpyāyitāni khānīndriyāny awayasā yasya pravargyasya so 'yam āktakhas tādṛśam; sāmagaṇena hi pravargya āpyāyito bhavati*. (!)—Boehlingk, p.w. 2. 203, 'dessen Büchse geschmiert ist'.

*paras tvā* (ŚŚ. *purastāt*) *sarve kurmahe* AB. ŚŚ. Here *-tāt* is an adverbial ending, not a pronoun. The sense requires object *tvā*. Simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.) in the secondary ŚŚ.

*yat tvemahe* (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nos tay*) *jūṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. All mss. and comm. of SMB. agree, but it can only be a (phonetic?) blunder for the other reading. Comm., unbelievably: *te tvām* (!) *yat phalam mahe* (!) *tan no 'sambhūm jūṣasva prayachety arthah*.

*kva* (SV. *kā*) *pratnā va āhutiḥ* RV. SV.

§366. Further, *e* is occasionally found in formative elements, varying with other forms without *e*. Thus in nasal present stems of verbs, cf. VV I p. 121:

*deva tvāṣṭar vasa rama* (TS. *raṇva*, KS. *raṇa*, MS. *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (In MS. *raṇe* is a noun.)

*āpas tvā sam urīṇan* (MS. *urīṇvan*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *āpaḥ sam urīṇan* TS. KS.

*manai* (MS. *manve*) *nu babhrūḍm aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See VV I pp. 76, 121.

With these may be grouped the following, tho here the two verbs are lexically unrelated:

*jananta* (SV. *jinanta*) *uṣaso bhugam* RV. SV.

§367. Larger is the list of variations between gerund forms in suffixal *tvā* (*tvā*) and other forms lacking *r*; but they are mostly under suspicion of corruption:



*anya pītā* (SV. *pītā*) *sarvīdah* RV. SV. Lect. fac. in SV. for *pītā*, loc. sing. of *pītī*, 'in the drinking of it'.

*yenendro hariṣī kṛtā* (ApMB. *kṛtā*) RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form (v. 1. *kṛtī*) may be interpreted as nom. sg. of *kṛtīn*, but is doubtless corrupt. It is a case of simplification of three consonants to two (§§419 ff.); the next word begins with *a-*, and the actual reading is *kṛt(v)y-a-*.

*datto asmabhyam* (KS. *dattāyāsma\**, AŚ. *dattāyāsma\**, corrupt for *dattā\**, SMB. *dattāsma\**) *draviṇha bhadrām* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha na draviṇam yac ca bhadrām* MS. 'Give ye (giving) to us riches, prosperity.'

*hotā viṣṭimena* (ŚŚ. *viṣṭe* me) *jaritar* AV. 20. 135. 5, AŚ.† 8. 3. 24, ŚŚ. Vait. This *pāda* is omitted in the Berlin ed. of AV. and therefore in Conc. Most ŚŚ. mss. *viṣṭi*; per contra, v. 1. of AV. *viṣṭe*. It is very obscure in any case.

*daśasyantāmṛtāya* (ApMB. *\*tāmṛtāya*) *kam* RV. ApMB. The ApMB. form is doubtless felt as a gerund, in sense equal to RV's *pṛe*., but may fairly be called corrupt; cf. Winternitz, p. xx.

*yukte* (TB. Conc. *yuktā*, Poona ed. text and comm. correctly *yukta*) *hari vṛjāṇā yāhy arāṇ* (MS. KS. *arvā*) RV. MS. KS. TB.

*apālām indra* (MG. *\*ras*) *triṣ* (*trih*) *pūte* (AV. *\*vā*, ApMB. *pūte*, MG. *pūty a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG. The last seems clearly corrupt. [*indrah pāṇeno ṛsikte* *rah* ApMB.: *indrah pāṇena vah ṛsikte* (so intended, see Index of Words) HG.: *indrapāṇena sited* PG. The true reading is *sited*.]

§368. A few stray cases concerning noun inflexion or different noun suffixes:

*madhvo* (SV. *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV. SV. These alternative forms of gen. sing. of *madhu* occur frequently in the pairs *madhvah*: *madhoh*; see Conc. p. 681a.

*ed u madhvo* (SV. PB. *madhor*) *madintaram* RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *vaso vāsoḥ puruṣpṛhaḥ* RV.: *vasor vaso puruṣpṛhaḥ* SV.

*asankṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh* (TB. *mātroh*) *śuciḥ* RV. TB. With *mātroh*, guaranteed by all mss. and Vaidikas, cf. perhaps *pūṛya*; and note that *mātroh* in RV. is trisyllabic.

*mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām* SV.: *tanūr varṣeṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS. Root *gaḥ*, with different suffixes.

*gambhīraḥ pathibhiḥ pūryaḥ* (AV. *pūryāḥ*) AV. TS. HG. The AV. is clearly secondary, and contains a phonetic simplification. Cf. next.

*prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūreyebhiḥ* (AV. *pūreyānāḥ*) RV. AV. MS. AŚ. AG. Cf. prec.

*aprajastām pautramṛtyum* ApMB. HG.: *aprajāstvam mātṛtavalśam* AV.

Others, §650. Suffixes *tā* and *tva*.

§369. Of the lexical variations which remain, special phonetic interest attaches to this, on which cf. Wackernagel I §232c:

*saumyāe trayāḥ kṛtiniḡāḥ* (KSA. *kt°*) TS. KSA.

With *kṛit-* and *kṛit-*, synonyms, is to be compared also the synonymous *cit-*; see §195:

*citra* (VS. *śaitra*) *ādityānām* VS. MS.

*citro* (AV. *śaitro*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS.

§370. After two consonants—as in a few stray cases already mentioned under other heads, especially in §367—we find cases which belong with §§419 ff. below:

*śikṣite kṛāṇe rakṣase* (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vi nākṣe* (KS. *nakṣe*, AV. mss. *nīkṣe*), RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. The Berlin ed. and Whitney's translation adopt the RV. reading for AV, despite the absurd statement of the comm. that the superfluous *v* is *chāndasa*. See Whitney's note, which points out that *vinīkṣva* occurs in the next verse.

*dhuñkṣāgneṣi* (VSK. *°ṣvā°* or *°ṣyā°*) VS. VSK. MS. And others; see §255.

*svaṛṣām* (TB. *svaṛ°*) *apsām* (TB. Poona ed., twice, *ṭapsvām*, in text and comm.) *erjānasya gopām* RV. VS. MS. TB. *apsām* is uninterpretable.

*mā teāgnir dhvanayit* (MS. *dhana°*, TS. *°yid*, KSA. *°yed*) *dhūmagandhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. The text of MS. is based on p.p.; the *śuñh*, mss. are all corrupt but have *v* in place of *dh* (*teāgnir vunaīreddhamagandhir*). It seems that *vu* in these mss. is a graphic corruption for *dhea*, which should probably be read in MS. as in the other texts.

§371. After or before single consonants; a miscellaneous group:

*āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK. *svad°*) *svāttam cit sad devahaviḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.; *svāttam cit sadevam havyam āpo devīḥ svadatainam* TS. ApŚ. The reading of VSK. is poor (cf. *svāttam*). Cf. next.

*em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ sadantu* (MS. *svad°*) MS. KS. TB.

Here *svad°* does not belong; the reverse of the prec.

*aparihṛtāḥ* (MS. *°hṛtāḥ*) *sanvayāma vājam* RV. MS. KS. Intended for synonyms; MS. slovenly, and suggesting phonetic corruption.

*turidyumnām vibhṛāsaham* (SV. *vibhā°*) RV. SV. *vibhā* 'glory' and *vibhṛā*



(for \**van*) 'excellent'. Grassmann calls SV's reading false, which is rather harsh since it makes good sense, 'winning glory'.

*apām rasam udayasam* (KS. *udayaṁsam*, TA. *udayaṁsam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. The original has an adjective 'strength-arousing'; KS. and TA. a verb form, which in TA. is 3 plur. aor. of *ud-ya-*. KS. may intend the same with *udayaṁsam* followed by *s*; but in VV I p. 214 we have allowed it to pass as 1st person sing.

*viśvam tu tṛahutayaḥ sarvā yatra brahmā viśvāmṛto 'si* PrānāgU.: *vīkvanu tām āhutayaḥ ca sarvāḥ prajāś tatra yatra viśvāmṛto 'si* MU. The Conc. says, 'read *viśantu*' for both. In the Poona ed. (*Upaniṣadāḥ Samuccayah*, An. Skt. Ser., 1895), the MU. passage (p. 406) reads *viśantu* in text and comm.; but the PrānāgU. (p. 307), *viśvāḥ tu* in both. Certainly *viśantu* must be read.

*anvīṭiṣi asi dīve . . .* TS. KS. JB. PB. Vait.: *anīṭiṣi asi* GB. The Conc. calls the latter a 'blunder'; yet, curiously, Gastra also has *anīṭiṣi*. *mītrāvaruṇā karadāhnaṁ* (MS. *hna*) *cikīṇū* (MS. *cikīṭam*, KS. *jigatnū*, AŚ. *cikīṭam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45. The AŚ. form is difficult and suspicious.

*satyaṁjasaḥ dṛhiṇā* (MS. *durhṇā*, KS.† *dṛhaṇā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druḥvaṇo yam nudethe* AV. See §305.

*vande dāruṁ vandamāno vivakmi* RV.: *vandadevā vandamānā vivakṣu* SV. See VV I p. 218.

*anu daha sahamūrān kṛayādah* (SV. *kayādah*) RV. SV.: *sahamūrān anu daha kṛayādah* AV. See §355.

*anukāśena bāhyam* MS.: *anūkāśena bāhyam* VS.: *antareṇānūkāśam* TS. KSA. The VS. reading is apparently a blunder; comm. reads *bāhyam*, which must be right, as the contrasting *antaram* in the preceding formula shows.

§371a. One anomalous case involving false word-division:

*uror ā na deva riṣas pāhi* TS. MS. KS. TB.: *pururāṇo deva* etc. VS. ŚB. IŚ. The former (original) means 'Protect us, O god, from wide hostility'. The Vāj. reading is only an ancient phonetic corruption: Eggeling, 'fiercely howling (demon)', which probably comes close to what was felt as the meaning; but Mahidhara derives *rācan* from *rā* 'give'.

### 5. Presence or absence of *s*

§372. Beginning with IE times, and continuing into the life of the individual languages of the family, combinations of *s* + stop (also *s* + nasal) vary with the consonant alone minus the *s*. Hindu speech

not only reproduces some of these doublets, but out of its own impulses (analogy and phonetic combinations) extends the process (roots *spaś*; *paś*, *kr*: *skr*, etc.). See Wackernagel I §230 in lieu of the almost endless bibliography of the subject. The variant combinations are always initial, and the evanescence of the *s* is perhaps connected with old conditions of sentence euphony (external sandhi).

§373. Thus easy opportunity is offered for various readings in this respect. Moreover genuinely different roots exist which are sufficiently synonymous for purposes of exchange. However, the entire phenomenon operates among the variants to a very limited extent. There are also a few cases, all lexical so far as not suspicious, in which initial *s* before a vowel varies with a form without *s*, a sort of psilosis comparable to presence or absence of *h*, below. In addition a very few miscellaneous cases medially.

§374. Beginning with the cases of initial *s* before consonants (those which occur are *t*, *ṭ*, and *p*), we present first the few strictly phonetic cases, in which we are certainly or probably dealing with alternative forms of the same word:

*sa prathamāḥ saṃskṛtīr viśvakarmā* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *sā* (MS. MŚ. *yā*) *prathamā saṃskṛtīr viśvavārā* (MS. *yajñe asmin*) VS. MS. ŚB. (Pratīka, MŚ.) The root *kr* regularly appears as *skr* with *am*, so that the Tait. form is irregular.

*ut te stobhnāmi* (TA. *tabhnomi*) *prthivīm teat pari* RV. AV. TA. Cf. Whitney §233c. In TA. this law operates in spite of tmesis; this is not without parallel.

*tegān* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *stegān*) *dirāḡtrābhyām* VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. No doubt the same word is meant in all, but its etymology and meaning are uncertain. RV. has *stega*. Perhaps the root *tij* (originally *stij*) is concerned. It may be significant that in VS. MS. KSA. the word is preceded by one ending in *s*, while in TS. it is initial in its section. As suggested in §372, this is probably the way in which this whole class of variants originated.

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *stanā mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS.: *sa śn* (TS. 1) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*; MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS. Probably all the forms may be corrupt; at least they are all difficult. But note *starīman* in MS. (*tarī* AV.).

§375. The rest are lexical, that is different words are concerned; and they are also accompanied by other changes in sounds:

*divaḥ saṃsṛjās* (MS. *sahṣṛjas*) *pāhi* VS. MS. ŚB. And:



*prthivyāḥ saṁprcas* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °caḥ, VS. ŚB. *saṁspr̥cas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *saṁ-prc* and *saṁ-spr̥c*, practically synonyms. See §195.

*divam agreṇāspr̥kṣaḥ* (VSK., wrongly quoted in Conc. as °*āpr̥kṣaḥ* *divam agreṇāspr̥kṣat* (TB. °*āprāt*) VS. TB. And others.

*viśvā spr̥dho* (AV. *ṁpr̥dho*) *abhimātīr jayema* RV. AV. TA.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā saṁ viśantu* (AV. *spr̥śantām*, Ppp. [Roth] *viśanto*, TA. *ṁśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

*yatrāspr̥kṣat tanvo yac ca vāśasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanuvam yatra vāśaḥ*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā v̥kṣas tanuvam yatra vāśaḥ* HG.

*sa bhūmim viśvato* (ArŚ. *sarvato*, VS. *sarvata*) *vrtvā* (VS. *spr̥tvā*) RV. ArŚ. AV. VS. TA. See §200.

*tuttho 'si janadhāyāḥ* (PB. °*yāḥ*) MS. KS. PB. MŚ. LŚ.: *stuto 'si janadhāḥ* TB. ApŚ. See §93.

*saṁarāvabhāgā* (VS. ŚB. *saṁsarava*°; MS. °*gāḥ*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *tanṣā*) *brhantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §§96, 747.

§376. Initially before vowels, we find a pair of cases of interchange between *sa* conjunctive and *a* privative (antonyms); the rest is sporadic: *ajōṣā* (SV. *soj*°) *ir̥yabhaṁ patim* RV. AV. SV. *ajōṣa* 'unersättlich, gierig'. *sacetasā* (VSK. °*sā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *sacetasau sacetasau* TB. And others; see §180.

*a* (VaradapU. *sā*) *naḥ śr̥ṇvann ūtibhiḥ sūta sūdanam* (VaradapU. *śaśvat*) RV. TS. KS. VaradapU. The comm. is hard put to it to explain *sū*; he takes it for *sa* with Vedic lengthening. It is in fact inexplicable.

*yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ* (KS. *yavā ayavā ūmā* † *evā abdas*) *sagaraḥ sumekāḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ sagraḥ sumekāḥ* TS. The form *sabda* of TS., for regular *abda*, is wholly obscure; doubtless due to some analogy.

*anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁ kṣiyema* Vait.: *anāgaso udham it saṁkṣayema* TB. See §110.

§377. The very few cases of evanescent medial *r* are entirely sporadic, except a few cases of precative and other optative forms (as *bhūyāma*: *bhūyāsma*), which are found in VV I §175 and are not repeated here: *agnir na canate* (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṁsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Present and *s*-aorist.

*tasya te bhaktvāṁsaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. °*vāno bhūyāsma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasyās te bhakṣivāṅaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. ApŚ. 4, 13, 71 *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both). Suffixes *raṁs* and *vaṁ*.

## 6. Presence or absence of visarga

§378. This change, of course, can occur only at the ends of words or parts of a compound word (or before pāda endings); and in fact it is most commonly found at the ends of pādas. Included are some cases where the actual reading of the text does not show visarga, owing to conditions of sandhi. Altho the modern Indian pronunciation makes this sound regularly an aspiration followed by a vowel, which takes the coloring of the preceding vowel (Wackernagel I §225b), there seems reason to believe that its pronunciation in ancient times was much fainter; and certainly it was never followed by a vowel. The variants support this theory by showing not a few cases in which visarga is evanescent. In the majority of cases both forms are morphologically explicable, involving different forms of noun or verb inflexion or the like; some must be considered mere corruptions.

§379. In VV I §25 we have already presented a group of cases in which verb forms with final *h* vary with corresponding forms without *h*, a fairly frequent phenomenon:

*pra-pra yajñapatiṁ tira* (TA. *tiraḥ*, Poona ed. *tira*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*sūryasya tapas tapa* (MS. MŚ. *tapah*) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*nī dūruśravase vaha* (ŚŚ. *vahah*, em., mss. *mahah*) AV. ŚŚ.

*niyudbhīr* (AV. *viyugbhīr*) *vāyar* (AV. VSK. MŚ. *vāya*) *iha tā vi muñca* (ŚŚ. *†muñcaḥ*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Add to VV I §25.

*viśvasmāt* (TA. *divo vā*) *sīm aghāyuta uruṣya* (TA. *°yah*) RV. TA.

*tā imā upa sarpatāḥ* ŚV. JB.: *emām anu sarpatā* MS.

*agne vittād dhariṣo yad yajāma* (TB. *°mah*) RV. TB.

*āsvinā bhīṣajāvataḥ* (MS. *°tam*, TB. *†°ta*, both odd.) VS. MS. TB.

*anyauratasya* (TA. *anyad vra*) *saścīma* (TA. *°mah*, RV. *saścīre*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. (corrupt).

*prati bhāgaḥ na śīdhīma* (SV. *°mah*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

*vīratāḥ śmah* (ŚG. *śma bhoḥ*) ŚG. PG.

*abhiratāḥ śmah* (YDh. *śma ha*) VIDh. YDh. BṛhPDh. Here, in late texts, we find what may be a trace of the modern pronunciation (*śmah*: *śma-ha*).

*tasmin vayam upahūtās tava śmah* (MŚ. *śma*) TB. MŚ.

*tan yaha* (VS. ŚB. *tā vāha*) *caturah* . . . *prasārayāvahai* (ŚB. *°yāva*, MS. *°yāvah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ.

*vīteḍḍhi pinvathah* (TB. *°thā*) *svasarasya dhendh* RV. MS. TB. (comm. *°thah* in Bibl. Ind. ed., but Poona ed. *°tha*). This is probably only a case of sandhi before *s* + consonant; cf. §978 fl.



*ata ū su madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhīḥ* RV. SV. AV. AA. MŚ. See VV I p. 101.

*agne* (MS. *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (MS. *voca*) RV. SV. MS. TA. Add to VV I §§25, 156.

*sam agnis tapasāgata* VS. MS. ŚB. (preceded by *svāhā*, probably felt as part of the formula tho in MS. edition separated by a mark of punctuation): *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* (\**gataḥ*, Poona ed. *gata*) TA.\* As ppl. *gataḥ* is defensible. See VV I p. 101.

*varebhir varān abhi su prasīdataḥ* (ApMB. *pra sīdata*) RV. ApMB. A participle (gen. sing., Grassmann; acc. pl., Oldenberg) is made into a 2d plur. in ApMB.

*iha rama* (HG. *ṛamaḥ*) MS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ. HG. Here *ramaḥ* is a noun form.

§380. In noun inflection the variation occurs between nominative and vocative case-forms:

*punar āgāḥ punarnava* (AV. °*nava* and °*navaḥ*) RV. AV. (bis)

*nicerur aśi nicumpunah* (TS. TB. *nican̄kuna*, MS. KS. *nicun̄kunaḥ*) VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Vocative in TS. TB. by assimilation to an adjoining formula; see §150.

*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte 'va*) *sthānam* (MG. °*nī*, ApMB. HG. °*gāte*) *adhi roha van̄sa* (MG. *van̄saḥ*) AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Here the nom. is secondary.

*agne ghr̥tenāhuta* (KS. °*taḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*yājñāḥ praty u sthāt* (KS. *pratyasthāt*, v. l. *praty u*°; MŚ. adds *sumatau matinām*) KS. MŚ.: *yājña pratisthā sumatau m̄senāḥ* TB. ApŚ.

*indrah* (*indra*) *somasya pītaye* (also: °*ye vṛṣṭyate*) RV. (all three)

*indra* (MS. *indrah*) *stomena pañcadakṣena madhyam* (KS. °*daṣṇaujah*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*paramajyārcīṣamah* (SV. † °*ma*) RV. SV. AV.

*devabhyo* (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* (RV. °*nā*) RV. (both) ApŚ.

*sahasrākṣo amartyah* AV.: *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV.

*puramānah* (SV. °*na*) *sahitanim eṣi kṛṇvan* RV. SV.

*ivaśā devaiḥ sahamāna indrah* MG.: *ivaśar devabhiḥ sahasāma indra* ApMB.

*yo agniḥ kravyavāhanah* (VS. KS. *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.: *yad agne kravyavāhana* TS. See §353.

*hīraṇyapakṣah śakunīḥ* HG.: *hīraṇyaparṇa śakune* PG.: *hīraṇyavarṇah śakunah* MU.

*subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB.: *sunīriṇah sṛja-sṛja* HG. The latter is doubtless corrupt; a voc. is required.

*indra kṛatvā* (MS. *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. See §664.

*ayā somaḥ* (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV. SV. See VV I §328.

*ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana* (KS. TB.† ApŚ.† °*naḥ*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*āpr̥no* 'si *sampr̥naḥ* (ApŚ. *āpr̥noṣi sampr̥na*) . . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter is secondary and poor.

*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.; *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB. (but read *indra* . . . 'vata, see VV I p. 260).

*indra* (MS. *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV. MS. The nom. is hardly construable.

*indrah* (SV. PB. *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*indra* (MS. *indrah*) *svadhām anu hi no babhūtha* RV. MS. KS.

*kāmena kṛtaḥ* (RV. and p.p. of MS. *kṛta*) *śrava ichamānaḥ* RV. MS. TB.

*tiṣṭhā ratham* (TB. *ratho*) *adhi tam* (VS. ŚB. *yam*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*dhānāsomān manthina indra* (MŚ. *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS. KS. MŚ. The nom. is not construable; see Knauer's note.

*mitra satyānām pate* (ŚŚ. *satyānām adhipate*) TB. ŚŚ.; *mitrah satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

*viśvā* (KS. PG. *viśvās ca*) *īdeva* (PG. *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣya* (KS. °*syāḥ*, PG.† °*syak*) KS. TB. ApŚ. PG. HG.

*vrihīnām medha* (MŚ. *medhah*) *sumanasyamānaḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*suddho mamaddhi somyah* (SV. *somya*) RV. SV.

*saṁjoshā indra* (TB. *indrah*) *sagaṇo marudbhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ.

§381. In miscellaneous other forms of nouns and adjectives, commonly with change of construction which can be more or less justified; sometimes involving different but related stems:

*pibāt somam amadann* (AV. *somam mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayah* (AV. *iṣṭe*)

AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88; loc. sing. of *iṣṭa*: nom. pl. of *iṣṭi*.

*ghṛtavatī savitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*yatiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

Loc. sing.: instr. pl. Cf. §706.

*avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV. °*vāraiḥ*) *pari priyah* (and: *priyam*) RV. SV. As prec.

*candreṇa jyotir amṛtaḥ dadhānāḥ* (KS. TB. comm. and Poona ed. °*nā*)

VS. KS. TB.: *śukraṁ na jyotir amṛtaḥ dadhānā* MS. (but p.p. °*nāḥ*). The plural agrees with *āsvinā* and *sarasvatī* together as

subject; the fem. sing. with the nearest subject, *sarasvatī* alone.

*dhanañjayam dharuṇam dhārayiṣṇu* RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṇham acyutaḥ pārāyiṣṇu* AV.: *bhūmidṛṇho 'cyutaś cyāvayiṣṇuḥ* AV. Change of



- gender, neuter to masculine; the latter certainly secondary; see §268.
- sa vīśvācīr* (KS. °cī) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācīh* (KS. °cī) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Change of acc. pl. to dual, explained in §357. But the actual reading is *ghrtācīr* (before initial vowel following).
- tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV. (taken by Whitney as loc. plur.): *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. (apparently felt as nom. sing.) And others; all forms dubious and likely to be corrupt; see §374.
- saṁhīlāsī vīśvarūpā* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °pī, TS. ApŚ. \* °pīh) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis) In TS. the old nom. fem. of the *vr̥kī* type.
- khajāpo 'jopakāśīnā* ApMB.: *bajābojopakāśīnā* HG. Both words unintelligible; §69. Perhaps *h* in ApMB. ending of *vr̥kī* type.
- anāhanasyam vasaṇam carīṣṇu* (ApMB. HG. *ja*°, PG. *jarīṣṇuḥ*) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. See §57. The nom. masc. transfers the epithet, whose meaning is not very clear, from the garment to the person who is the subject.
- yeṇā samaten sāśahā* (SV. °hīh, MŚ. °hī) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §584.
- aghadaiṣṭā devajātā* AV. Kauś.: *atharvayūṣṭā devajūtāh* ApŚ. In AV. nom. sing. fem. In ApŚ., which is otherwise corrupt, the actual text has °jūtā followed by a sonant, and Caland understands a sing.; but the verb is plural, and the Conc. gives what seems intended as the reading of the text (nom. plur.).
- śīrāh* (TS. MS. KS. *sarāh*, AV. *sarā*) *patatrinī* (TS. MS. KS. °vīh) *sthana* (KS. *stha*, AV. *bhūtā*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Sing. in AV., plur. in the others.
- ya ābābhūca* (PB. *āca*°) *bhuvandni vīśvā* (PB. *vīśvāh*!, comm. *vīśvāni*) VS. JB. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. *vīśvāh* is certainly wrong.
- vīruc chapathayopani* AV.: *vīdu chapathajambhanāh* ApŚ. (corrupt; Caland adopts the AV. reading). See §272.
- ula vām uṣaso budhī* RV. GB. Conc. *budhīh* for GB., and so all mss. apparently read, but Gastra emends to *budhī* (loc. sing. 'at the awakening of dawn').
- arāddhyā vīdihīṣūpatim* VS.: *arādhyai* (read with Poona ed. *ar*°) *īdihīṣūpatim* TB. The VS. form is anomalous; as a fem. word the stem can only end in *u*, and the nom. form in composition is absurd.
- avasyurdā br̥hātī* (TS.° *īr*) *na* (TS. *nu*, AŚ. *tu*) *śakvārī* (TS. °vīh) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.
- imāni yajñam manantu no ghr̥tācīh* (MS. KS. AŚ. *avatu yā* [AŚ. *no*] *ghrtācī*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Sing.: plural.

*paraśur* (TS. *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS. *°tiḥ*) AV. TS. *svasti* is familiar as both fem. and neut.

*viṣṭhitāḥ* (AV. *°tā*) *prthivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB. Fem. pl.: neut. pl. (in different contexts).

*śam rātrē* (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātrīḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. TA. MS. All noms. sg.

*katamūlā katāṅkurā* TA. MahānU.: *katamūlāḥ katāṅkurāḥ* MahānU. Fem. sing.: plur.

*kr̥ṇvante āpo dhiṣaṇāś ca devīḥ* (MS.\* *dhiṣaṇā ca devī*) VS. TS. MS.\* KS. ŚB. Sing.: plur.

*riśo* (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant, and a nom. or voc. masc. is required; *prabhu*, repeated in the comm., is apparently understood as an adverb, but is probably only a phonetic error.

*samśīlām kṣatram* (MS. KS. TA. add *me*) *jigṇu* (AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jigṇuh*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The AV. form would be masc., which cannot be construed; Whitney accordingly adopts *jigṇu*.

*ratso jarāyu* (KS. *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīyūṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. The regularly neuter word is here masc. in KS., perhaps attracted to the gender of the preceding masc.

*sa nah pṛthu* (TB. *pṛthuh*) *śravāyāṃ* RV. SV. ŚB. TB. Transference of the epithet with change of gender from neut. to masc.

*sīsam ca me trapu* (TS. *°puś*) *ca me . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The rare stem *trapuś*, for the regular *trapu*.

*sapatnīr śabhībhūvarī* (ApMB. *°rīḥ*) RV. ApMB. Only a nom. sing. fem. can be construed. See Winternitz, Introd., xxii.

*sarasvatī* (AV. TB.† *°tīḥ*) *svapasaḥ sadantu* (AV. *sadantām*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Whitney calls the *°tīḥ* form a blunder and emends. This is perhaps going too far; but of course it is a nom. sing. like the other.

*sarasvatyā* (TV. *°tyāḥ*) *supippalāḥ* VS. MS. TB. Instr.: gen.

*sahasraśīrṣā* (ArS. *°ṣāḥ*) *puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS. VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. Both nom. sing.; *°śīrṣāḥ* as if from an *s*-stem (contamination from *śīrāś*?).

*atiriddhā vithureṇā cid astrā* (MS. *astāḥ*) RV. MS. KS. The MS. is doubtless corrupt.

*varṣman kakubhī* (TB. Conc. *°bhīḥ*, MS. *kakubbhīḥ*) *śīśriyāṇaḥ* (TB. *śrayasva*) TS. MS. TB. See §400.

*upahūtāḥ sapta hotrāḥ* TS. TB. ŚŚ.: *upahūtā saptahotrā* ŚB. Sing.: plur.



*agne tvam puriṣyaḥ* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agneḥ puriṣyam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Voc.: gen.

*hiranyayāḥ* (MŚ. °yā) *śucayo dhārapātāḥ* RV. MS. The only grammatically construable form is °yāḥ; MS. seems corrupt.

*so 'hañ vājan saneyam agne* (KŚ. *sanāmy tagneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Voc.: gen.

*sapratha* (MŚ. °thah) *sabhān me gopāya* (MŚ. *pāhi*, and °jugupah) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Both voc.; stems in *a* and *as*.

*imā brahma brahmavāḥ* (TS.† °ha) RV. AV. KS. TB. As prec.

*svāhā tvā subhava* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °vah, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. Vocatives; *s* and *a*-stems. On KS. see §749.

*dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva* AV.: *dātum cec chaknavānsah* (Poona ed. *chaknavā sa*) *svarga eṣām* TA. See §826.

*dymad vibhāti bharatebhyah śuciḥ* (VS. *śuci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuci* might pass as an adverb.

*dūrva rohātu puṣpiṇī* (RV. *rohantu puṣpiṇīḥ*) RV. AV. Sing.: plur. *tripadā yā ca śatpadā* (VS. *yāḥ ca śatpadāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Sing.: plur.

*trṇam vasānā* (HG. °nāḥ) *śumanā asas* (HG. *asi*) *tvam* AV. HG. The form can only be nom. sing. fem.; HG. is impossible.

*prthivyā* (MS.\* °vyāḥ) *sambhava* VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. Probably the only correct reading is °vyā (see von Schroeder's note). §382. In adverbial forms:

*adhā* (AV. *adhah*, comm. *adha*, but Ppp. *adhah*) *sapatnī yā mama* RV. AV. ApMB.; *adhā sapatnān māmakān* AV. See §74.

*śṛṇvanty* (PB. °tu) *āpo adha* (PB. °dhah) *kṣarantīḥ* RV. PB.

*parā swapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ* AV.: *parah swapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. See §820. The variation -*mukhāḥ* (bahuvrīhi): *mukhā* belongs to the preceding section.

§383. Involving different divisions of words:

*samudrād udajani vah* (ApŚ. *ulaśann iṣa*) *śrucā* MS. ApŚ. See §53.

*idam aham rakṣo 'bhi* (MS.\* *rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam āhāmi* (TS. *sam dahāmi*) TS. MS. (both) KS. MŚ. As the Conc. suggests, *rakṣobhiḥ* must be a corruption.

*girā ca* (AV. *virājah*) *śṛṣṭīḥ sabharā asan nah* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §57.

*karīram yajñakamalan* (MahānU. *yajñah śa*\*)... TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. See §818.

*tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇōti nah* (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N.

*āsann ā* (SV, PB. *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS. °tu) *devāh* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

*pra su* (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyuṣi* (SMB. *pra sumartyaṣi*, MG. *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu nah*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

*ūrjāṣ bibhrād vasuraniḥ* (*vaḥ sumanāḥ*, *vaḥ suvaniḥ*, *vasumanāḥ*) . . ., see §227.

*upānāsah saparyan* RV.†; *upo nu ta sup°* SV.

*karir yah putrah sa im ā* (TA. Conc. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N. *imāḥ* has no standing.

*ava* (RV. *abhi*, MS. *ā vaḥ*, VS. ŚB. *vācā*) *somaṁ nayāmasi* (RV. *mṛśāmasi*, VS. ŚB. *avanayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reading of MS. is secondary but simple.

*indrah pāsena tsiktoḥ vaḥ* (HG. *pāsena vaḥ tsiktoḥ*) ApMB. HG.: *indra-pāsena sitvā* PG. See §819.

*ṛtasyarlena mām uta* (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya tv enam āmutaḥ* MS. (corrupt; see §838).

*adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ sam āna* (MS. *Samhūtā*, *sahyaḥ samānaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. MS. N. *sam āna*, verb; *samānaḥ*, adj.

*vīrenyah kratur indrah suśastih* RV.: cf. *varenyakratūr* (°tur, *īdēnya-kratūr*) *aham*, §554. Conc. suggests *vīrenyakratur*; Oldenberg, *Noten*, goes further and suggests *varenya-* (or °yah) *kratur*.

*vāñmanasacakṣuḥśrotraḥjivāghrāṇavaretobuddhyākūṭisamkalpā* (TA. TAA. °ākūṭih *samkalpā*) *me kudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU. Despite the persistence of the reading °ākūṭih (to be sure, one ms. of TA. reads like MahānU.), it seems to leave us with an impossible ending for the long compound.

#### §384. Miscellaneous:

*purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jatṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhya*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyaḥ*) *ātṛdaḥ* (MS. °da) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. See §57; *ātṛdaḥ* apparently abl. sing. of a noun; MS. corrupt, perhaps feels *ātṛda* as imperative.

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahī* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apah śvetapad ā gahī* MG. (but most mss. *apa*; so read; cf. §817).

*apa* (MG. *apah*) *prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti* RV. MG. Here all mss. of MG. have the visarga, which is certainly near to nonsense.

*parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ.: *pari doṣāt ud arpithaḥ* KŚ. The true reading in both seems to be *udarpithaḥ*; see §63.

*sugantuḥ karma kavaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugam teaḥ karmaḥ kavaṇaḥ karaḥ kariṣyuh* LŚ. On the obviously corrupt LŚ. see §739.

*gharmaṁ śocantaḥ* (AŚ. °ta, ŚŚ. °tadh) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *pravaṇeṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV I p. 165.



*aghāya bhūma harivaḥ parādai* (MS. \**daīh*) RV. AV. TS. MS. *parādai* is an infinitive; *parādaiḥ* is a very poor reading, perhaps felt stupidly as a second person aorist injunctive (addressed to Indra; despite the 1st person verb *bhūma*!); or else as an instr. plur. 'by betrayal'. *tām ha jarilar na pratyagrbbhan* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. Gaastra reads *naḥ* in GB. (v. l. *na*); but the sense clearly requires *na*, *na śisaridatu* (HG. †*śisaridataḥ*) ApMB. HG. Both hopelessly corrupt; Winternitz p. xxvi suggests *śisari dataḥ*.

*adrhathadh śarkarābhia triviṣṭapi* (MŚ. *trībhṛṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *samudraṁ naḥ subhvaṁ* (AVPpp. m. *subhavas*) *tasthivāṁsam* AVPpp. MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ vā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na subhavas tasthivāṁsam* AV. And others, §§119, 789. *naḥ*, pronoun: *na*, comparative particle.

*bhijajam na* (MS. *naḥ*) *sarasvatīm* VS. MS. TB. *na*, comparative particle.

## 7. Presence or absence of *h*

§385. The small number of cases of this sort at the beginning of words shows something that resembles occasional psilosis, or its reverse. In the interior of words it is even rarer, and entirely sporadic, partly a matter of corruptions; but cf. the startling *sahjijāire* in the first variant under §387.

§386. Initially *h* appears and disappears before vowels and *y*, once *r*. The variation is almost wholly lexical; it occurs especially with particles and light words, and sometimes involves different divisions of words: *sa ugrah sa hi* (PG. *i*) *havyo babhūva* TS. PG. This has most the appearance of a purely phonetic variant; an otherwise unknown *i* (said to mean 'and'; the mss. are unanimous) seems to be substituted for *hi*, and may be suspected of being only a phonetic variant for *hi*. *hinkārāya* (and, *hinkṛtāya*) *vāhā* VS. MS. ŚB.: *inkārāya* (and, *inkṛtāya*; KSA. *tim*\*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Interjections.

*tasminn* (AV. *yasminn*) *ā* (VS. *tasmin ha*) *tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. AV. VS.: cf. *tasminn ārpitā bhu<sup>o</sup> vi<sup>o</sup>* RV.

*cakṣur yeṣām* (v. l. *hy eṣām*) *tapa uccabhinam* MŚ. And others; see §340. *yasyām idam viśvaṁ* (MS. *viśvaṁ hy asyām*) *bhuvanam āvīcśa* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mahaḥ* (MS. *mahī*) *cid yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā* RV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *mahī hy asya mīdhuṣo yavyā* TS.

*dhiyo hinvāno* (MS. *dhiya invāno*) *dhiya in no avyāt* (RV. *avyāh*) RV. MS. TS. Rime words.

*antarikṣe pathibhir iyamānaḥ* (GB. *hriyamānaḥ*, v. l. *hīyamānaḥ*, but no v. l. in Gaastra) RV. GB. See §353.

*ula no brahmann ariṣaḥ* (MŚ. °*man haviṣaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. The secondary *haviṣaḥ* is unaccented in MS., perhaps felt as a verb form from root *hu*: 'and do thou sacrifice for us in the brahman'.

*tena saṁhantu kṛpmasi* AV.: *tena sann anugrṇāsi* HG. See §47.

*atho mātātho pitā* TA.: *hatā mātā hataḥ pitā* SMB.: *halo hatamātā krimiḥ* AV. The TA. probably secondary.

*rakṣohāmivacūtanah* (AV.\* *atho amīva*°) RV. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. If the AV. variant is based on the other, which is not certain, it is clearly secondary.

*āntrimukhaḥ* ... HG.: *ālikhann animiṣaḥ* ... *hantrimukhaḥ* ... PQ. Barbaric names of demons, with vague suggestions of popular etymology (as if related to *āntra* and a fem. form of *hantr*).

*atho ye kṣullakā iva* AV.: *hataḥ krimiṣām kṣudrakah* SMB.: *atho śthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ* TA.

*āsanniṣūn hr̥tsuso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuṣāho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

*vanīṣthor hr̥dayād* (AV.\* *ularād*) *adhī* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.

§387. Medially this phenomenon is even rarer, and in general it has no particular phonetic interest. Only the first variant deserves special attention; in it all mss. of Vait. are reported as agreeing on the remarkable form *saṁjigāṁre*, which is certainly for °*hire* and shows an unquestionable 'paliosis' between vowels which, just because it runs counter to all expectations in Sanskrit, must apparently be assumed to be a genuine (dialectic) phonetic variant:

*tāḥ prācyā* (Vait. °*yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāḥire* (KŚ.† °*hīre*, Vait. *saṁjigāṁre*) Vait. KŚ. MŚ.: *prācīḥ cojjagāḥire* ApŚ.

*sā* (read *sa*) *naḥ prajāṁ paśūn pāhy aruṇīyamānah* (p.p. *ahāḥ, ānī* (sic!), *ydmānah*) MS.: *sa no rucāṁ dīkhy ahṛīyamānah* TA. Read doubtless *ahṛīyamānah* in MS.; the absurd p.p. points in this direction.

*marudbhīyo gr̥hamedhibhīyo* (MS. °*dhebhīyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS. *vaṣ*°, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*). The word is wholly obscure.

*tujo janā* (ArŚ. *jane*) *vanam̐ svah* AV. ArŚ.: *tujo yujo vanam̐* (ŚŚ. *balam̐*, emend.) *sahah* AA. ŚŚ. The passage is obscure; we see little to choose between *svah* and *sahah*.

*pary agnim ahṛṣata* (VSK.† *arṣata* or *aharṣata*) RV. VS. VSK.: *parīme 'yrim arṣata* AV. (v. l. in AV. *arizata*). Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 43. 99) reads as in RV. except *aharṣata*, with one m. of VSK.; Barret em. *ahṛṣata*.



## CHAPTER X. CONSONANT GROUPS

§388. In this chapter we include, first, variations between identical double consonants (or aspirates with preceding non-aspirates) and the same consonant alone; second, cases of assimilation of one consonant to an adjoining consonant, or the reverse; and finally, some cases of partial simplification of groups of more than two consonants, by the omission of one consonant (or the reverse)—in so far as the consonant omitted or inserted is not one of those whose character particularly lends itself to such treatment, that is, a nasal, semi-vowel, liquid, sibilant, *h*, or visarga, all of which have been treated in Chapter IX.

### 1. Double and single consonants

§389. The principal subject of this section is double and single consonants between vowels, that is, not immediately preceded or followed by another consonant. When associated with other consonants, the tradition is so confused that a detailed record would hardly be profitable. Thus, after other consonants, especially after nasals and *r*, consonants are very commonly written either single or double in the mss. Editors have followed very different courses; sometimes they attempt, with more or less consistency, to regularize the discordant spellings of their mss.; sometimes they add to the confusion. Cf. on the whole subject Whitney, *Grammar* §§228-232; Wackernagel I §98. The plain fact is that after or before other consonants it was in practice virtually impossible to distinguish between pronunciation of single and double consonants, as Wackernagel says l. c. It seems therefore fruitless to collect such variants as the following:

*śunddhī* (PG. MG. *śundhī*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣīḥ* AG. PG. ApMB.

MG. Many mss. of ApMB. read *śundhī*.

*o śu* (MS. *śū*) *vartā* (MS. KS. *varta*) *maruto vipram aha* RV. MS. KS.

The spelling *vartā* (2d plural) is etymological; Müller prints *varta* in his one-volume edition (1873) of RV.

§390. Similarly before another consonant, a double consonant which would be required by etymology is very often written single (Whitney and Wackernagel ll. cc.). Very little value is or can be attached to the readings of mss. and editions in such cases. Thus the word *patra*

'wing', from root *pat* with suffix *tra*, may be spelled *putra* at any time, as in:

*kyenasya patram* (MS. *patram*) *na plihā śacibhiḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB., where only MS. has the etymological spelling. So in:

*ukthapatra* (MS. *\*rā*, TS. *\*patra*) *īdhyo grbhītaḥ* VS.† TS. MS. KS.† ŚB.†, the editor of TS. alone prints *\*patra*, all others (contrary to the Conc.) *\*patra*; but most mss. of TS. actually read *\*patra*. The same arbitrary procedure is applied to TS. in:

*yeṇā (yeṇā) r̥ṣayaḥ (yenar̥ṣ?) tapasā satram* (TS.† *satram*) *āsate* (VS. ŚB. *āyan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., where again most mss. of TS. read *satram*, with the others, but against the etymology (root *sad*). We have not burdened this book with a list of such cases.

§391. Equally a matter of orthographic convention, and unworthy of prolonged consideration, are such variant spellings as occur in the following verb forms:

*tā yā devā... ā ca śāsvā* (VS. and Poona ed. of TB. *śāsvā*) *ca guraava* VS. TB. The root is *śās*, the ending *ava*.

*iyaṁ vah sā satyā... yām indreṇa samadhadhvam* (MS. *\*dadhvam*) TS. MS.: *egā vas sā satyā... yām indreṇa samadadhvam* KS. Reduplicated stem *dhad* or *dad* plus ending *dhvam*.

§392. Before dismissing this subject, however, we shall record a number of variations where real lexical or morphological shifts occur, or at least may possibly be felt as occurring; to be sure we shall find that some of them are mere corruptions or orthographic variants of the same sort as those just illustrated.

*arhann idam dayase viśvam abhram* (TA. *abbhram*, MS. *ā dhanvā*) RV. MS. TA. The TA. may quite possibly have intended *abhram* (on the epenthetic *u* cf. §790). But if the comm. is right it would be a lexically different word; he analyzes it as *ab-bhram* 'produced from water (and the other four elements)'. This is implausible as to sense, but formally possible.

*ut tvā* (SV. PB. Svidh. *u tvā*, two words) *mandantu samāḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. ŚŚ. Vait. Rvidh. Svidh. The Conc. prints *utvā* as one word, implying belief that *ut tvā* is intended. This is probably right, since the interjection *u* (of most doubtful authenticity even later) can hardly be assumed for SV., and the other *u* is enclitic, and could not stand first.

*ya ātr̥ṣṭy* (SāṃhitopaniṣadB. *ātr̥ṣṭy*) *aritatthena* (VāDh. *arida?*) *karṇau* SāṃhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. N. *ātr̥ṣṭy* is an impossible form and must be an error.



*apam yaḥ puro vibhinatty* (SV. °naty) *ojasā* RV. SV. The form *vibhinaty* is not noted by Benfey in his Glossary or the notes to his translation, and is doubtless a mere orthographic variant if not a misprint. *agnir hotā vetu* (ŚB. *vetu*) *agnir* (ŚB. AŚ. *agner*) *hotram vetu prāvitram* ... ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. So the Cone.; TB. Poona ed. reads *vetto* and *vettu*. In any case there is here probably a real lexical variation between roots *vi* 'enjoy' and *vid* 'know' (ŚB. comm. *jānātu*). Cf. next, and the variations between the participles *viṭa* and *vitta*, §398 below.

*prati tvādityās tray vettu* (TB. Poona ed. † *vetu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.; *prati tvā diva* (TB. *divaḥ*) *skambhanir vettu* (TB. Poona ed. † *vetu*) TS. TB. And others in the context. The text of TB. actually reads *rete-ity āha*; doubtless *vettu* is intended.

*āprā* (AV. \* *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* RV. AV. ArŚ. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AA. TA. N. See VV I pp. 27, 129.

*yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā* (KS. *tiṣṭhād*) *draviṇeha dhattāt* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. N. Here the KS. form assimilates, perhaps, to the following *dhattāt*, which however is originally and properly 2d person. Cf. VV I p. 27.

*agnir dād* (TS. *dā*) *draviṇam vīrapesāḥ* RV. TS. See VV I p. 26.

*satvānām* (KS. † *sattu*\*) *palaye namaḥ* MS. KS. This is certainly not a real lexical variant, for the gen. plur. of *satvan* would be *sateanām* (cf. §494); MS. must intend gen. plur. of *sattva*, like KS.

*brhaspalaye mahiṣa* (TS. *mahiṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS. The AV. has a corruption (called by Whitney 'senseless') based on the pronunciation of *ddy* as *dy*, and bringing in its train a false division of words; see §826.

*sadanān* (Vait. *sa dahan*) *pradahan v* (Vait. *nv*) *agāḥ* GB. Vait. Particles *u* and *nu*; the passage is metrical and *v(nv)* is read consonantically.

*lokam* (RV. *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmi* (RV. *jāmim*) *iyatuḥ* RV. MS. ApŚ.

#### Double and single consonants between vowels

§393. The shift between double and single consonants when both preceded and followed by a vowel is more worthy of attention. Here we seem to find traces of the Prakritic tendency to treat a short vowel plus a double consonant as the phonetic equivalent of a long (or nasalized) vowel plus a single consonant, so that (in Pāli and Prakrit) the two may interchange at random, without regard to etymology. See Geiger,

Pāli §§5, 6; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 32 f. While other considerations regularly enter in with the variants, it seems to us hardly to be doubted that this phonetic tendency existed in the Vedic language. It appears most clearly, of course, when the preceding vowel is long before the single consonant, but short before the double consonant.

§394. In some variants the preceding vowel is the diphthong *e*. This sound, of course pronounced as a monophthong from early times, may be either long or short in Pāli and Prakrit; there it is always short when followed by two consonants, long when followed by one. In Sanskrit it is invariably considered long. But we find variations in the mss. between single and double consonants after it, as in AV. 15. 10. 2 (see Whitney's note), where nearly all mss. read *mānaye tathā* for *mānayet tathā*. And so in the variant:

*sa no jiveṣu ā yame* AV.: *sa no deveṣu ā yamat* RV. TA., where most mss. of AV. read *yame*, but the comm. *yamed*, which is certainly intended; the next word begins with *d-*, and the actual reading of RV. TA. is *yamad*. See Whitney's note on AV. 18. 2. 3, and VV 1 p. 74. This is clearly a phonetic simplification.

§395. The other variations, first where the quantity of the preceding vowel shifts with the doubling of the consonant, involve lexical or morphological shifts. Thus in equivalent noun stems of different declensions; the stem *apsaras* appears also as *apsarā* independently: *apsarassu* (HG. °*rāsu ca*) *yo gandhaḥ* ApMB. HG.

*yā medhā apsarāsu* (MG. *medhāpsarāsu*; Scheftelowitz reads *medhāpsarassu* for RVKh.) RVKh. MG.: *apsarāsu ca yā medhā* TA. MahānU. HG. ApMB. ApG.

Here the fem. gender of the word, and its nom. sg. *apsarāḥ*, may have helped in the change. But the like is found with neuters, where no such influence can be suspected:

*yā te agne 'yāḥayā* (VS. ŚB. 'yāḥayā; TŚ. 'yāḥayā *rajāḥayā*) . . . VS. TŚ. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *yā te agne rajāḥayā* (VS. ŚB. *rajāḥayā*) . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§395a. The adjective *mahad* varies with its composition-form *mahā-*: *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. *bhajase mahad dhanam*) RV. SV.

§396. The forms *rāye* and *rāyas* vary with *rayai* and *rayās* (see Edgerton, l. c., §393). Undoubtedly the former are from *rai*, while the latter are from the parallel stem *rayi* (which by the way is usually masculine, but occasionally feminine). But the phonetic shift here considered seems also likely to be involved; the *rai* forms seem original: *agne samrād iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS.



ŚB. TB. (The Conc. quotes AŚ. ApŚ, under this form too, but it refers to the same passage, *agne samrād* etc.)

*rayas poṣeṇa* (MS. *rayyā*) *mā paśyata* (and: *vaḥ paśyānti*) TS. MS. KS.

§397. The base *su*, used as a root noun, must appear as *sut*; a superlative from it, *-suttama*, varies with the parallel base *-sū-īama*:

*īन्द्रāya* (MS. MŚ. °*yā teā*) *suṣuttamam* (VS. ŚB. *suṣūtamam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§398. The roots *vi* 'enjoy' or the like, and *vid* 'find' with dental suffixes, produce forms which are lexically independent but show the same phonetic shift; it appears that in both the variants recorded, the forms of *vi* are older. Cf. §329, *agnir hotā ceti* (*veti*) . . .

*iṣṭam ca vītam* (ŚB. AŚ. *vītam*) *ca* (ŚŚ. *cābhūt*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*śocasya devavītamah* (KS. °*vītamah*) RV. RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *rocasya devavītamah* VS.

§399. More numerous are the cases in which the preceding vowel is either short or long in both forms of the variant. They are chiefly lexical. We begin with those in which the vowel is short. Forms of the root *cit*, with dental suffixes, vary several times with derivatives of *ci* or *cyu*:

*acitapājā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *agnūt*; and:

*acitāmanā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā* MS. TA. ŚŚ. Proper names of rishis; 'unthinkable' and 'unshakable' both make good sense; the latter is secondary.

*cittim* (MS. KS. MŚ. *citiṁ*) *jūhami manasā* (VS. TS. ŚB. add *ghṛtana*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Keith on TS (HOS 19. p. 444, n. 1). *Cittim* is perhaps, as Keith says, a mistake for *citiṁ*; but it seems widely attested, and we doubt whether it 'should have been corrected' by the editors of the texts where it occurs. To be sure, one ms. of MS. has *cittim*; but MŚ. *citiṁ*. The passage belongs to the ritual of 'piling' (*citi*) the fire-altar. In the same context occurs:

*cittim acittim* (KS. ms. *icitim acitiṁ*, emended by van Schroeder) *cinaved* KS.† °*vo*) *vi vidoān* RV. TS. KS. Add to VV I §337. Cf. prec.

*mā teā nī kran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MŚ. °*cittau*) *nikāriṇaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Lexical, but the reading with *it* seems to correspond better to what is expected (contrary to the view of Whitney and Keith). It refers to people who may 'get ahead of' us in the favor of the gods. 'Having thoughts (devotion, or magic?) first', or, in MS., 'in first thought': 'piling (the altar) first'.

- §400. One case concerns different case-forms of the same stem:  
*varzman kṣatrasya kakubhi* (TB. Conc. °bhiḥ, Poona ed. °bhi; MS. kakubbhiḥ) *kītriyānah* (TB. *krayasva*) TS. MS. TB. Loc. sing.: instr. plur. of *kakubh*. The form *kakubhiḥ* is an impossible blend of the two, and should doubtless be removed from the text with Poona ed.; yet the comm. seems to have read so (but he glosses *uttamāṅge*, as if loc.).
- §401. The rest are miscellaneous, and in part concern mere corruptions and false readings:  
*nama ākḥidate ce prakḥidate ca* VS. MS. KS.: *nama ākḥidate ca prakḥidate ca* TS. The curious doubling in TS. is authorized by TPr. 14. 8; but the mss. show all sorts of variations, see Whitney's note on TPr., and Weber's on TS. 4. 5. 9. 2.
- ayā san* (*ayāḥ san*, *ayās san*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛtaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*; KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (*vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. *kṛtaḥ* is obviously a blunder. Cf. §402.
- vicṛtāya* (VS. *vicṛtāya*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. *vicṛtāya* probably an error.
- nivṛtaḥ* (ŚŚ. *nivṛtaḥ*) *puruṣād dṛtiḥ* AV. ŚŚ. The passage where this occurs is rank nonsense, and any reading will do as well as any other.
- vaiśvānaraḥ pratnathā nākam āruhat* (PB. †*āruha*) AV. PB. TA. ApŚ. In all followed by *diva*-; *āruhaḥ* is the actual reading. PB. has a phonetic simplification or corruption; a 2d sing. inpv. is inappropriate (subject nominative, and parallel 3d person verb in last pāda). Add to VV I §332.
- phalāya*, and *phallāya*, KhG.: *bhalāya*, and *bhallāya*, SMB. GG. See §79.
- samutrād udajani vaḥ* (ApŚ. *udacann iva*) *sruvā* MS. ApŚ. See §53.
- imān nārāḥ* (*naraḥ*) *kṛṇuta vedim etya* (*eta*, *etaf*), see §328.
- yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhīr ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. Corruption in MS.
- viviṣi* (*viciṣi*, *viviṣṭyai*, *viviṣṭyai*) *svāhā*, see §866.
- māyādevā avataram* HG.: *adevā devavattaram* ApMB. Several HG. mss. read *avattaram*, pointing to probable corruption in its text.
- ava tara* (TS. *avattaram*) *nadiṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīndm* AV. See §832.
- iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhīr draviṇodā yatibhīr* (MS. once *yattibhīr*) *āśṛdā*... MS.† KS.† ApŚ.† The isolated *yattibhīr* can only be a mistake.



*pitva* (VS. MS. *pidva*) *nyañkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. *kaṣas*) . . . VS. TS. MS.

*daridra* (TS. °*dran*) *ñilalohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Epithet of Rudra; the TS. form apparently felt as a participle. Keith, 'waster'.

*apā ṛdhi parivṛtaṁ* (TB. Conc. °*ṛttim*, comm. °*ṛtich*; Poona ed. text and comm. °*ṛtim*) *na rādhah* RV. TB.

*ātmaśy ātman ātmānaṁ* (GB. Conc. *ātmanātmānaṁ*) *me mā hiṣṭh* GB. Vait. Kauś. Gaastra reads correctly like the others for GB. *rajanī* (AV. Berlin ed. *rajjuni*, by emend.) *granthar dānam* (AŚ. *dhānam*) AV. AŚ. Vait. The emendation is probably right, at least in giving the true original reading of the passage; but there is no variant. Caland in his translation of Vait. quotes it as reading *rājanī*, perhaps by a slip.

*jīvebhyas tva samude vāyur indrah* AV. 8. 1. 15a. Conc. says read *samimude*, but Whitney would keep the text, analyzing with p.p. *sam-ude* 'conversation'. The comm. however connects the word with root *mud*. If this were right the variant could be classed with §306. Uncertain.

*saurido abhi gā adrim uṣṇan* (SV. *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. Conc. suggests *muṣṇan* in RV.; see however Oldenberg, *Noten*, ad loc.

§402. Next we come to cases in which the vowel preceding the single or double consonant is long in both cases. Particularly interesting, as suggesting the Prakritic influence to which we alluded above, are cases where a secondary or corrupt reading appears with a single consonant after a long vowel, the proper form having double consonant. This seems to point towards a tendency to simplify double consonants in that position. Thus:

*sarvasmād desakilbiṣṭ* (VS. °*viṣṭ*, LŚ. *eva kilb°*) RV. VS. MS. LŚ. ApŚ. The LŚ. obviously has a secondary lect. fac., altho it makes good sense.

*ayā* (MS. *ayāh*, KS. *ayās*) *san* (KS. ms. *ayāsā*) *manasā kītaḥ* (MS. *kṛtaḥ*, p.p. *kṛtaḥ*, KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasa*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayasa manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. Cf. §401.

*jīdām rītebhyah pariṇīyamānām* AV.: *mṛtāya jīvām pariṇīyamānām* TA. Read *mṛtebhyah* in AV. with some mss. and SPP.

*sarvaṁ nī svāpayā janam* RVKh. AV. Edgerton, *AJP* 35. 439, has suggested *svāpayāj janam* as the true reading.

§403. There are several variations concerning the synonymous adverbs *pāścā* and *pāścāt*, before following *d-*. In the first, at least, the

form with double *d* is the older, so that the same tendency is involved: *apaścāddaghvane* (SV. *apaścāda*<sup>o</sup>) *nare* (SV. *naraḥ*) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *apaścāddaghvānnaḥ* (AV. *apaścādaghvānnasya*) *bhūyāṣam* AV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*paścādoṣāya glāvinam* VS.: *paścāddoṣāya glāvam* TB.

§404. There is some confusion between *pratīta* (and *parī*<sup>o</sup>), ppl. of root *dā* in composition, and *prātīta* (*parī*<sup>o</sup>), similar form from root *i* in composition (and, once, an anomalous *apratīkam*). In the first two cases the form with double *t* is the proper or original one, and the other may be a phonetic (Prakritic) simplification. In the other two the true reading has single *t*, and the double *t* is textually very dubious:

*yat kusidam apratītaḥ* (TS. <sup>o</sup>*tītaḥ*, and so TA. Poona ed., with v. l. <sup>o</sup>*tītaḥ*; SMB. *apradattāḥ*) *mayeha* (TS. *mayi*) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB.: *apamityam apratītaḥ yad asmi* AV.: *yāny apāmityāny apratītaḥ* (TB. Poona ed. <sup>o</sup>*tītaḥ*) *asmi* TB. ApŚ. It seems that the original form must be *apratītaḥ*, from *prati-dā* (cf. SMB.); but possibly the ppl. of *prati-i* may be defended. So the comm. on TA. reads (*apratītaḥ*), glossing *na pratiyarpitam*.

*kyene parīto* (VSK. *parīto*) *acarac ca tvāte* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *kyene vīta uta yo 'carat parītaḥ* AV. Here the true form is certainly from *pari-dā*.

*apaḥ siṣāsan svar* (TB, ApŚ. *suvar*) *apratītaḥ* (TB. Conc. <sup>o</sup>*tītaḥ*, Poona ed. text and comm. <sup>o</sup>*tītaḥ*) RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here the double *t* has no standing.

*etuhī kūraṇ vajriṇam apratīkam* (TB. Conc. *apratītaḥ*, Poona ed. <sup>o</sup>*tītaḥ*) MS. TB. The only correct reading is *apratītam* 'invincible'. On MS. see §138.

§405. In the few remaining cases the doubling is secondary or corrupt: *atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādana* (TA. <sup>o</sup>*nāl*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛyotu*) RV. AV.†TA. A clear error in TA.: see note of Whitney-Lanman on AV.

*ugranipakya* (MS. *ugraṇ paśyāc*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛt ca tāni* MS. TA. Names of Apsaras. The MS. has a corruption, probably due to mechanical form-assimilation to the final of *rāṣṭrabhṛt*; see §820.

*nama ākḥidate ca prakḥidate ca* VS. MS. KS.: *nama akkhi<sup>o</sup> ca prakkhi<sup>o</sup> ca* TS. See §401.

*svāna bhrāja<sup>o</sup>* . . . VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *svāna bhrāḥ* . . . TA.: *svān nabhrāḥ* . . . KS.: *svān nabhrāḥ* MS. MŚ. Keith on TS. suggests *svāna nabhrāj-* as the original form.



## 2. Assimilation of two consonants to one double consonant

§406. The variants seem to show clear traces of the common Middle Indic tendency to assimilate two adjoining consonants. Especially a semi-vowel or liquid is assimilated to a different consonant, and an adjoining different consonant is assimilated to a nasal. With these cases we shall group a few instances of the converse, in which the double consonant appears to be older than the two different consonants. Here we have then a sort of dissimilation, which indirectly points perhaps to a feeling of phonetic correspondence between two like consonants and a group consisting of one of them and (especially) a semi-vowel or liquid.

§407. We begin with cases concerning *r*, the weakest of all the consonants (Geiger, *Pāli* §51; Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* xxxi).

*usrā* (VSK. KS. *usrā*) *etam . . . anāsrū* (KS. *anāśū*, v. l. *\*ēra*) . . . *brahmacodanau* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. See Keith on TS. 1. 2. 8. 2; he points out that *anāśū*, as well as *anāsrū* and *anāśrū*, is capable of a kind of interpretation. Yet it is probably secondary, if not corrupt.

*manyor mṛddhasya* (HG. *mṛddhasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG.: *manyoh krodhasya nāśinī* PG. Kirste suggests reading *ṛddhasya*, saying that *manyoh* seems superfluous. But the parallels show that *manyoh* is original and that HG. has a phonetic assimilation in *mṛd*.

*krīḍi ca śāki cojjeṣṭi* (ApŚ. *śāki tcorjiṣṭi ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. Here the dissimilated form is secondary; it is no doubt vaguely felt as meaning 'food-seeking' (*ūrj* + root *iṣ*).

*āvat tam* (TA. read *āvar tam*, §873) *indrah śacyā dhamanṭam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

§408. The next-weakest consonant, that is most apt to be assimilated to another consonant, in Pāli-Prākṛit is *y*. We have a number of cases concerning it; to them should be added a few cases of final *ny* varying with *nn* before an initial vowel, which really concern morphology but which we have placed with similar phenomena under Sandhi, §928.

*abhinne khilge* (TB. *khille*) *nidadhāti devayam* RV. AV. TB. Comm. on TB. *khilbhāte*; the clearest possible case of purely phonetic assimilation.

*duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Bibl. Ind.: *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* TA. Poona ed., text and comm.: *duṣṣvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU. See §255.

*āśvān anaśato* (KS.†ApŚ. *anaśyato*, MŚ. van Gelder, *anaśyato*) *dānam* KS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §255.

*ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhumattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MŚ. PB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. The secondary MS. MŚ. reading involves substitution of *te* for the older *tye*.

*yad annenātirohah* RV. ArS. VS TA.: *yad anyenābhavat saha* AV. Here the form with *ny* is secondary, but interesting as pointing to the light pronunciation of *y*. On the nonsensical reading of AV. (the comm. has *annena*) see Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 127.

*pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā* TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. See §838. The assimilation is secondary.

*capyam* (TB. Poona ed. *cappam*) *na pāyur* . . . VS. MS. KS. TB. *capyā* seems well established, tho etymologically obscure; *cappam* may be a graphic blunder.

*sūryācandramasau vṛkṣābhyaṁ* (KSA. *vṛkkā*°) TS. KSA. The TS. form is a secondary and (as shown by AV. *vorāṣka*) unhistorical form, dissimilatory in character, quite analogous to the preceding. It has caused quite unnecessary trouble for etymologists (cf. Uhlenbeck's plaintive query s.v. *vṛkka*).

§409. A single case concerns *l*:

*gūvo gulgulugandhayaḥ* (Vait. *guggulu*°) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The usual Sanskrit form is *guggulu*; but *gulgulu* occurs so persistently in Vedic texts that one is constrained to accept it as the original form.

§410. As to *v*, it was already found involved in two cases mentioned in §408. Besides, we find:

*tan nas trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato* (ApŚ. *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KŚ. ApŚ.: *tan me tanvaḥ trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV. An obvious secondary assimilation in ApŚ., assisted of course by the preceding *tan nas*. *yathāyatham nau tanvau* (AŚ. *tanvā*, MŚ. *tan nau*) *jātavedaḥ* KS. AŚ. MŚ. The MŚ. is obviously corrupt; no *v*: l. quoted.

*mitrāvaruṇa śaradāhnām* (MS. °*hnā*) *cikilnū* (MS. *cikiltam*, KS. *jīpatnū*, AŚ. *cikiltvam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45.

*viśvanidam* (AV. °*do*) *vācam ariṣṣamīnvām* (AV. *ariṣṣurinnām*) RV. AV. See §236.

*apa durhārdiko jāhi* Kauś. Read °*diśo*; the corruption may be graphic (§869).

§411. Of cases concerning the assimilation of non-nasal consonants to adjoining nasals, there occur the following, besides one or two mentioned in the preceding sections as concerning semi-vowels:

*aganma yatra praliranta* (MG. *prataram* *na*, mss. °*ran na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.



*daivya* (AV. *daivā*) *hotāra* (TS. °*rā*, AV. °*rah*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°, KS.† *vanīzan na*, AV. *vanīzan nā*) *pārre* (AV. KS. *etal*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

*akṣatam ariṣṭam ilādam* SMB.: *akṣatam aṣy ariṣṭam ilānam* *gopāyanam* ŚG. Epithets of the cow; cf. the cow-name *ilāndā*, MS. 4. 2. 1: 22. 7, 10, and 4. 2. 7: 28. 12. Altho SMB. comm. says *ilāndam ilānam kṣīrādīlakṣanam*, it is probable that both this explanation and ŚG's form are due to secondary etymologizing. *yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*, v. L. *yan nāmne*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU. Here probably MahānU. is secondary if not corrupt, and the (partially) assimilated form with two nasals is original.

*ukṣantūdā maruto ghṛtēna* AV. 3. 12. 4. So Conc., with Whitney's Transl., the comm., and SPP. But according to Whitney no ms. reads so, except one of SPP's *śrotṛīyas*; most of them have °*ūnnā*, a few °*ūnā*. Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 32. 366) has °*ūnā*. See §183. [*svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpyuta rbhavaḥ* (TB. Conc. *tṛpyutarbh*°; ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. *tṛpyutarbh*°) RV. TB. ApŚ. *tṛpyu*° probably misprint.]

§412. When a final mute is followed by an initial nasal, the rules of external sandhi require nasalization of the mute. Lack of assimilation is here the exception, not the rule. But it occurs in a couple of cases: *sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāṣān* (SV. °*ṣāḍ*) *na yajñāḥ* RV. SV. *anuṣṭum* (MS. °*ṭub*) *mītrasya* (GB. Vait. add *patnī*) MS. KS. GB. Vait.

It is perhaps not accidental that both the sounds here concerned are of very rare occurrence as finals.

§413. In a case or two *m* at the end of a reduplicating syllable, or absolutely final, is alternatively assimilated to a following *n*, or remains anusvāra. This may be merely a matter of writing:

*devya* (ApŚ. *divyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* (KŚ. *namnam*°) . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ.

*vājasya hi prasave* (TS. °*vo*) *nannamiti* (TS. *namna*°) TS. MS. KS. *ā yam* (MS. MŚ. *āyan*) *narah suddānavo dadāṣuḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. Lect. fac. in MS. MŚ. (verb form, 'they have come').

§414. Conversely, before initial *m*, final *n* varies with anusvāra. But two cases are purely morphological, concerning the masc. and neuter (adverbial) forms *tan* and *tad* (*tan*); and the third is regarded by Whitney and the Conc. as a mere corruption:

*tan* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA.

*tan* (JB. *tan*) *mā puṣai kartary erayadheam* JB. KBU.

*trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmrje* TB.: *trita enan manuṣyeṣu mamrje* AV.

Conc. and Whitney's note say, read *enan* with SPP. At any rate a neuter and not a masculine form is intended.

§415. Finally we come to assimilation of other consonants to adjoining mutes. In every case a preceding mute may be regarded as assimilated to a following mute (precisely as in Prakrit), with one exception which is extraordinary and may be corrupt; in it a following nasal (*ṇ*) seems to be assimilated to a preceding mute:

*bīṣuṇ nadīnām harim adribudhnam* (TS. °*buddham*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. Keith assumes *adribudhnam* in his translation.

§416. The other cases present the order of sounds which would be expected as a basis for assimilation. Nevertheless in several of them the dissimilated form is historically secondary. All happen to belong also in §139, where they are discussed individually; there is, then, no need to repeat them here.

§416a. To complete the subject of assimilation and dissimilation, as it appears among the variants, a general remark may be added on the not very numerous traces of assimilation and dissimilation of vowels, details of which will be found in later parts of this book. We shall find some signs of a tendency towards *u* coloring in vowels associated with labial consonants. This appears in the variation of *av* with *uv*, §§601-4, and in that of *r* with *ru*, §§678-80. We have also noted, among the variants of *u* with *a* and *i*, what appear to be sporadic cases of assimilation to, or dissimilation from, similar vowels in adjoining syllables. These will be found in §§605, 607, 609, 622-4.

### 3. Simplification of Consonant Groups

§417. Under this heading there are first one or two special cases to be distinguished. On the insertion of *t* and *k* after final *n* and *ṇ* before a sibilant, see §§938 f. On the optional dropping of a mute etymologically required between a nasal and another consonant, see Whitney, *Grammar* §231; Wackernagel I §233a. The dropping of the mute is required by APr. 2. 20. The VPr. 6. 30 requires it before a voiced mute; the variants show also a case where the dropping occurs before a voiceless mute in writing, but as this case involves dropping of *t* before another *t*, it may be considered merely a matter of writing a double consonant as single after a nasal (§389). The other Prātisākhya ignore it. All texts seem to show it sporadically. But editorial as well as scribal vagaries have helped to make the record of little value. Note Weber's disregard of the



TS. mss. in the first two variants, which is typical; other less conscientious editors have doubtless been equally arbitrary, without troubling to record the actual readings of their mss.

§418. We quote the following variants for what they are worth, which in our opinion is not much, for the reasons just stated:

*bṛhaspate ṡyāmyām* (KS. ms. °yā emend. °yām) *yūṅgdhi* (AŚ. *yūndhi*)  
*vācam* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. But practically all mss. of TS. *yūndhi*.  
*parivṛdhi* (TS. MS. ŚB. °vṛṅgdhi) *harasā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But here too all mss. of TS. *vṛdhi*; and so p.p. of MS.

*ādityam garbham payasā sam aṅgdhi* (VS. *aṅdhi*, TS. KS. *aṅjan*) VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. ŚB.

*athāmṛtena jaritāram aṅdhi* (ApŚ. *aṅgdhi*) TB. ApŚ. But TB. Poona  
 ed. *aṅgdhi*, text and comm.

*śucir aṅkte* (SV. *aṅte*) *śucibhir gobhir agnīḥ* RV. SV.

*yah pauruṣeṇa kraviṣā samaṅkte* (AV. *samaṅte*) RV. AV. Kaus.  
*udno* (VS. MS. *apo*) *dattodadhīm bhintā* (VS. MS. *bhinta*) VS. TS. MS.:  
*udno dehy udadhīm ṡbhindhi* KS.

*śunddhi* (PG. MG. and v. l. of ApMB. *śundhi*) *śiro māsyāyuh pra moṣiḥ*  
 AG. PG. ApMB. MG.

*ayam sa śiṅkte* (AV. *śiṅte*) *yenā gaur abhīrṭā* RV. AV. JB. N.

*samṡpaṣyan paṅktīr* (AV. *paṅtīm*) *upatiṣṡhamānaḥ* RV. AV.

*achā vīram naryam paṅktirādhasam* (SV. *paṅti*°) RV. SV. VS. MS.  
 ŚB. TA.

[*pāṅktrah* (KSA. em. ṡpāṅktaḥ) *kaṣo mānthilacas* (KSA. ṡman°) *te*  
*pīṡṡām* (KSA. ṡpīṡṡām) TS. KSA. The mss. of both texts all  
 read *pāmtra*, intending *pāmtra*; TS. comm. *pāmtra-kaśān*, as a  
*dvandva*.]

§419. There remains a miscellaneous group of cases in which a consonant is alternatively present or absent in a group of consonants, numbering three (or two at the beginning of the word) when the evanescent consonant is present. We do not include here cases in which the variant consonant is a nasal, a semi-vowel, a liquid, or a sibilant, since these have been treated in Chapter IX. (Such cases are common when the evanescent consonant is *y* or *v*; see §§314-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370.) The only prominent group which stands out among them concerns derivatives of the roots *su* and *stu*. The ritualistic use of these words is such that the interchange is easy; there are many situations in which *suta* and *stuta*, *soma* and *stoma* will do about equally well:

*giraḥ somah* (SV. *gira stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāḥ* RV. SV. Here there is a change in syntax; but cf. the next, where there is none.

*ghrtāhutaḥ somapṛṣṭhaḥ* (MŚ. *stoma°*) *suvitraḥ* AV. MŚ.: *stomapṛṣṭho ghrtavān supratikaḥ* KS. TB.† 3. 7. 2. 7b, AŚ. ApŚ. The originality of AV. is supported by the RV. epithet *somapṛṣṭha* (fashioned on the model of *ghrtapṛṣṭha*).

*apsu dhautasya te deva soma nṛbhiḥ* (TS. tr. *soma deva te*) *sutasya* (KS. *stu°*, MS. *ṣtu°*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB.: *apsu dhūtasya deva soma te mativido nṛbhiḥ śulastotrasya* (AŚ. *nṛbhiḥ sutasya*) . . . AŚ. ŚŚ.

*nārāsaṁsena stomena* (RV. *somena*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. SB. LŚ. Kauś. See Oldenberg, *ZDMG* 54, 54 and 56; Hillebrandt, *Lieder des RV.* 124. Grassmann would emend RV. to *stomena*, but this is undoubtedly a later lectio facillior.

[*stutā* (mss. *stutā*) *mayā varadā vandamānā* (mss. *vedamātā*) AV.: *stuto mayā varadā vedamātā* TAA. Whitney's Translation abandons the unfortunate emendations of the AV. edition. Weber, *ISl.* 2, 144, discusses the TAA. passage; he would understand *stuto* as *stutā-u.*]

§420. The rest need no subdivision:

*parijmā cit kramate* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *cit ramate*) *asya dharmaṁ* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Even a wanderer walks (rejoices) in his (Savitar's) ordinance.' Whitney's note implies that he regards *ramate* as a preferable reading; to us it seems merely a lect. fac.

*taṁ tvam viśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn* (KS. *°bhya rtūn*) *kalpaya* KS. ApŚ. Apparently KS. has the true reading, cf. Caland on ApŚ. 10. 25. 1; *kratūn* is suggested by the following phrase, *dakṣiṇāḥ kalpaya*.

*ahorātrābhyāṁ puruṣaḥ samena* (GB.\* *kṣaṇena*) GB. (both) ŚB.

*yena śriyam akr̥ṇutām* PG.: *yena śriyam akr̥ṇutam* (ŚŚ. *śriyāṁ akuru-tam*) ŚŚ. SMB. GG. *śriyam* is clearly a secondary simplification with phonetic aspects.

*bṛhann asi bṛhadravā* (TS. KS. *bṛhadgrāvā*, MS. *bṛhadrāyāḥ*, MŚ. *bṛhad-rāyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The form containing *g* seems to be the older.

*śumbhānas* (KS. *śam°*) *tanvaṁ* (TB. *tanuvam*, SV. *†tanvām*) *svām* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. 'Adorning (establishing) his own person.'

*anyāderatasya* (TA. *anyādera°*) *saścima* (TA. *°maḥ*, Poona ed. *°ma*; RV. *saścira*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Tho the comm. on TA. takes *anyāderatasya* as two words, accent and sense agree in showing that it was felt as one; *anyud* is the 'stem' form.

*māteru putraṁ bibhṛtā m* (VS. ŚB. *bibhṛtāpse*) *enat* (TS. KS. *enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to the waters, which accounts for the secondary change of VS. ŚB.



*namah śuṣkyāya* (MS. *śuṣyāya*) ca *harityāya* ca VS. TS. MS. KS. Von Schroeder thinks MS. is probably to be emended to *śuṣkyāya*; but it may be the true reading (a phonetic simplification).

*bhayaṇi śtīmabhyām* (KSA.° *madbhyām*) TS. KSA. Stems in *-man-*; obscure names for some part of the horse's body.

§421. In some cases an initial consonant, or even two initial consonants are dropped altogether (or added):

*kṛtān nah pāhy anhasaḥ* (TA. *enasah*) MS. TA.: *ṛtān mā muñcatānhasaḥ* TB. The latter is poor; comm. *ṛtāl prāptāt tasmād anhasaḥ*.

*ṛtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneḥ* TS.: *ṛtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām* VS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS.: cf. *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* TS.KS.ApŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole. The MS. *pāda* may be a blend of the other two, both of which are found in KS.

*kravo* (RV. VS. *avo*) *devasya sdnasi* (TS. TA.° *sim*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA.

*stavāno* (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS. ŚB. *dhīyā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avā no* is a facile and slipshod substitution.

*āyobhasyāya* (AG. *māyo*°) *catuṣpādī* AG. ŚG.: *cavāri māyobhasyā* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. SMB. PG. HG. The ŚG. is obviously secondary and poor; it must be understood as a quasi-derivative from *āyu(s)*.

*yāsām agnīr iṣṭyā* (KSA. *niṣṭyā*) *nāmāni veda* RV. TS. KSA. The KSA. reading is an attempt to 'correct' an obscure passage. 'Whose names Agnī knows by the sacrifice': 'whose foreign (external) names Agnī knows'.

*eruṇi tundānā patyeva jāyā* AV.: *peruṇ tuñjānā patyeva jāyā* TS. The original form of *eru*; *peru* is unknown; it probably means the male organ.

*purudāsmo viṣurūpa* (KS. *purudāsmavad viśvarūpam*) *induh* VS. KS. ŚB.: *urudrapso viśvarūpa induh* TS. ApŚ. Synonyms.

*madhvā* (VS. *adhvā*) *rajānsindriyam* VS. MS. KS. TB. Comm. on VS. *madhvā*, the only possible reading. Is *adhvā* a misprint?

[*tvayā jvasena sam aśimahi tvā* ŚG.: *tvayārasena* etc. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB. PG. *jvasena* is a misprint, corrected *SBE* 29. 98, note.]

## CHAPTER XI. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG A

§422. The outstanding feature of these variants is the light they throw on the matter of rhythmic lengthening, and, to a less extent, rhythmic shortening. They are supported in these respects to a much smaller degree by the variations between short and long *i* and *u*, recorded in the next chapter.—In §§300-2 we have referred to variations between *ā* and short *a* plus nasal; they will not be repeated here. See likewise §§395-8 for the same variation before single and double consonants.

§423. Particularly important are the cases in which the variant vowel is final, either absolutely, or in the seam of a compound, or before a suffix that is treated as if it were a part of a compound. It is in these that we detect most clearly the lengthening of a short vowel due to sentence rhythm. We shall present them first, following them with variations between initial and medial long and short *a*, in stem formations of nouns and verbs (where we still seem to find traces of rhythmic lengthening), and in inflexional elements (where it seems to be virtually non-existent). Finally there will be presented a group of purely lexical and miscellaneous variants of non-final *a* and *ā*.

§424. In all these classes there are instances of shortening as well as lengthening; that is, cases in which *ā*, not short *a*, is historically the more original, not to speak of different formative elements where both forms may be justified. Shortenings of *ā* before more than one consonant seem occasionally to suggest the Prakritic tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables (cf. §§393 ff.). But other considerations usually enter in, so that the extent of this purely phonetic shortening is problematic.

§425. The relation of rhythmic lengthening to meter is well stated by Wackernagel I §266a. The poets make free use of the license to lengthen a final short *a* in syllables where the meter requires a long. But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements but of sentence rhythm. Among lengthenings of final short *a* which can with certainty be regarded as rhythmic, the majority do not occur in syllables required to be long by meter. As stated by Wackernagel, the rhythmic lengthening is prehistoric and occurred originally when the syllable would otherwise be short (that is, when a single consonant followed the vowel), and when the neighboring syllables were short,



especially the following one. Analogical extension has obscured without obliterating the original conditions.

### 1. Final *a* and *ā*

§426. Under this head are included *a* and *ā* not only as absolute finals in a word, but also as stem-finals in parts of compounds, or before such suffixes as *vant* (treated as compounds in respect of sandhi), or even in the reduplicating syllable, which as regards sandhi behaves in the same way, tho it may be regarded as closing the gap between final and medial conditions. But to avoid possible vitiation of results thru this grouping, we shall separate the absolutely from the relatively final cases.

§427. To show the precise extent of genuine rhythmic lengthening, some further distinctions will be necessary. In some of the words concerned, the regular final is *ā*, not short *a*, either in all periods of the language, or at least in the earliest. In others, both *a* and *ā* can be more or less justified morphologically or lexically, or the lengthening may have been assisted by some formal analogy. Take as an instance the gerund ending *ya* or *yā*. Altho *ya* prevails entirely in the later language, *yā* is much the commoner in RV., and is probably the older form (a stereotyped instrumental case-form; whether *ya* is to be regarded as an originally distinct ending, not identical with *yā*, need not here be discussed; cf. Wackernagel III p. 34 f. and references in small print there). Or again, the instrumental singular ending of *a*-stems (*ena*) often ends in *ā*; it is at least possible that other instrumental forms in *ā* may be concerned in this (as suggested by Wackernagel I p. 312 *infra*; rather different is the implication of III p. 92). Obviously such forms must be separated from cases of purely rhythmic lengthening. We shall therefore begin with—

(a) Absolutely final *a*, originally short, varying with rhythmically lengthened *ā*.

§428. Here we include thirty-eight variants in which the lengthening is certainly secondary and seems due to the sole and exclusive operation of the law of sentence rhythm; at least there is no apparent morphological or analogical justification for it. The principle is ably discussed by Wackernagel I §§264-6. The pada-pāṭhas regard the lengthening as one of sentence rhythm, for they regularly substitute short *a*. Their opinion is confirmed by the fact that the lengthening practically never occurs at the end of a pāda or sentence; nor, in TS., at the end of a

*kaṇḍikā* (Wackernagel I §265a, note); cf. VV I p. 174. Originally it depended on the quantity of the surrounding syllables. The typical case was that in which final *a* followed by a single consonant (so that the syllable was light) was both preceded and followed by light syllables. This succession of three light syllables was avoided by lengthening the *a*.

§429. Most of the cases are verb forms ending in *a*: thirteen of the 2d sing. impv. *-a*, eight of 2d plur. *-ta* and *-tha*, two of 2d sing. middle *-sa*, four of 1st plur. *-ma*, and one each of 1st sing. perfect *-a*, 2d sing. perfect *-tha*, and 2d plur. perfect *-a*. There are seven other cases: two of *ama* and *pra*, and one each of *ca*, *uta*, *adya*, and *sapta*. On *prā*, probably not to be connected with IE \**prō*, see §§439, 449, 465.

§430. No school tendencies are revealed by the variants. Late and popular texts replace an older or hieratic *a* by *ā*, and vice versa, with perfect indifference. But some general considerations suggest themselves:

§431. First: the variant word never occurs at the end of a *pāda* or sentence, except in one or two peculiar cases. (Note that in AV. 19. 39. 10d *suā* is a misprint for *sua*, see Whitney's note; the *pāda* is repeated without variant from AV. 5. 22. 3d.) One exception has been explained in VV I p. 174: *vanaspate 'va sṛjā* (KS. *sṛja*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. For another see *nihāram* etc., §446.

§432. Secondly: only once does the lengthened syllable occur before an initial vowel, leaving hiatus:

*indru somam pibā imam* RV. AV. SV. MS.: *indra somam imam piba* RV. ŚŚ. Here indeed one might be tempted to understand *pibās* in the first form; but p.p. of RV. MS. both *piba*. Cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 8. 17. 1.

§433. Thirdly: Otherwise the word following the *a.ā* always begins with a single consonant, except in two cases, in both of which the *ā* is secondary (AV.; short *a* RV.) and seems due to special reasons. In both cases, as it happens, the following word is *pra*. We are not inclined to see any significance in the conjunction mute plus liquid (as if this group failed to make the preceding syllable heavy); possibly more important is the fact that *p* is a labial consonant (cf. §464):

*ut tiṣṭhata* (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā vakhāyah* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś. The *ā* may be attracted to match the ending of *taratā*, where *ā* is in every way regular and demanded by the meter.

*juhota* (AV. °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA. This *pāda* of AV. (18. 2. 2b) is RV. 10. 14. 14b; the preceding one is RV. 10. 14. 15a (these two RV. verses are jumbled in AV., see Whitney-Lanman).



*yamāya madhumattamam*. But further, RV. 7. 102. 3b has *jūhotā madhumattamam*; the first word is the first word of AV. 18. 2. 2b, and the second is the last word of the preceding pāda. Apparently the secondary *ā* of AV. *jūhotā* is a reminiscence of *jūhotā* RV. 7. 102. 3b, where the *ā* is regular; in that RV. passage it was immediately followed by *madhumattamam*, in AV. it is immediately preceded by that word.

§434. With these, the only two real exceptions, are to be compared two others in which two following consonants are or seem to be concerned:

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV. *cā svabhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ.

ŚŚ. Both are regular; in AV. *cā* plus one consonant, in the others *ca* plus two.

*agne puriṣyādhipā bhava* (TS. *bhava*) *tram naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Intended for a triṣṭubh pāda. Perhaps *tram* is surplussage; whether it is or not, a long syllable is required by the meter before it, and *tram* (if kept at all) must be read *tuam*. But since vocalic *y* and *v* do not count as consonants for the purposes of the law of rhythmic lengthening (Wackernagel I §265a, note), the *a* is not followed by two consonants and the lengthening is demanded. It is the other texts, with *bhava*, that are irregular.

§435. Fourthly, as to the quantity of the surrounding syllables, the variants do not support quite so strikingly the principle stated above, that they should both be short. We may remember that, in fact, one form of the variant always keeps short *a*. In about half the variants the preceding syllable is long. The following syllable conforms better; it is short in about three fourths of the cases. In eight cases both the adjoining syllables are long. In five of these, the older form of the variant has short *a*; but in the other three *a* is older. It is, however, probably not accidental that in six of the eight cases the following syllable is an enclitic pronoun, that is a 'light word', lacking in accentual prominence, even tho metrically long. It is also worth noting that in half the cases the variant vowel is in the second syllable of the pāda; this is a favorite position for rhythmic lengthening, as we shall presently see.

§436. The eight cases where long syllables both precede and follow are:

*hineā* (Vait. *°vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ.

MS. Lengthening only in the late and pseudo-hieratic Vait.

*pary ā zu pra dhanva* (AV. *°vā*) *vājasūtaḥ* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB.

Lengthening secondary.

*abhi vāñīr ṛṣṇām sapta* (SV. °tā) *nūgata* RV. SV.

*vidma* (Kauś. text °mā; read °ma with AV.?) *te swapna janitram* AV. Kauś. (pratika only).

*adha sma* (MS. *smā*) *te vrajanam kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °nam *astu kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Lengthening secondary.

*vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

*asti hi smā* (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣmīn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*adyā* (SV. GG. Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitah* RV. SV. AB. KB. AA. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. GG. Svidh.

§437. The only other cases of a following long syllable, not final in its pāda, are:

*vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *dadh°*) *havīṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

*upa* (MS. *ulā*) *no mītrāvaruṇāv ihācatam* (MS. °pā *ihācatam*) MS. TB. TA.

*indrasya nu vīryāṇi pra vocam* (AV. *nu pra* [read *prā*, §449] *vocam vīr°*) RV. AV. MS. ArS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N. Note that *ā* is clearly secondary and is followed by a labial consonant (§464).

§438. In quoting the full list of these variants we shall classify them according to the position which the variant syllable occupies in the verse. All but one of the thirty-eight variants are metrical; and that one is cadenced prose and imitates a triṣṭubh pāda. In two cases the order of words is so changed that the variant syllable occurs in different positions. Of the rest, the variation occurs most often in the 2d, 3d, and 4th syllables of the pāda, viz., six, four, and six times respectively. It occurs three times in the fifth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas before the cesura, and once as the initial syllable, so that it occurs twenty times in the first part of the verse, and fifteen in the last. But of these sixteen, eleven concern the eighth syllable and two the tenth; one case each concerns the seventh and ninth syllables of jagatī pādas, and the sixth of an anuṣṭubh. This summary indicates that, except where metrical requirements have caused the lengthening, the occurrences tend to be pretty closely restricted to the first part of the verse, and specifically to the second, third, and fourth syllables (and the fifth when that precedes the cesura). In the last part they occur as a rule only when the meter requires a long syllable.

§439. In the first syllable of a pāda:

*pra* (KS. *prā*) *ya āyur jīvaṣe soma tārīḥ* RV. KS. AB. GB. Vait. MŚ.

It is unlikely that a rather late text like KS. has preserved a historic



representative of IE \**prō*. Cf. *pra* (*prā*) *smā* *minaty* (*minoty*) *ajarah*, §512, which probably belongs here, and §449.

§440. In the second syllable:

*hinva* (Vait. °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāyā*) *harinaḥ* TS. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiḥo* (MS. *dadh*°) *haviṇṣi* MS. KS. TB. N. *vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramaṇi guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.

*vidma* (Kauś. °*mā*) *te svapna janitram* AV. Kauś.

*adyā* (SV. GG. Svidh. *adya*) *no deva savitaḥ* RV. SV. AB. KB. TB. AA. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. GG. Svidh.

*upa* (MS. *utā*) *no mitravaruṇāv ihāvatam* (MS. °*ṇā ihāgatam*) MS. TB. TA.

§441. In the third syllable:

*juhota* (AV. °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV. VS. TA.

*pretā* (TS. *upa pretu*) *jagatā naraḥ* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. Read *pra-itā* in RV. etc. TS. seems to have tried to improve the meter, but only makes it worse.

*janīṣvā* (MS. °*ṣva*, RV. KS. °*ṣṭa*) *hī janyo agre aṇdām* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*adha sma* (MS. *smā*) *te vrajanasḥ kṛṣṇam asti* (MS. *astu*, KS. °*ḥam astu* *kṛṣṇam*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§442. In the fourth syllable:

*varīcasya mahāmaha* (SV. °*ṣyā mahonām*) RV. SV.

*tan ā prṇa* (TB. *prṇā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

*ut tiṣṭhata* (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyāḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś. See §433.

*ā juhota* (TB. ApŚ. °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (pratikā)

*ramayata* (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ iyenam ājīnam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretaṁ vājīnam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Three mss. of KS. *ramayata*.

*asti hī ṣmā* (TS. MS. KS. *astu sma*) *te śuṣminn avayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§443. In the fifth syllable, before the cesura:

*udīrayathā* (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV. KS. °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*yatrā naś cakrā* (Conc. *cakra* for KS. with one ms., but ed. *cakrā* with others) *jarusam tanūnām* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.

*prāñco agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

§444. In the sixth syllable of *anuṣṭubh*:

*indra somaṁ pibā imam* RV. AV. SV. MS.; *indra somam imam piba* RV. ŚŚ. See §432.

§445. In the seventh syllable of jagatī:

*pary ā zu pra dhanva* (AV. *dhanvā*) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV. KS. AB. ŚB. The third syllable after the cesura in triṣṭubh-jagatī meter tends to be long.

§446. In the eighth syllable of triṣṭubh-jagatī:

*apo devīr upa sṛja* (MS. *sṛjā*) *mādhumatīh* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*brhaspatē parī dīyā* (TS. *dīya*) *rathena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
 No real variant, since *dīya* ends a *kaydīkā* in TS.; see §428 and VV I p. 174.

*agne purīṣyādhipā bhava* (TS. *bhavā*) *tvam naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
 An irregular verse, which psychologically belongs here unless *tvam* be deleted; see §434.

*vanaspate 'va sṛjā* (KS. *sṛjā*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Also belongs here properly, see §431 and VV I p. 174.

*dyumantaḥ śuśmā ā bharā* (SV. *bharā*) *svarvidam* RV. SV.

*aditsan vā* (MS. *dhīpsyam vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyam*) *saṃjagara* (TB. °*jagārā*, MS. °*cakara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS. TB. TA.

*vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma* (MS.† KS.† °*mā*, MS. p.p. and TS. *jāgryāma*) *purohitāḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*yasmād yoner udārītā* (KS. °*lha*) *yajō* (MS. KS. *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sapta yonīr* (KS. *yonīr*) *ā prṇasvā* (TS. KS. TB. °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV. *cā sukhūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*bhagemām dhiyam ud avā* (TB.† ApMB.† *ava*) *dadān naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

*nihāram in ni me hara* (TS. *ḥarā*) TS. KS. The TS. form is quoted as a case of lengthened final *a* in TPr. 3. 12; the actual quotation there includes the following word *nihāram*, which is the initial of the next pāda. There is no doubt of the pāda-division; the pāda is anuṣṭubh, not triṣṭubh. But the lengthening of *a* final in its pāda is so utterly anomalous that one of two things must be assumed. Either the lengthening was due to a careless assumption that the pāda was triṣṭubh (including the following *nihāram*); or (and this we believe is the correct explanation), the real reading intended in the saṃhitā-pāṭha is not *hara* but *harā*, subj. and not imperative. This was wrongly analyzed by the p.p. as *harā*, and hence arose the TPr. rule on the subject. This variant should then be added to VV I §152. We do not count it in our figures for this section.



§447. In the ninth syllable of jagati:

*abhi rāṇīr ṛṣṇām sapta* (SV. °tā) *nūṣata* RV. SV.

§448. In the tenth syllable of triṣṭubh:

*virebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā* (TS. °va) *naḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. No true variant, since *bhava* ends a *kaṇḍikā* in TS.; cf. §428 and VV I p. 174.

*gharmam pāta vasavo yajata* (TA. °tā, MS. °trā) *vāt* (MS. *vet*, TA. *voḥ*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. Cadenced prose, imitating triṣṭubh meter; hence lengthening secondarily in TA. Note that TA. is the only text that has a short vowel in the following syllable.

§449. Different syllables, with change of meter:

*idaṁ me prācatā vacaḥ* RV. VS. TS. KS. TB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vīcam me* MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś. Where the lengthening occurs it is favored by its metrical position.

*indrasya nu vīryānī pra vocam* (AV. *nu pra vocam vīr°*, but most mss., SPP., and Whitney Transl. *prā* for *pra*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.—Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 48. 47f.) like RV. On *prā* cf. §439 and 437.

(b) Words in which absolutely final *a* varies with *ā*, the *ā* being capable of more or less justification on formal grounds.

§450. Here other considerations enter in and make it impossible to regard the law of rhythmic lengthening as the sole determinant, altho it remains an important and perhaps in many cases the decisive factor. We include here adverbs in *tra* or *trā*; adverbs in *tha* or *thā*, *dha* or *dhā*; gerunds in *ya* or *yā*; instrumentals from *a* stems in *na* or *nā*; and neuter nom.-accs. in *ma* or *mā*; also one variant of *acha:achā*. It is noteworthy that in nearly all the cases, except the gerunds (in which the ending *yā* is probably older than *ya*), the variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda (cf. §438). Furthermore, it nearly always (with only one exception) is followed by a word beginning in a single consonant. Except in the case of gerunds, it never comes at the end of a pāda.

§451. Adverbs in *tra:trā*; viz. *yatra*, *tatra*, *atra*. There is a suffix *trā*, whose independence of *tra* seems indicated by a difference of accent (Whitney, *Grammar*, §1099a); the former is accented on the suffix, the latter on the stem. So far as we have noted, our variant forms in *trā* always accent the stem. Still, the existence of the *trā*-suffix cannot be ignored in considering these variations. While they are probably to be regarded as primarily rhythmic lengthenings, some influence from the suffix *trā* may be at least suspected.

§452. In all eight cases the adverb comes at the beginning of the pāda, so that the variant syllable is second. It is always followed by a single consonant; the following syllable is short three times, long five times. In nearly all cases the older version has *ā*:

*yatrā* (MS. \**yatra*, AV. \**yenā*) *naḥ* (AV. \**te*) *pārve pitarah̄ parētāḥ* (RV. MS. \**pareyuh̄*) RV. AV. (bis) MS. (tris).

*yatrā sapta ṛṣīn* (TS. KS. *yatra saptarṣīn*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

*yatrā* (TS. *yatra*) *suhārdaḥ sukṛto modanti* (TS. \**te*) AV. TS.

*atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. \**nāl*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛyotu*) RV. AV.† TA.

*latrā sādah̄* (SV. *tatra yimih̄*) *kṛṇavase* RV. SV. KS.

*latrā* (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatih̄* RV. SV.: *tatra indro brhaspatih̄* VS.

*yatra* (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

*atrā* (VS. *atra*) *jahāmo* (RV. TA. *jahāma*, AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāḥ* (AV. *aśivāḥ*, and *asan āśevāḥ*; VS. ŚB. \**kivā ye asan*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA.

§463. Adverbs in *tha*, *thā*, and *dha*, *dhā*. Among the variants are found only *atha*, *athā*, *adha*, *adhā*, and one case of *itha*, *ithā*. Here there is less reason for assuming rhythmic lengthening, or more reason for suspecting formal analogy, because most adverbs of this type regularly have *ā*. The only form that usually ends in *tha* is *atha*, and *adha* is the only one usually ending in *dha*. The numerous forms in *thā* and *dhā* may therefore be supposed to have had some influence in producing the (not uncommon) forms *athā* and *adhā*. There is this time no difference in accent. The *ithā:itha* variant really belongs below, with §477, since the word regularly has *ā*.

§454. In the seven *atha* and *adha* variants, the adverb is always initial in the pāda. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but one; but the following syllable is long also in every case but one.

*atha* (AV. *adhā*) *māsi punar āyāta no grhān* AV. HG.

*adha* (TB. *athā*) *vāyuvā nigutaḥ vāscata vāḥ* RV. VS. MS. TB.

*atha vīṣve arapaḥ edhate grhaḥ* TS.: *adhā vīṣvāhārapa edhate grhe* VS.

*atha jivirī* (read *jirvir*, see Whitney) *vidatham ā vadāsi* AV.: *athā jivirī* . . . ApMB.: *adhā jivirī vidatham ā vadāthaḥ* RV;

*adha syāma* (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhayo* (ApŚ. corruptly, *syām asur ubhayaḥ*) *grheṣu* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*athā* (AV. *atha*) *devānām vaśanīr bhavāti* RV. AV. TA.



*athā* (TS. \* *athā*) *bhava yajamānāya śaṁ yoh* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. No true variant; the short *a* once in TS. (3. 2. 11. 2) is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*; see §428. This shows that after all the lengthening to *athā* was at least partly rhythmic, and felt as a matter akin to *sandhi*.

§455. For completeness we add here the single case of *ithā* varying with *ittha*. The latter is not recorded in the lexicons, tho it occurs in this variant in four texts. It is, however, clearly analogical, due to thought of *atha*. Of course the original and regular form is *ithā*, and the variant properly belongs with shortening of original final *ā*, §477: *ithethā* (AV. °*thā*) *prāg upāg udag adharāk* AV. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.

§456. *Gerunds in ya:yā*. According to Whitney, *Grammar* §993a, 'fully two thirds' of the RV. forms in *ya* have *ā*, as if instr. sing. forms of *i* or *ti* stems. This, together with the fact that these *yā* gerunds are not governed by the laws which govern rhythmic lengthening, indicates that the variation is of a different sort. It is likely that the gerund ending was originally *yā*, and that the later regular ending *ya* is secondary.

§457. In a majority of the variants the gerund occurs at the end of a *pāda*, a striking proof that we are not dealing with rhythmic lengthening: *hiraṇyayāt pari yoner nīśadyā* (MS. °*ya*) RV. MS. ApŚ.

*vanaspate rakanayā niyūyā* (MS. °*ya*, KS. TB. *rakanayābhīdhāya*) RV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. N.

*nīśe agne abhīyujō rihatyā* (AV. TB. °*ya*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.

*rudrāḥ saṁsṛjya* (MS. °*yā*, TS. ApŚ. *sambhṛtya*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*mitrāḥ saṁsṛjya* (MS. °*yā*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

§458. *Instrumentals of a-stems in na:nā*. In the few variants occurring under this head we may suspect that the analogical influence of other instrumental forms in *ā* assisted the tendency to rhythmic lengthening of the *a*. There are only four cases, three of which concern the pronouns *tena* and *yena*: these three forms are initial in their *pādas*. In the remaining case the variant vowel is in the eighth syllable of a triṣṭubh *pāda*, so that the meter requires a long, which RV. has, while SV. substitutes short *a* against the meter. In all four cases the next word begins with a single consonant, and the following syllable is short:

*kavīr gīrībhīḥ kāyena* (SV. °*na*) *kavīḥ san* RV. SV.

*tenā* (AV. TB. Poona ed. and MŚ. ed. *tena*, but all mss. of MŚ. *tenā*)

*sahasrakāṇḍena* AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tena vāyam sahasravalsena* TB. ApŚ.

*tena* (AV. *tenā*) *vāyam bhagavantāḥ syāma* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

*yena rahasi sahasram* VS. MS. ŚB.: *yenā* (KS. *yena*) *sahasram rahasi* AV. TS. KS. Vait.

§459. *Nominatives and accusatives neuter (or nom. masc.) in ma:mā* (once, *a:d*). Here the phenomena of noun declension play a rôle. Sometimes a change of gender is certain or possible (masc. *ā*: neut. *a*). Sometimes there is a change of number; altho the ending short *a* in the neuter plural is twice as common as *ā* (Whitney, *Grammar* §425d), nevertheless *ā* is in a sense characteristic of the plural, and when found there cannot be regarded as merely a rhythmically lengthened *a*, despite the fact that the p.p. regularly writes *a*. Note the fact that twice among the variants it occurs at the end of a pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is impossible; and cf. Wackernagel III §145h. There is, indeed, among the variants only a single case (the first quoted) where both *ma* and *mā* appear to be certainly neut. sing., so that the lengthening must surely be rhythmic (cf. Wackernagel III §145b).

§460. The variant vowel occurs in the second syllable of the pāda five times, in the fourth twice, and in the fifth of a tristubh once; thus in the first part of the verse eight times out of eleven. In the other three cases it is final in the pāda, and certainly not rhythmically lengthened. The following word begins with a single consonant in every case but two, where it begins with *pr-* (cf. §§433, 464). The preceding syllable is always long; the following one is long just half the time. *śarmā* (TA. °*mā*) *saprathā āvr̥ṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathah* (read °*thāh* with all mss., cf. Lanman, *NInfl.* 560) AV. The form must be singular, as the adjective shows, and KS. has a clear rhythmic lengthening. This is the only indubitable case.

*vyomā* (TS. °*mā*) *saptadśah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.—BR. assume a change of gender here in *vyoman*. The formula is so devoid of meaning that anything is possible, but it may be merely a phonetic variant.

*ayam sahasram ānava . . . vidharma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Certainly not rhythmic lengthening, as it is final in the formula; rather change of gender, neut. to masc., in ApŚ. Even the original neuter is used as an epithet ('Weltordner', Benfey).

*brahma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā rtasya* PB. ApŚ. Here there is certainly a change of gender (in ApŚ. masc., 'priest of the gods'). *rtasya brāhma* (AV. *bhūtānām brahmā*) *prathamota* (emended by RWh. in AV. to *prathamoha*) *jajñe* AV. TB. The difference of accent proves that different genders are intended. But the pāda is hard to interpret without some emendation; see Whitney's note.



*tan no brahmā* (TA. °mā) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Here also there is change of gender (MS. *brahmā'*).

*trīṅśad dhāmā* (MS. MŚ. *trīṅśādddhāmā* as one word) *vi rājati* RV. AV.

SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The MS. understands its compound as of masc. gender.

*brahma devakṛtam upahūtam* TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *brahmā devakṛto-pahūtā* ŚB. Here the number is changed from singular to plural in ŚB.

*varma* (AV. °mā) *śreyadhvam bahulā prthūni* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Both forms here are plural; and so in the next.

*yatra pavān nihitā sapta nāma* (AV. *nāmā*) RV. AV. Cf. *prec.*; note the variation at the end of a pāda.

*tava śravāṅsy upamāny ukthya* (SV. °ya) RV. SV. The only case of a n. pl. in *a:ā* not from an *n*-stem.

§461. One case of the preposition *acha:achā*. The original quantity of the final *a* is uncertain; but in RV. it is always long except before a pause and in two other cases (Grassmann, s. v.). One of the two exceptional cases is concerned here. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, believes that *achā* is original.

*acha yāhy ā tṛohā daivyaṁ janam* RV.: *achā no yāhy ā vaḥa* RV.SV.

We consider that *vaḥa.vaḥa* in this variant does not deserve quotation above under final *a:ā* in verb forms, because the second form of the text actually reads *vaḥābhi*, fusing *vaḥa* with following *ābhi*. The p.p., of course, always reads short *a*.

(c) Short *a* as final of stems in composition, and in analogous cases, optionally lengthened.

§462. Just as the general laws of external sandhi are applied to the combination of parts of noun compounds, and even of stem-finals with certain suffixes (as *vant* and *vin*), so short *a* as stem-final may be rhythmically lengthened in these conditions. And the final vowel of the reduplicating syllable seems to be treated in the same way.

§463. The conditions of the lengthening are in large part similar to those where *a* is absolutely final. So the *ā* is invariably followed by a single consonant, without one exception among the variants. But the surrounding syllables are rather more apt to be long, instead of short as we should expect. The preceding syllable in fact is almost always long in the variants, and the following syllable is long in nearly half the cases. Most of the variants are prose, so that they furnish little evidence as to meter or position in the verse. There are five metrical

variants of *aā* before the suffix *vant*; in every one the variant syllable is second in the *pāda*.

§464. Wackernagel, who discusses this question in II. 1 §56, recognizes an influence of a following consonant on the lengthening to this extent, that he finds it especially common before *v*. If the evidence of the variants is to be trusted, it would seem that other labial consonants, especially *p* and *m*, exert the same influence; cf. above, §§433, 460. Nearly all the cases occur before one of these three consonants.—For compounds of *a* privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see §§469 f.

§465. *Prepositions in final a*, optionally lengthened in composition. All the cases are prose. In two out of three the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

*apamityam apralīlām yad asmi* AV. (pratikas in GB. Vait. Kauś.); *yāny apāmityāny apralīlāny* (TB. Poona ed. *\*līlāny*) *asmi* TB. ApŚ. (Metrical in AV., but prose in TB. ApŚ.)

*upāste* (TS. ApŚ. *upa\**) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See pw. VII p. 325.

*prayāśāya* (VS. *prā\**) *swāhā* VS. TS. KSA. TB. TA. On *prā*, not to be identified with IE. *\*prō*, cf. §§429, 439.

[*prāraṇebhiḥ* (MS. KS. *prāraṇena*) *śajośasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Probably to be derived from root *pru*, rather than *pra* + *vana*. See §491.]

§466. Other compounds. The variation occurs thrice before *p* and twice before *v*. The first three cases are metrical, the others prose. For variations of the adverb *uttarā* with the stem *uttara* in composition see §476.

*āvṛte dyāvāpṛthivī rāveṛdhau* MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtaurate* TS. TB. And (in same passage): *āvṛtau* (TS. *āvinnau*) *mītrā-varuṇau dhṛtauratau* (TS. *\*yāve rāveṛdhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Note *ā* before *v* alone, but short *a* before *vr-* (the syllable being long already). Cf. §665.

*sahasrapośaṁ subhage* (TS. *\*gā*) *varāṇā* RV. TS. MS. KS. SMB. ApMB.: *sahasrāpośaṁ subhage varāṇā* AV. Kauś.

*īde agniṁ svavasam* (AV. *svāvasam*) *namobhiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. Only the AV. truly belongs here, as a compound of *sva* with *vāsu*. The others have a compound of *su* with *avas*.

*deva saṁsphāna sahasrapośasyeṣiḥ* (AV. *sahasrā\**) AV. TS.: *sahasrapośasyeṣiḥ* SMB. (Conc. quotes the latter again for AV. TS.; but it occurs in them only as part of the longer phrase.)

*dvārapāya swāhā; dvārapāya swāhā; dvārapopa sprāa; dvārapya upa sprāa*, all HG.; *dvārd\** etc., ApMB.



[*bṛhaspatinā rājā svagākrtaḥ* TS.: †*svagākarakṛto mahyam* MŚ. Conc. *svagak°* for MŚ.]

§467. *Formations in vant and vin.* The variants seem to suggest a tendency for Tail. texts to prefer *ā* before these suffixes, and Maitr. texts short *a*; but they are not unanimous, and are probably too few in number to justify such an inference. It may be noted that similar variants before the parallel suffixes *mant* and *min* have not been observed; we have seen (§§238 ff.) that they did not occur originally after *a* vowels. The first five variants are metrical.

*āśvat* (RV. *āśvā°*) *soma vīśvat* RV. SV. VS.

*indravānto* (TS. *indrā°*) *maruto viṣṇur agniḥ* RV. AV. TS. KS. †40. 10b.

*puṣpavatīḥ* (TS. *puṣpā°*) *supippalāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*puṣpavatīḥ* (TS. ViDh. *puṣpā°*) *prasūvarīḥ* (TS. *°vatīḥ*, AV. KS. *°matīḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*ṛṣkāhastā* (TS. KS. *ṛṣkāvanto*, MS. *ṛṣgavanto*) *nīṣaṅgināḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*indravān bṛhad bhās svāhā* KS.: *indrāvān svāhā* TS. TB.: *indravān svavān bṛhad bhāḥ* MS.

*dārehetir indriyāvān* (PB.† *°yavān*) *patatrī* (PB. *°trīḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

*vātavān varṣan bhīma rācaḥ svāhā* MS.: *vātāvud varṣam ugrar ārti svāhā* TS.: *vātāvān varṣann ugra rāvat svāhā* KS.

*agnīndrayor ahaṁ devayājyayā vīryavān indriyavān bhūyāsam* MŚ.: *indrāgnīyor* (MŚ. *°nyor*) *ahaṁ devayājyayendriyāy annādo* (MŚ. *°driyavān vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS. MŚ.: *indrasyāhaṁ devayājyayendriyāy* (KS. *°yavān*, MŚ. *°yavān*) *bhūyāsam* TS. KS. MŚ.

*juṣṭam devebhyo havyam gṛtāvat* (TS. *gṛtāvat svāhā*) TS. MS.

*dhīṣaṇās teḍ devīr vīśvadevyāvatīḥ* (MS. MŚ. *dhīṣaṇā teḍ devī vīśvadevyāvatī*) *prthivīḥ sadhasthe* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with *aditīḥ* (*teḍ* (*°tis teḍ*) *devī* . . .; *devānām teḍ patnīr devī* . . .; *janayas teḍchinnaapatrā devīr* . . .; *varūtrayo janayas* (*varūtrī*, etc.) . . .; *gnās teḍ devīr* . . . All in same texts, Maitr. always reading *vīśvadevyā°*, the others *°vyā°*.

[*somaṁ te kṛṇāmy ūrjasantam payasantam vīryāvāntam* . . . TS. KS. Conc. *vīryasantam* for TS.]

§468. *The reduplicating syllable.* Two cases; in both the following consonant is *m* or *v*.

*trita etan* (AV. *trita enaṁ*, comm. *etat*, read *etan* or *enan*) *manuṣyeṣu māmrje* (AV. *māmrje*) AV. TB. The AV. form is more usual but bad metrically; TB. (probably secondarily) improves the meter by using the stem *māmrj-* (found RV.).

*kūcanto agnir̥i vāyadhanta* (AV. *vā°*) *indram* RV. AV. KS. The regular form is *vā°*, but forms with *vā°* are found in RV.

(d) Final *ā* optionally shortened to *a*; and other *a:ā* either absolutely final, or in the seam of compounds.

§469. We group here a varied assortment of cases which complete the list of what may be called in a large sense 'final' *a:ā*. Real phonetic shortening of *ā* is not common. In most of the following variants both short and long *a* can be justified morphologically. We begin with an interesting group concerning *a* privative and the preposition *ā*. Some of these concern lengthenings of *a* privative and properly belong in the preceding sections, but are mentioned here because of their similarity to those which involve the preposition *ā*.

§470. Thus, it has long been recognized that the RV. form *a'deva*, 'godless', is the same as *ddeva*, which varies with it in two of our variants, one of which occurs in both forms in RV. itself. A somewhat dubious theory on *ādeva*, rejected by Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 6. 49. 15, is put forward by Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131.

*viśā ādevīr abhy āśnavāma* RV.; *viśo ādevīr abhy ācarantīh* RV. AV. AB. *bhuvad* (SV. *bhuvo*) *viśam abhy ādevam* (SV. *ad°*) *ojasā* RV. SV. Here the *ā* may be due to the tendency towards an anapest after the caesura; with short *a* we have a tribrach.

§471. Less certain cases of lengthening of *a* privative are:

*adāyo* (TS. *adāyo*, MS. *adāyo*) *vīrah* (AV. *adaya* *ugrah*) *katamanyur indrah* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In pw. I p. 297 it is said that *adāya* is an error for *adaya*. But the p.p. repeats the form; it might be interpreted as 'taking, seizing', from *ā-dā*.

*yavā ayavā ūmā abdah* (KS. *yavā āyavā ūmā īevā abdas*) *sagarah sumekah* MS. KS. MŚ.: *yavā ayavā evā ūmāh subdah* *sagarah sumekah* TS. ApŚ. The forms *yava(n)*, *yā°*, and *ayava(n)*, *ayā°*, are used with great confusion, but the *a*- seems to be felt as privative; the *y*-forms designate the first half of the lunar month, the *ay°* forms the latter half. The form with *āy°* is not noted except here and in the next; it seems to be equivalent to *ay°*.

*sajūr abdo* (MS.\* *abdā*) *ayavobhih* (TS. ApŚ. *yāvabhih*, MS. MŚ. *āyavabhih*, KS. *āyavobhih*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. preceding.

§472. In the next we have a clear case of the preposition *ā* varying with *a* privative:

*yām āpīnīm upasīdantī āpah* AV.: *yām apitā upatīṣṭhantī āpah* LŚ.



'Whom, fattened, the waters wait upon': 'whom the waters, undrunk, wait upon'.

§473. In the rest, real phonetic shortening of *ā* seems at least possible, especially in the couple of cases where it occurs before conjunct consonants; cf. the similar law in Pāli and Prakrit (§§393 ff.). The words are however largely problematic, and in some of them a privative may be involved; so in the first:

*svastidā āghṛṇīḥ* (TB, TA. *agh<sup>o</sup>*) *sarvavīrah* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA. This familiar epithet of Pūṣan certainly contains the preposition *ā*. The form *aghṛṇī* is recorded in no lexicon. Comm. on TB. desperately takes the *a* as privative: *asodhavyadīptīḥ* (!). The comm. on TA. varies in different mss.; one reading is *āgatadīptīḥ* (taking *a* as = *ā*). The reading adopted in Poona ed. is *adīptīḥ*, *asmāse anugrāhī*, which is not utterly unreasonable, cf. the classical *aghṛṇin* (pw. II p. 286, 'nicht verachtend'). But cf. also *pūṣye 'āghṛṇaye mātā*, §300, where the yet different form *āghṛṇi* occurs, and is certainly a phonetic variant for *āghṛṇī*.

*āśleṣā* (TS. *āśreṣā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. Name of a nakṣatra, more commonly *āśleṣa*; both these forms are otherwise unknown. BR. derive *āśleṣa* from a privative, but *āśleṣa* (*āśr<sup>o</sup>*) from the preposition *ā*; this is hardly credible. The two forms must be of the same origin, one a phonetic variant of the other. The prevalence of *ā*-forms suggests that *a*- is a case of shortening before two consonants.

*ā no nīśa* (MS. *°ed*) *āskrā* (TB. *riśe askrā*) *gamantu* (MS. *°ta*) *devāḥ* RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The word is obscure; *askra* seems to be otherwise unknown. Comm. on TB. *ābhimukhyena kartārah santah*, which implies *ā* and supports BR's derivation from *ā* plus root (*skṛ*) (Sāyaṇa derives from *kram*). This would then be another case of shortening before a two-consonant group.

§474. There are three other cases which would be counted as rhythmic lengthenings of a privative, but for the fact that they seem to be misprints or textual blunders. The *ā* forms occur each time only in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., and each time the Poona ed. reads short *a* in text and comm. without report of variant, agreeing thus with the other texts: *arādhyā edidhīṣūpatim* VS.: *ārādhyai †didhīṣūpatim* TB. Conc.

'For misfortune.'

*aśādham* (TB, Conc. *aś<sup>o</sup>* or *āś<sup>o</sup>*) *yutsu pṛtanāsu paprim* RV. VS. VSK. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Unconquerable.'

*aśādham* (TB. *āś<sup>o</sup>*, Conc.) *ugrah sahamānani ābhīḥ* RV. AB. TB.

§475. Next, a few cases of final *ā* of feminine stems, optionally shortened to *a* in composition and before *vant*. They hardly confirm, but are not numerous enough to dispute, the statement of Wackernagel II. 1 §56e that the shortening is specially common before consonant combinations and in the neighborhood of long syllables. Perhaps by chance, a labial consonant follows the vowel in nearly every case.

*viśikāvale* (TS. °*karate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

*anāyān māyavattarah* ŚB.; *māyān māyāvattarah* AB.

*idaprajaso* (KS. *idā*°) *mānavih* TS. MS. KS.

*śirahpānīpādapārīvaprṣṭhorūdarajāñghaśiśnopasthapāyavo* (MahānU. °*prṣṭhodarajāñghā*°) *me śudhyanām* TA. TAA. MahānU.

*ūrṇamradasān* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *ūrṇā*°) *tvā strṇāmī* (KS. *ūrṇamradah prathasva*; Kauś. *ūrṇamradah prathasva*) *svāsasthah* (VS.† ŚB.† °*sthām*) *devebhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kauś.; *urū prathas-vorṇamradah svāsasthah devebhyaḥ* MS.

§476. The adverb *uttarā* varies with the adjective stem *uttara* in composition:

*mitrāvaruṇanetrebhyo vā marunnetrebhyo vā devebhyo uttarāsadbhyaḥ* (VSK. *uttara*°) *svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

*ye devā mitrāvaruṇanetrā vā marunnetrā vottarāsadas* (VSK. *vottara*°) *tebhyaḥ svāhā* VS. VSK. ŚB.

§477. The rest are sporadic. The stem *aśā:aśā* belongs with noun formation rather than here; *ā* occurs in the regular inflexion of the stem (cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 131, III p. 358). On *itthā:ittha* see §455; on *achā:acha*, §461. Otherwise we record here only the form *viśvāhā* or °*ha*, and a couple of lexical variants:

*śinī viśvāha* (VS. and p.p. of MS. °*hā*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*; TS. *viśvāha-bheṣajī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. (Cf. *vrataṁ rakṣanti viśvāhā* etc., §511).

The reading of MS. p.p. suggests interestingly that we may have a case of shortening for the sake of rhythm or meter (note surrounding long syllables). If the word is a compound of *viśva* and *ahan*, as Grassmann believed, the variation would rather be one of noun declension (neut. plur. in *a:ā*, cf. §§459 f.).

*atī vā* (AV. *atīva*) *yo maruto manyate naḥ* RV. AV. *pā:iva*.

*pad īndra citra mehanā* (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. See §832.

*athem ava sya* (AV. *athemam azyā*) *vara ā prthivyāḥ* AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'Then set him free upon the choice spot of earth'; 'then him upon the choice spot of this earth . . . '.



2. Non-final *a:ā* in verb inflexion

§478. In various verbal stem-formations and a few verbal inflexional forms, *a* medial varies with *ā*. Rhythmic considerations play a part in some of these, notably in the well known variation between *āya* and *aya* in denominative stems (VV I p. 155), with which must properly be classed verbal adjectives in *u* from denominative stems, showing the same shift:

*devān devayate* (TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā°*) *yoja* (MŚ. *yojamāndya vāhā*)  
RV. SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agne prehi prathamō devayātām* (AV. *devatānām*, MS. KS. *devāyatām*)  
AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is meant for jagatī in all except AV.; meter favors *devā°*.

*apānuḍo janam amitrāyantam* (AV. *amitrā°*) RV. AV. TS. KS.

*devayuvān* (TS. TB. *devā°*) *vīśvayārām* (AŚ. *°re*) TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
*devir āpo agreḡuro . . . devayuvam* (VSK. *devā°*) VS. VSK. ŚB.

§479. Similar conditions exist in the radical syllable of the causative (VV I p. 155):

*vasoṣpate ni ramaya* (N. *rām°*, so v. l. of AV.) AV. N.: *vasupate vi ramaya*  
MS.

*yāvayāsmad dveṣam* KS.: *yāvayāsmad dveṣaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. Kauś.: *yaraya*  
(v. l. *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS.: *yāvayāsmad aghā dveṣānsi* TA.

*yāvayārātīm* KS.: *yāvayārātīḥ* (MS. Kauś. *°tīm*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. Kauś.  
The p.p. of MS. has *yāvaya*.

*tatra havyāni gāmaya* (KS. *ga°*) RV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. But von Schroeder reads *gāmaya* in KS. with one of his three mss.

§480. There are shifts between strong and weak perfect stems which involve this variation; see VV I p. 187, to which our first variant should be added:

*adīśan vā* (MS. *dhīpsyān vā*, TB. *yad vādāsyān*) *samjagara* (TB. *°jagāra*,  
MS. *°cakara*) *janebhyaḥ* MS. TB. TA. These are first person forms,  
so that either *a* or *ā* is permissible by regular grammar.

*yat sāsahat* (SV. *sāsāhā*, KS. *†sāsāhat*) *sadane kaḥ cid atriṇam* RV. SV.  
KS.

*bībheda valam* (AV. AŚ. *balam*) *bhrgur nā sasāhe* (AV. *sasāhe*) AV. SV.  
AŚ. ŚŚ. The *ā* is probably due to the meter here; in the middle it  
is highly irregular, tho not unknown (Whitney, *Grammar* §793h).  
But the AV. form is itself not regular; it should be *sehe*.

*svām cāgne tanvān* (TA. *tanvān*) *pīprayassa* (AV. *pīprā°*) RV. AV. TA.  
MahānU. See VV I p. 187. The *ā* here disturbs the meter, but  
is otherwise hardly much worse than the rival form.

§481. There are a number of cases of sigmatic aorists containing *a* or *ā*, or sigmatic aorists with *ā* varying with other aorists or presents in medial *a*. They are mostly collected in VV I pp. 128 f., 186. On the latter page, under §277, is to be added the following:

*ānyāvākṣād* (VS. *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāni* VS. TB. Cf. also:  
*grāvāvādā* (ApŚ. *grāvē raded*; so KS. ed., with v. l. as Cone.) *abhi somasyātrīkum* (ApŚ. *\*śunā*) KS. ApŚ.

§482. Subjunctive forms with an ending containing *a* often vary with indicative or imperative (injunctive) forms with endings containing short *a*. They hardly concern phonetics, and can be found in VV I, in the appropriate places (§§117, 124, 137, 152-4, 167f.). Nor shall we list here the different modal forms of the roots *dā* and *dhā* which show alternatively *a* and *ā* (VV I §193); or augmented and augmentless verb forms in initial *ā:a*, VV I pp. 180f., and elsewhere, of which the following may be mentioned here as examples:

*ayann* (TB. ApŚ. *āyann*) *arhāni kṛṇavann apāsi* RV. KS. TB. ApŚ.  
*ahā yad dyāvo* (AV. *devā*) *asuntim ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV. *āyan* is imperfect indicative, *ayan* subjunctive.

There are yet other variations in verbal endings showing this shift. We shall quote only one of the dual endings *-tam* and *-tām*, 2d and 3d persons, which should be added to VV I §337:

*ā mā gantām* (VSK.† *\*tām*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK. *†yuvam*) VS. VSK.  
 10.3.12c, TS. KS. ŚB. Subject voc. in VSK., nom. elsewhere.  
 Surrounding pādas have 3d person verbs.

### 3. Non-final *a:ā* in noun formation

§483. In this class nearly all traces of rhythmic or metrical influence disappear; the variants are almost exclusively morphological (occasionally lexical), and concern phonetics only to a slight extent. Yet even here it is hard to rule out altogether phonetic considerations. Our volume on Noun Formation will deal more extensively with this group.

§484. Most of them fall into two classes. First, there are variants in which two primary noun formations interchange, one having *a* and the other *ā* in the radical syllable, the suffix being usually tho not always the same. Included here are some obscure words of doubtful origin, where the original form is uncertain and the variation may be phonetic in some sense. Second, there are cases of variation between secondary formations with the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation and other, primary or secondary, formations without this *vriddhi*. The distinction between the two classes is not always clear or definite.



§485. Under primary formations with radical *a* or *ā*, we may call attention first to a number of variations between the stems *yavā(n)*, *yavas*, *yāv°*, and *ay°*, *āy°*, to which attention has already been drawn in §471. The original form of the word in question is unknown:

*sajūr abdo* (MS. \**abdā*) *ayavobhiḥ* (KS. *āy°*, TS. ApŚ. \**yārabhiḥ*, MS. MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yavā ayavā ūmā abdah* (KS. *āyavā ūmā tevā abdas*; TS. ApŚ. *yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāh sabdah*) *sagurah sumekah* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yavānām* (TS. *yāv°*) *bhāgo* 'sī VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ayavānām* (TS. *ayāv°*) *ādhipatyam* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*yavās cāyavās cādhipatalaya āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.; *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āstī* TS.

§486. Rather numerous are cases in which the primary suffix *a* is used with well-known roots in forming primary derivatives with either *a* or *ā* in the root syllable; type *bhaga:bhāga*. They call for no comment: *subhagamīkaraṇī mama* AV.: *subhagamīkaraṇam mama* SMB. Most *samhitā* mss. of AV. *subhag°*.

*mām agne bhāginam kuru* ApMB.: *mām indra bhāginam kṛṇu* AV.

*samśārabhāga* (°*gāh*, °*gās*, VS. ŚB. KŚ. *samśrava°*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bṛhanīh* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*namāḥ parṇāya* (TS. KŚ.† *parṇyāya*) *ca parṇasādāya* (TS. °*sadyāya*, VS. °*sādāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*prātaḥ prātaḥsavasya* (ApŚ. MŚ. °*sāvasya*) *lukravato*... ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *prātaḥsāva* is the only form known to RV., but the other is commoner later.

*prātaḥ prātaḥsavasyendrāya* (ApŚ. MŚ. °*sāvasyen°*)... KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *krāvaś* (VS. *kravaś*) *ca me krutiś ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. *kravaś* might be taken as an *s*-stem, but not *krāvaś*.

*kgaro bhrājaś* (TS. *bhrjvāñ*, MS. *bhrjaś*, VS. *bhrājaś*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *bhrājaś* (KS. ed. †*bhrā°*, v. l. *bhra°*) *chandaḥ* VS. (in next verse) TS. KS. (in same verse) ŚB. Comm. on VS. *bhrājaś* for *bhrā°*.

*vahnīḥ samītarāṇo* (TA. *samīpāraṇo*) *bhava* VS. TA. Different but synonymous roots.

§487. Forms in primary *ya*, practically gerundives in meaning:

*yad bhūtān yaś ca bhavyam* (AV. \*ArS. VS. *bhā°*, AV. \**yad eā bhāvyaṃ*) RV. AV. (bis) ArS. VS. TA. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. *bhav°*. Metrical lengthening, possibly.

*uttarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ* (TB, also °*tā*) TS. ŚB. TB.: *upahūto 'yam yajamāna* (MS. °*nā*) *uttarasyām devayajyāyām* (MS. °*yājyāyām*) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

## §488. Forms in other suffixes:

*haranaśrun* (TB. *hāṇaśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB. *hāvana-* is not otherwise recorded from root *hā*.

*dāṣikābhīr hrāḍunim* (KSA.† *hra°*) TS. KSA.: *hrāḍunīr dāṣikābhīḥ* VS. MS. The word is not otherwise recorded with short *a*; if KSA. is correct, it has probably suffered analogical influence from the sphere of *hrada*.

*divācarebhyo* (MG. °*cārībhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* MG. VIDh.: *ahaścārebhyah* ŚG. (Se. *namaḥ* in both.) Also: *naktamācarebhyah* ŚG. VIDh.: *naktamācārībhyo bhūtebhyah* MG. Stems *cara* and *cārin*.

*tataḥ ma āpas* (TB. ApŚ. *ma āpas*) *tad u tāyate punaḥ* RV. KB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Both *apas* and *āpas* are Rigvedic.

*vratāni* (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhah* (TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. *adābhyah*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. Here the gerundive varies with a participle.

§489. The remaining variants under this head are in some way or other doubtful or obscure, but seem generally to be primary formations; occasionally they may be lexically different in origin:

*adāyo* (TS. *adāyo*, MS. *ādāyo*) *vīrah* (AV. ed. with p.p. *adaya ugrah*, but mss. *adā°*, and so comm.) *śatamanyur indrah* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. On the initial *ā* of MS. see §471. The second *ā* is anomalous if the word means 'pitiless' (so AV. comm.). Possibly 'without a share' (*dāya*), tho this fits none too well. For other suggestions see Keith's translation of TS. and note.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkihān* (MS. *vaṣ°*, ApŚ. *bāṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ. Cf. §219. The word is obscure; is the *ā* somehow connected with the suppression of the second syllable in ApŚ.?

*vāṣaṭ* ApŚ.: *vāṣaṭkārah* AG. ŚG. If Garbe's conjecture is right (all mss. of ApŚ. *vāṣaṭ*) it is a deliberate and artificial variation of the familiar exclamation *vāṣaṭ*.

*ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas* (MS. *mānthālavas*, VSK. *māndhālas*) *te pītṛnām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktrah* (KSA.† *pāṅktaḥ*, but mss. of both texts *pāmtra-*) *kaśo mānthālavas* (KSA.† *man°*) *te pītṛnām* (KSA.† *pītṛ°*) TS. KSA. See §77.

*hemantāya kakārān* (KSA.† *kakārān*) VS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. Name of an unknown animal or bird.

[*śikīrāya vikārān* (KSA.† *vikārān*, Conc. *vikārān*; ApŚ. *vikīrān*) VS. KSA. ApŚ.]

*astām jālma* (KŚ. *jālma*) *udaram īraṇśayitvā* (KŚ. *śraṇs°*) AV. KS.



*nākra makarah kulipayas* (TS. *kulikayas*, MS. *pulikayas*, KSA. *pulirayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Read *kūvārasya* in KSA.; see §198.

*śaṇḍerathas śaṇḍikera ulākhalaḥ* ApMB.: *śaṇḍikera* (PG. *śaṇḍikeya*) *ulākhalaḥ* HG. PG. Fanciful names of demons.

*ākhuḥ śrjayā śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* (KSA. *śayāṇḍakas te maitryāḥ*, em. in ed. to *°kus te maitrāḥ*) TS. KSA.: *śārgaḥ śrjayāḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* VS. MS. The word *śay°* is obscure, and may have been originally a compound.

*vāsā stha* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *vaśāḥ stha* MS. KS. MŚ. Addressed to waters. *vāsā* probably 'bellowing' (BR. and Keith 'obedient', implausibly following one of Śāyana's guesses); *vaśāḥ* 'cows'. It is held by some that *vāsā* is connected with the root *vās*, 'bellow'.

§490. Coming to secondary noun formations, we find first a number of cases in which two secondary stems exchange, one having *vriddhi* in the first syllable and the other lacking it:

*tisraś ca rājabandhavaiḥ* (HG. *°vaiḥ*) HG. ApMB.: *prajāḥ sarvaś ca rājabandhavaiḥ* (MG. *°vyaḥ*) PG. MG.: *sarvaś ca rājabandhavaiḥ* (ŚG.† *°bāṇḍhavaiḥ*) AG. ŚG. (Oldenberg suggests reading *°vaiḥ* in ŚG.) Alternative stems *bandhava* and *bān°*, both from *bandhu*.

*mitrāvaruṇau praśāstārau praśāstrāt* (KŚ. *prā°*) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The office of the *praśāstr* is *praśāstra* or *prā°*.

*divyaṁ suparṇaṁ vāyasaṁ* (AV. *payasaṁ*, KS. VS. ŚB. TS.\* *rayasā*, MS. TS.\* *rayasaṁ*) *brhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. *Suparṇ. vāyasa* and *va°* both 'bird'; *vāyasaś* is instr. of the unrelated *vayas* 'strength'.

*dhizāṇḍai parvatī* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *°tyā*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*, but KS. mss. *par°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In the Tait. texts a secondary adjective *parvatya*, in the Maitr. school an equivalent *pārvatā*; the form *parvatī* must also have the same meaning (Mahidhara seems to explain it as having 'Vedic' shortening); it is too well attested to make emendation advisable. See next.

*pratī tū parvatī* (TS. TB. *°tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. See *prec.* Twice in KŚ.; once the sole ms. has *parv°*; the other time *pār°*, but KapS. *parv°*.

*gārgī* (AG. *gārgī*) *vācakanāḥ* (sc. *trpyatu*) AG. ŚG. Patronymies; *gārgī* is to be expected. See next.

*śakalyam* ŚG.: *śākalam* AG. (with both sc. *tarpayāmi*). Read no doubt *śākalyam* in ŚG. (misprint; Oldenberg's translation has *Śākalya*). Cf. *prec.*

*ya antarikṣāḥ* (sc. *sarpās tebhya imam balim harāmi*) HG.: *ye sarpāḥ pāṛthivā ye antarikṣyā ye divyā* . . . AG.

*vāyur na idita iditavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ* (ApŚ. *antarikṣaiḥ*) pātu KS. ApŚ.

*āṅgūṣṭhām* (SV. *aṅgoṣṭham*) *avāśanta vāyīḥ* RV. SV. The SV. form in this and the next is dubious.

*āṅgūṣṭham* (SV. *aṅgoṣṭham*) *pavamānam sakhāyaḥ* RV. SV. Cf. prec. *śvetāya vaidarvāya* (*\*vyāya*, *\*dārvāya*, *vaitahavyāya*), see §315.

*svarṇastainyam avratyam* (BDh. *avratyam*) ViDh. BDh. Perfect equivalents.

*narāśaṁse* (VS. *nār\**) *somapītham ya āśuḥ* (KS. *ānakuh*) VS. MS. KS. TB. It is at least conceivable that *narāśaṁsa*, as name of a certain libation, is a secondary derivative without vṛiddhi.

[*narāśaṁsa stavīṣyate* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. In the Berlin ed. of AV. is printed the false emendation *nārā\**.]

*sūyavusini manave* (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. *\*syē*, TS. MS. KS. *yakusye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *mānuṣa* of KS. = *manuṣa* of TA. (*manuṣe* in RV. is dative of *manuṣ*, a more primitive form; all ultimately connected with *manu*, whence the dative *manave*.)

*agnīd rājānarauhiṇau* (so ed., v. l. *rāja\**; p.p. *rājan*, *rau\**) *puroḍāśāḥ adhīśraya* MS. A name of a *sāman*; see note in MS., and BR. s. v. *rājana*, which seems to be the true form; *rajana* would perhaps be an equivalent formation if it were acceptable.

*yakṣmaṁ śronibhyām* (ApMB. *śronī\**) *bhāśadāt* RV. ApMB.: *yakṣmaṁ bhāśadyam śronibhyām bhāśadam* AV.

*araṇyāya* (MS. *araṇḍya*) *śrmarah* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Both mean 'of distance'.

*kalpayatam mānuṣīḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *dṛṇhantām daivār viśaḥ kulpantām* †*manuṣyāḥ* KS.

*achinno divyas* (KS. ApŚ. *daivyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaḥ* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyaś*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*bṛhaspatir devānām* (ŚŚ. *daivo*) *brahmāham manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*) VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§491. In other cases a secondary formation with vṛiddhi of the initial syllable varies with some form of the primary word from which it is derived, or with a related word:

*śunam vāhāḥ śunam naraḥ* (TA. *nārāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. *naraḥ*, plur. of *nṛ*; *nārāḥ*, plur. of *nāra*, from *nṛ* or *nara*.

*namas te rathamtarāya* (AA. *rāth\**) . . . AA. IŚ. ŚŚ. Both words refer to



the Rathamtara sūman; AA. forms an adjective from the noun *rath*°, with *sūman* understood.

*bhuvanam asi sāhasram* (MS. \**sah*°, ŚG. *sahasrapoṣam*, MS. \**sahasrapoṣuṣi*, ApŚ. *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS. SMB. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Probably read *sāhasram* in MS.\*; note that MŚ. has this.

*vāyosāvitra* (TS. p.p. \**trah*; MS. *vāyusavitr̥bhyaṁ*) *āgomugbhyaṁ caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA. Both = 'of Vāyu and Savitar.'

*tuṣmai brahma ca brāhmāś* (TA. *brahmā*) *ca* AV. TA.

*nāsām amitro* (TB. *nainā amitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣoti* RV. AV. TB. *āmītra* = 'belonging to the enemy (*amitra*)'.

*agneṣ tvā* (MS. *agneṣ tvā*) *mātrayā jagatyai* (KS. \**tyā*, MS. *jāgatyā*) *vartanyā* . . . TS. MS. KS. 'with the path of the jagati' or 'with the jagati as path'. KS. v. 1. *jāgatyā*.

*jagad asi* MS. MŚ.: *jāgatam asi* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *jāgataśi* MS.: *jāgato 'si* MS. MŚ. All 'composed in jagati meter'.

*prabhāyā agnyedham* (TB. *agnendham*) VS. TB. The TB. form is problematic; comm. *agneḥ prajvalanakartāram*, which would make it equal to *agnyedham*. Should we read *agnyendham*, 'having to do with fire-kindling'? Or *agnīndham*?

*sadyakrīś* (ApMB. *sādyaskrīś*) *chandasā saha* ŚG. ApMB. *sadyaskrī* (masc.!), name of an ekāha. The ApMB. form would seem to be a secondary derivative, but in that case would have to be fem., and there seems to be no fem. noun with which it could agree.

*prāraṇebhiḥ sājoṣasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. ŚB.: *pravagena sājoṣasaḥ* MS. KS. The *ṣr. ḷey. prāx*° is doubtful; Grassmann as secondary adj., '(fires) of the abyss'. But RV. p.p. *prax*°; possibly rhythmic lengthening (note that the following consonant is *v*, cf. §464). The primary word is probably to be derived from root *pru*, tho it has been interpreted as a compound of *pra* and *rana*; in that case it would belong to §465.

*śāśvatibhyaḥ* (AV. ApŚ. and TB. Poona ed. *śaś*°) *samābhyaḥ* AV. VS. TB.

IsāU. ApŚ. The adjective *śāśvata* = *śaśvat*; fem. forms of both. *yadī varuṇasyāsi* . . . Kauś.: *yadī vāruṇy asi* . . . Rvidh. ApG.: *yady asi vāruṇī* . . . GG.

*yathā yamāya harmyam* (TA. *hā*°) AV. TA.; and

*evā* (TA. *evam*) *vapāmi harmyam* (TA. *hā*°) AV. TA. *harmya* is recorded only here, and may mean the same as *harmya*, or be a corruption of that; but TA. takes it as a secondary adj., 'suitable for the house', supplying a noun; and this is also possible.

*sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah* MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vanaspatih* TS. ApŚ.

*esa u sya vṛṣā rāhaḥ* RV. SV.: *esa sya rāthya vṛṣā* VS. ŚB.

*adhyakṣyānukṣattāram* TB.: *īadhyakṣyānukṣattāram* VS.

*somo vaiṣṇavo rājā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somo vaiṣṇavas*) . . . *āṅgirasō* (AŚ. *īāṅg°*, ŚŚ. *āṅgirasō vedo*) *vedaḥ* . . . ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'The Aṅgīrasas (i.e., the AV.) are the Veda'; so ŚB. The others mean the same thing: 'the (Veda) of the Aṅgīrasas'.

§492. There remain a number of other cases which seem to concern noun formation in a broad sense. First a group of variants between *āgrayana* and *āgrā°*, name of the first soma offering at the Agniṣṭoma, which is apparently derived from *agra*; the *ā* may be rhythmic in character. The variants seem to suggest a preference for the *ā* form in MS. MŚ. and KS., with short *a* elsewhere:

*nidhanavata āgrayanaḥ* (MS. KS. *āgrā°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*āgrayanaś* (MS. KS. *āgrā°*) *cā me* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

*āgrayanāt* (KS. MS. *āgrā°*) *trīṇavatrayastrīṇsau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*āgrayaṇo* (MS. MŚ. *āgrā°*) 'si *svāgrayanaḥ* (MS. MŚ. *svāgrā°*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. MŚ.

*āgrayaṇas le dukṣakratū pātu asau* AŚ.: *ātmānam ta āgrayanaḥ* (ApŚ. *īāgrā°*) *pātu* MS. ApŚ.

§493. When roots ending in *ā* are used as final parts of compounds, the *ā* is frequently shortened, bringing the word into the common *a* declension:

*ūrnamradasārā* (etc., see §475) . . . *svāsasthām* (VS.† ŚB.† *°sthām*) *devebhyah* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. Kanś.: *urū prathasvoryamradām svāsasthām devebhyah* MS.

*kr̥ṣṇo 'ay ākṣareṣṭhaḥ* (MS. KS. and most mss. of MŚ. *\*ṣṭhāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

*yuvā kavīḥ puranīṣṭha* (KS. *\*ṣṭhā*) *rtāvā* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*mitro na* (MS. MŚ. *nā*) *chī sumitradhaḥ* (TS. KS. *\*dhāḥ*, MS. *\*dhaḥ* *saha rāyas poṣeṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*yo devānām nāmadhā* (AV. *\*dha*) *eka eva* (KS. *eko asti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*adabdhō gopāḥ* (KS. *īgopah*) *pari pāhi nas team* (KS. *pari pātu viśrataḥ*) RV. TS. KS.

*pravāyāhne 'har jinva* MS.: *pravayāhnuhar jinva* VS. The MS. form is suspicious in the light of the surrounding parallel formulas, which are instrumental in form. If correct it is a dative from *pra-vā*; VS. has instr. of *pra-vā*. The root is *vā*, 'blow'.

§494. Other variants involving different related or quasi-related noun stems;



*aprajastām pautramṛtyam* ApMB. HG.: *aprajasyam pautramṛtyam* SMB.: *aprajāstvam mātṛavatsam* AV. On stems *prajas* and *prajā* (: *prajā*) see Wackernagel II, 1 p. 95 f.

*sa tvā manmanasām karatu* (ApMB. °*sa* *kṛṇodu*) PG. ApMB. 'He shall make thee (fem.) me-minded.' Stems *man-manas* and *man-manasa*.

*agnir adhyakṣaḥ* (TA. °*gā*) MS. TA. 'Agni is overlord.' There is no apparent explanation of the anomalous *ā* of TA., as if from stem *adhyakṣas*! It is repeated in the comm., with gloss *svāmī*.

*satvanām* (MS. *satvānām*, KS. *ṣatvānām*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Stems *satvan* and *sattea*; MS. has a bad writing for *satto*°, cf. §392.

*īmām narāḥ* (*narāḥ*) . . ., see §328. Nom. pl. of stems *nara* and *nṛ*. *tizraḥ kṣapas* (TA. °*pās*) *trir ahātivrajadbhiḥ* RV. TA. Stems *kṣap* and *kṣapā*.

*tābhīr* (TB. *yābhīr*) *yāsi dūtyām* (MS. °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV. MS. TB. Stems *dūtyā* and °*ya* (Pischel, VSt. 1. 22; Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6. 58. 3).

*agne prthivīpate . . . varuṇa dharmānām pate . . .* TB.: *agne prthivyā . . . varuṇa dharmānām . . .* ŚS. Stems *dharma* and °*man*. (Also listed in Conc. under *varuṇa* . . .)

§495. The numeral for 'eight' has stem final, in declensional forms as well as in composition, ending in both *ā* and *a*; the former predominates earlier, the latter in the later language; cf. Wackernagel III p. 358 f.

*aṣṭasthūṇa daśapakṣaḥ* Kauś.: *aṣṭapakṣām daśapakṣām* AV.

*aṣṭābhyah* (KSA. *aṣṭa*°, but ed. em. *aṣṭā*°) *śatābhyah svāhā* TS. KSA.

[*aṣṭābhyah* (Conc. wrongly KSA. *aṣṭa*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.]

[*agnaye yāyatraya trivṛte rathamtarāyāṣṭākopālah* (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. KSA. All texts *aṣṭā*°; Conc. *aṣṭa*° for VS.]

§496. A couple of doubtful cases:

*śamudrasya tvāvakayā* (TS. ApŚ. *tvāva*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *avakā*, name of a water-plant, from *ava*; *avakā* presumably the same, perhaps with rhythmically lengthened *ā* before suffix *ka*, cf. similar cases before *vant* and *vin*, §467, and Edgerton, JAOS 31.118, where this should in that case be added. Boehtlingk, 'die untere Eihaut' for *avakā*, evidently thinking of *avā(ā)c*; Keith, 'wind'; we see little reason for either interpretation.

*nirṛdīḥ nirjarjalpena* (MS. *nirjalpena*, TS. *nirjālmakena*, KS. *nirjālmāka-*) *śiṣṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; see §810. TS. comm., followed by Keith, 'bald'.

4. Non-final *a*:*ā* in Noun Declension

§497. In inflexional forms of nouns the shift between *a* and *ā* is regularly accompanied, and no doubt wholly determined, by morphological or syntactic changes. Rhythmic or other phonetic considerations enter in hardly at all. We begin with purely formal shifts, not accompanied by change of syntax; that is, the variant forms are felt as of the same case, number, and gender.

§498. First, the forms *apa* and *āpa* are frequently interchanged as nom. and acc. of stem *ap* (Wackernagel III p. 240):

*śam no bhavante āpa oṣadhayaḥ* (6. 23. 3 *apa oṣadhīḥ*) *śivāḥ* AV. 2. 3. 6, 6. 23. 3. But mss. at 2. 3. 6 also *apa* (comm. *āpaḥ*), which Whitney's Translation restores; and this despite the fact that both forms are nominatives! The shortening may be influenced by the meter; it furnishes the desired anapest after the caesura.

*apo* (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyāne* (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. *ane*; AV. *diṇyā*) *acāriṣam* (JB. *ṭacārīṣam*, AV. *acāyīṣam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Here the form is accusative.

§499. Stems in *d* do not usually show ablaut in the stem syllable except in the case of *pad*, which shows some fluctuation in composition and in case-forms (Whitney §387.4; Wackernagel III p. 235 f.). The variants present a couple of cases of this stem, and also one of *śad*, not recognized as lengthening the stem *a* by Whitney §387 or Wackernagel III p. 237, foot:

*driṣṭac catuṣpad* (SV. *driṣṭac catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV. SV.

*driṣṭac catuṣpad* (AV. VS. Kauś. *driṣṭac catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. Kauś.

*catuṣpadām uta yo* (TS. *ca*) *dvīpadām* AV. TS.: *catuṣpāda uta ye dvīpādāḥ* KS. MŚ. Here the ablaut is regular; different case forms.

*vīśvā ākā dakṣiṇasat* (AB. AŚ. *\*sāt*, ŚŚ. *\*taḥ*, LŚ. *\*dhak*) VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

§500. Twice Tait. texts present vriddhi-grade forms of *pitṛ* in the bahuvrīhi compound *dākṣa-pitṛ*, which Wackernagel II. 1 p. 101 (cf. also III p. 200) properly compares with *tvāt-pitṛāḥ*:

*sudakṣā dakṣapitārā* (TB. *\*tārā*) RV. TB.

*ye devā manoṣṭhā* (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu\**) . . . *sudakṣā dakṣapitāras* (TS.† *\*tāras*) . . . TS. MS. KS. BDh. ViDh.

§501. Of *n*-stems, there is one case of nom. pl. *vr̥ṣaṇaḥ* (Wackernagel III p. 267) replaced in a later text by the more regular-seeming *vr̥ṣāṇaḥ*: *vr̥ṣaṇaḥ* (TB. *vr̥ṣāṇaḥ*) *samidhīmahi* RV. AV. SV. ŚB. TB.



§501a. And once a form with irregularly lengthened *a*, *pāsumānti*, from a *mant* stem (noted RPr. 589 = 9. 30), is replaced in SV. by the regular form:

*mīleva sadma pakumānti* (SV, °*mānti*) *hotā* RV. SV.—Similarly:  
*ava droṇāni ghṛtavānti sīda* (SV: °*vanti roka*) RV. SV.

§502. As to *s*-stems, the ending *as* in the neuter nom.-acc. of adjectives may be lengthened to *ās* (Wackernagel III p. 288):

*śarmā* (TA. °*ma*) *sapraṭhā āvṛṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha sapraṭhah* AV. But all mss. of AV. °*thāh*, which should doubtless be read; comm. °*thah*.

*yachā nah* (AV. *yachāsmat*) *śarma sapraṭhah* (AV. VS. KS. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. °*thāh*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.

*viśam agnim atithiḥ suprayasam* (KS. °*yāsam*) RV. KS. The meter favors a long, and this may be the reason for KS's secondary reading; v. Schr. emends to °*yasam*, rather rashly, we think. Cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3. (But Wackernagel III p. 282 denies *ās* to other words than *usas*.) Oldenberg, *Noten*, denies ground for emending the RV., which is unquestionably conservative and wise; but the meter is nevertheless poor, and he offers no explanation of it.

*ayā san* (so read; MS. *ayāh san*, KS. ms. *ayāsā*, ed. emend. *ayās san*) *manasā hitah* (MS. *kṛtah*, p.p. *kṛtah*, KS. *kṛtah*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ. ŚŚ.: *ayasā manasā dhṛtāh* ApŚ. ApMB. HG. See next.

*ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāh san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyah*) *haryam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayasā ha*° ā° ApŚ. ApMB. HG. The old adjective *ayās* becomes *ayas* in oblique cases in some secondary texts; a natural change owing to the rarity of stems in *ās*, and to the agreement of the nom. form with nouns of stems in *as*. See Geldner VSt. 3. 122 n. 5; Neisser, ZWbch. d. RV., s. v.; Wackernagel III p. 282.

§503. A couple of miscellaneous equivalent noun forms:

*agne yan ma tanvā* (TS. *tanvā*) *ānāh* (ŚŚ. *yan ma ānāh tanvas*) *tan ma ā prya* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG. Abl.-gen. sing. of *u*-stem.

*anadrāṇs tapyate vahan* (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. The passage of MŚ. is unpublished; if correctly reported, the ending of the nom. sing. pres. pple. would be lengthened by analogy with *mant* and *vant* stems.

§504. Concerning pronoun declension, we have one case in which the dual stem *yava-* is replaced by the later *yund-*:

*athā somasya prayati yuvābhyām* RV.: *adhā somasya prayati yuvābhyām* KS. But v. l. of KS, *yuvā*?

§505. Coming now to forms involving some syntactic shift, we find first exchanges between forms of masculine and feminine gender in adjectives modifying nouns of common gender:

*svām* (MS. KS. *svām*, MG. *sva*.) *yonin gachā svāhā* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. MG. *yonī* may be masc. or fem.; the Tait. school makes it fem. in all the variants.

*agne svām* (TS. TB. *svām*, ŚB. *ivām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See prec.

*svām* (TS. *svām*) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS. TS.† MS. KS. (No *svām* in TS.) *yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām* (MŚ. *svām*) *yonim* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ. [*svānukṛto* (KS. *svām*°) 'si VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Here both forms are quasi-adverbial, in a compound verb form.]

*dhrumam* (TS. °*vām*) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mā mā* (KS. *mām*) *hiṁsiṣṭam svām* (KS. *yat svām*) *yonim* . . . MS. KS.:

*mā mā hiṁsiṣṭ svām* (KS. *svām*) *yonim* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.:

*mainam hiṁsiṣṭam svām yonim* . . . AB.

*sa no dadātu tam* (AV. *tām*) *rayim* AV. AA. ŚŚ. *rayi*, masc. or fem.

*athāśnabhyam sahavīrām* (AV. VSK. MS. KS. °*ram*) *rayim dāḥ* AV.

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Cf. prec.

*abhīmam* (TS. °*mām*, MS. MŚ. v. l. °*mām*) *mahinā* (VS. MŚ. v. l. °*mā*)

*divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yā* (MS. *yā*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB. *iṣu*, m. or f.

§506. These are the only cases noted of this change due to change in gender of the noun modified (the words concerned being *yonī*, *rayi*, and *divē*). There are not a few others in which the epithet is transferred to a different noun, involving change of gender. These will be treated in our volume on Noun Declension, and we deem it unnecessary to list them here. We may, however, quote a few examples of forms in *-am*: *-ām*, which are both adverbs equivalent in meaning, or of which the form in *-ām* is an adverb, that in *-am* a masc. or neut. adjective:

*indremam pratarām* (VS. TS. ŚB. °*rām*) *kṛdhi* (VS. MS. ŚB. *naya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ud enam uttarām* (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. °*rām*) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

*jīdāvas pratarām* (RV. °*ram*) *sādhayā dhīyah* RV. SV. SMB.

*drūghīya āyuh pratarām* (TA.† °*rām*, MG. *pratirām*) . . . RV. AV. TA. AG. MG. And others, see §575.



*asmin kṣaye pratarān dīdyānāḥ* SV.: *adhi kṣami pratarān dīdyānāḥ* RV. AV.

§507. In the declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives there are quite a few case forms which differ from one another only or chiefly in the quantity of an *a* vowel. This is, for instance, true as between the instr. sing. and other singular oblique cases of *ā*-stems, and between the nom. masc. sing. and plur. of *a*-stems; as well as between masc. or neut. and fem. forms, treated in §§505-6. We give merely a couple of examples of these, followed by an exchange between the nom. and accus. pronouns *team* and *teām*. Since this matter does not properly concern phonetics, we shall reserve a full list and discussion for our volume on declension:

*surayā* (MS. KS. *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS. †MS. °*ta*) *retah* VS. MS. KS. †TB. 'By (from) *surā* they generate(d) seed from urine.'

*surayā* (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somah sula āsuto madāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *dīkṣayedam* (KS. *dīkṣāy°*) *havir āgachataḥ naḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. All mss. and ed. of KS. read so; but it seems that it must be an error for *dīkṣay°*.

*ā yat tṛpan maruto vāśānāḥ* (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The originally plural epithet is transferred to a singular noun in MS.

*pra candramās tīrate* (TS. †°*tī*, AV. †°*mas tīrase*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Nom. voc.

*bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ* (AV. †*devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. *devāḥ* voc. pl.; *devaḥ* (lect. fac.) nom. sing. Ppp. ms. *devāḥ*, wrongly emended to *devaḥ* by Barret JAOS 35. 88.

*namah kṛtsnāyatayā* (VSK. °*yatāya*) . . . VS. VSK. Others, §311. Metathesis of quantity in VS., which simulates an instr. fem. but is really uninterpretable.

*teām* (TB. *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso jandnām* RV. MS. KS. TB. The construction is changed; both readings are construable.

##### 5. Non-final *a*; *ā* lexical and miscellaneous:

§508. In a considerable group of cases forms with the prepositional prefix *ā* vary with forms beginning in short *a*, of different origins; cf. the cases of *ā* and *a* privative, §§469 ff. First, cases in which the short *a* is the augment:

*redhām abāsata* (SV. *medhām ābā°*) *śriye* RV. SV. †

*ākṛān* (TA. *ākrān*) *samudrah prathamē vidharman* RV. SV. PB. TA.

MahānU. N. Comm. on TA. *ākrān ākrāntarān vyāptavān*, *āgan apāna ātmānam* . . . ŚŚ.: *āgan prānaḥ svargam* . . . ŚŚ.

*āṇama* (AŚ. *ag*<sup>o</sup>) *viśvavedasam* VS. ŚB. AŚ.

*āṇama* (SV. *ag*<sup>o</sup>) *vrtrahantamam* RV. SV. AA. ŚŚ.

*ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt* (VS. ŚB. 'dhvara asthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ.

*adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*agnaye samidham āhūrṣam* (ŚG. GG. *ahūrṣam*) AG. ŚG. SMB. GG.

PG. HG, ApMB.

*yad gharmah paryavartayat* (MŚ. *paryā*<sup>o</sup>) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām* AV. SPP.; Berlin ed. *ajagan*, with slight

ms. authority; some miss. *ājagan*; see Whitney's note on AV. 19.

49. 3.

§509. Other cases involving presence or absence of the preposition *a*, before forms in short *a*:

*agne* (RV. *agne*) *yāhi sūsatibhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*aryamāyāti vṛṣabhas turīṣmān* TS.: *āryamā yāti vṛṣabhas turīṣāt* MS. KS.

*patho anaktu* (AV. KS. °ti, TS. *patha ānakti*) *mādhvā ghṛtēna* AV. VS. TS.

MS. KS.

*āsmāsu* (KB. *as*<sup>o</sup>) *nṛṇaṃ dhāt* (KB. *dhāh*) MS. KB. TA. ŚŚ.

*kāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni* (AŚ. °ṣa ā<sup>o</sup>) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

*tāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni* (AŚ. Vait. °ṣa ā<sup>o</sup>) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Vait.

*yasmīn sūryā ārpitāh* (KS. †TB. TA. *ar*<sup>o</sup>) *sapta sākam* AV. KS. TB. TA.

*indram yajñe prayukṣu ahvetām* (TB. Conc. *āhv*<sup>o</sup>, Poona ed. *ahv*<sup>o</sup>, comm.

*ahv*<sup>o</sup> with v. l. *āhv*<sup>o</sup>) VS. TB.

*agnaye upāhegyadheam* Vait.: *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SMB.:

*agne gṛhapata upa mā hegyasea* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. In Vait. *upa* + *ā*.

[*antarikṣam* (VS. ān<sup>o</sup>) *prthivīm adrōhūt* VS. TB. But Poona ed. of TB.

*ān*<sup>o</sup>, which is clearly right.]

§510. The pronouns *asmā* 'from us' and *asmāt* 'from him, it' exchange:

*kṛtām cid enaḥ pra mumugdhy* (AV. TS.\* *mumuktam*) *asmā* (KS.

*asmāt*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

*praty auhatām* (MS. *āh*<sup>o</sup>) *aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmāt*) AV. VS. TS.

KS. MS. TA.

§511. The rest are miscellaneous:

*vratān rakṣanti viśvāh* AV.: *vratā rakṣante viśvāh* RV. Probably both

forms are adverbial (not compounded with *-ahan*), and the penulti-

mate vowel lengthened in the RV. form for some obscure reason; cf.

*kiṁ viśvāh* (°hā) etc., §477.

*ye te panthāno bahavo jānāyānāh* AV.: *ye te 'ryaman* (KS. *arya*<sup>o</sup>) *bahavo*

*devāyānāh* TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a. *jāna-ayana*: *deva-yāna*. But

rhythmic or metrical considerations may be involved here.



*gharmamāṇ pāta vasavo yajata* (TA. \**u*, see §448; MS. \**trā*) *vāt* (MS. *ve*, TA. *va*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. *va*, *vā*, or *ve*, a meaningless sacrificial exclamation.

*āhalag* (MS. *ah*°, TS. TB. *āhalam*, KSA. *ahalam*) *iti vacanti* (TS. TB. *sarpati*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. An onomatopoeic interjection. All texts may intend *āh*°, since the vowel is fused with a preceding final -*a*; comm. on VS. TS. *āh*°; p.p. of MS., to be sure, *ah*°; in default of comm. or p.p. there is no evidence as to which KS. intended.

*apārasya parah putrah ŚB.*: *āhṇāzaya parasyādah ŚŚ.* Proper names of barbaric appearance and unknown relationships.

*śatākṣaraś chandusānuṣṭubhena ApŚ.*: *śatākṣarachandasā jāgutena Kauś.* The Conc. suggests *śatākṣ*° in ApŚ., but probably wrongly; Caland, 'der hundertströmige' (*śruva*).

*agdhād eko* . . . *samasanād ekah TS.*: *adhvād eko* . . . *sanād ekah sanāsanād ekah MŚ.* See §181.

*agnaye tvā mahyam* . . . *āyur* (MS. *mayo*) *dātra edhī* . . . VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

*aṅkāṅkam* (MS. *aṅkāṇ-aṅkam*, so p.p.; KS. *aṅkaṅkam*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The curious shortening in KS. seems secondary, and may be related to the fact that two consonants follow (Prakritic shortening). Cf. §362.

*āptye* (AV. *apriye*) *saṁ nayāmasi RV. AV.* See §878.

*vātajavair* (HG. *vātājīrair*) *balavadbhir manojavaiḥ MS. HG.* See §268.

*gāva upātātāvatam* (SV. *upa vadāvaṭe*) RV. SV. See §60.

*āntrīmukhaḥ* . . . HG.: *alikham* . . . *hantrīmukhaḥ* . . . PG. See §386.

*vīśvakarman bhavama nām didāsītha* (ŚB. *manda āsītha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

§512. Finally, a few cases with readings which are dubious or clearly erroneous:

*pra smā minaty ajarah RV. KS.*: *prāsmā minoty ajarah ApŚ.* We cannot interpret *prāsmā*, unless as *prā* (for *pra*) *smā* (for *sma*). In that case the writing of the two words together is merely an editorial error, and the variant should be added to §439.

*nīlāgalastlā AV. 6. 16. 4c.*: *nīlagalamālāḥ śivaḥ paśya NīlarU. 22b.* The true reading of NīlarU. is certainly that of AV., see Jacob's *Concordance* s. v.; two mss. and the comm. read so, and the comm. quotes AV. 6. 16. 4.

*aśtrāṇā ahaya* (SV. \**ḡāṇo 'haya*) *iva RVKh. SV.*: *aśtrāṇa ivāhayaḥ AV.* But we must read in RVKh. as in SV., with Scheftelowitz (p. 106).

*agnis ca dahatam prati* AV. SV. Misprinted *āgnis* in AV., see Whitney's note.

*atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaḥ sādānā* (TA. °*nāl*) *te minatu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV. AV. TA. Conc. *sādānā* for AV.

*asmān devāso 'vatā* (Conc. °*vata*) *haveṣu* AV.† And others, all with *avatl*.

*ā na indo śatagvinam* (SV. misprinted *śāta*°) RV. SV. See Benfey's Corrigenda.

*arvān* (GB. *ārvān*) *chi somakāmanā tvāhuḥ* GB. etc. Gaastra correctly *arvān*.

*viśve devā udīcyām tu abhiśiñcantu* (error for °*cyām tvābhi*°) *kreyase* Rvidh.: *udīcyām tvā diśi viśve devāḥ . . . abhiśiñcantu . . .* AB.

*jāmin* (KS.†*cam*) *mā hīnāṣṭr amuyā* (MŚ, *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. MŚ.: *mā jāmin moṣṭr amuyā śayānām* AV. The KS. (one ms. only) must certainly be emended to *jāmin*.

*pavamāna vidharmanī* RV. SV. Once misprinted *pavamānā* in SV.: corr. Benfey's Corrigenda.

†*vārṣāharam sāma gāya* (correct Conc.) MS. ŚB. MŚ.: *prastotar vārṣāharam sāma gāya* ApŚ.



## CHAPTER XII. VARIATIONS BETWEEN SHORT AND LONG I AND U

§513. In contrast to the *a:ā* variants, those between *i* and *ī* and between *u* and *ū* are both fewer in number and more miscellaneous in character. In particular they show relatively little clear evidence of the rhythmic lengthening which was so prominent a feature of the last chapter. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that variations between *i:ī* and *u:ū* as finals of noun stems are more often matters of morphology. To put it otherwise, there is great confusion in the Vedic language between the short and long *i* and *u* declensions, and only occasionally can such variation be plausibly attributed to rhythmic or other phonetic influences. On the other hand, these variants show a rather noteworthy number, proportionately speaking, of cases of 'phonetic' shortening of an *ī* or *ū* historically long. By this we mean a shortening which seems to have no justification in any known morphological category or any analogical influence.—See §§300-2 for variations between *ī*, *ū*, and short *i*, *u*, plus nasal, and §§395-8 for the like before single and double consonants.

### 1. Final short *i* lengthened phonetically

§514. We begin with cases in which final *i*, originally short, is lengthened, apparently as a matter of straight phonetics. As in the case of *a:ā*, we include not only absolutely final *i*, but *i* in the seam of compounds, before the suffix *vant*, and in the reduplicating syllable. Except the last, nearly all the cases concern prepositional adverbs in final *i*.

§515. The variants do not conform very well to the general principles established at the beginning of Chapter XI, except that the following syllable regularly begins with a single consonant, and that as a rule they do not occur at the end of a *pāda*. (On the one exception to this last, see §518.) The syllables surrounding the variant syllable are as apt to be long as short. A majority of the variants are prose; of the metrical ones, about half have the variant syllable as the second of the *pāda*. Only in one case can the lengthening be said to be required by the meter (*obhe aprā rodasi ī* [*ī*] *ṣa devā*, §516). There seems to be a special tendency for *i* to be lengthened before *v*, but also before *r* and sibilants (cf. §464, and Wackernagel I §§38, 41).

§516. First the cases of prepositional adverbs. Note that the following consonant is most commonly *v* (once *b*); but *r* is also frequent, and there are several cases of *ṣ*. The first five variants have *i* absolutely final, not in composition; in four of them the older form of the variant has short *i*. We add one case of the conjunction *yadi*:

*vidad yadi* (MS.† *yadi*, TB. ApŚ. *yati*) *sarumā* . . . RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. See §63.

*abhi* (SV, PB. *abhi*) *no vājasātāmam* RV. SV. PB.

*tena somābhi rakṣa naḥ* RV.; *tebhīḥ somābhi* (TA. °*bhi*) *rakṣa naḥ* (TA. *ṇaḥ*) RV. TA.

*abhi na ā vartsva* RV.; *agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva* (with variants; Kauś. *abhi na ā vartsva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §648.

*mā tvā sūryo 'bhi* (KS. *sūryaḥ pari*; ApŚ. *sūryaḥ parī*) *tāpśān māgnir* (ApŚ. *mo agnir*) *vaiśvednaraḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*obhe aprā rodasi vi* (SV. *vī*) *ṣa āraḥ* RV. SV. Here the meter favors *i*, which SV. introduces secondarily.

*agnim atirugbhyām* (MS. *ati*°) VS. MS.

*adhīdśam* (MS. *adhi*°) *yā hiraṇyāny asmai* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*abhīvartah* (TS. *abhi*°) *sarīṇśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*abhīṣāhe* (and *abhi*°) *svāhā* MS. (both)

*abhīṣāt* (so ed. em., Conc. with ms. °*ṣāt*) *†cābhiṣāhyaś ca* KS.; *abhīṣāt cābhiṣāhi cābhimātīhaś* . . . IŚ.; *abhīṣāt cābhiṣarī ca* ApŚ.

*nīroho* (PB. *nī*°) *'ti* TS. PB.

*namo nīveṣyāya* (p.p. *nī*°) *ca hrdayāya ca* MS.; *namo hrdayyāya* (VS. *hrdayyāya*, KS. *hrdayyāya*) *ca nīveṣyāya* (TS. °*ṣyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

*parītoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ.; *pari doṣāt ud arpithaḥ* KŚ.

*parivādām parikṣavam* AV.; *parivādām parikṣapam* ApMB.

*ṛṣi bodhapratibodhau* AV.; *bodhaś ca tvā pratibodhaś ca rakṣatām* AV.;

*bodhaś ca mā pratibodhaś* (KS. †*prati*°) *ca purastād gopāyotām* KS.

MŚ.; *bodha pratibodhāsvapnānavadrāṇa gopāyamāna* . . . KS.

*vīradhaś* (KS. *vī*°, MS. *vīradham*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vivarto* (MS. KS. *vī*°) *'ḡlācatvārīṇśaḥ* (KS. *aṣṭā*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§517. To these may be added a case of *antarikṣa* for *antari*°; the old adverb *antari* is fairly comparable with prepositions in *i* (most of which, presumably, were ancient prehistoric locatives, like *antari*). The form *antarikṣa* crops up again in Buddhist Sanskrit; e.g. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, ed. Kern and Nanjio, 149. 1.

*svadhā pīṭbhīyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyaḥ* (AV. *antari*°, GG.† *'ntari*°) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. GG. HG.



§518. The only other absolutely final *i*: concerns the imperative ending *dhi*, which appears sometimes as *dhi*, probably under the same general conditions as final *ā* for *a* in verb endings. It happens that almost no variants of this sort occur; we may note that in the pāda: *sa no bodhi śrudhī havam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. several mss. of MS. read *śrudhi*; but the printed texts are all alike. The single variant noted is, in fact, not recorded in the Cone. Strangely enough, the variant syllable is at the end of its pāda, where rhythmic lengthening is generally not allowed. The following pāda begins with *havam*, and it has been plausibly suggested by Benfey (*Quant.* II. 51), and approved by Oldenberg (*Proleg.* 421), that the lengthening in RV. is due to the common cadence *śrudhī havam* (cf. *RVRep.* 673, top). In all texts but one this pāda has *śrudhī*, and that one (AŚ.) is the only one in which the word *havam* does not immediately follow (the pāda being quoted in isolation there):

*imam me varuṇa śrudhī* (AŚ. *śrudhī*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApMB.

§519. Next we find three cases concerning the reduplicating syllable. The lengthening here is doubtless rhythmic, except in the first variant where it is obviously secondary and late (occurring before two consonants; the only case of this kind among the phonetic lengthenings of *i*):

*imam agne camasam mā vi jihvarah* (TA. *ji<sup>o</sup>*) RV. AV. TA. AG.  
*yiyapsyata* (AŚ. *yi<sup>o</sup>*) *iva te manah* (AŚ. *mukham*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Desiderative from *yabh*; the form with *yi<sup>o</sup>* is not recorded lexically nor in Whitney's Roots.

*udgrābhenod ajigrabhat* (KS. *ajigrabham* and *ajigrābham*) MS. KS.

§520. There are two cases of apparently rhythmic lengthening of *i* before the suffix *vant*:

*mādhyaṃdīnasya savanasya niṣkevalyasya bhāgasya śukravato* (ApŚ. adds *manthivato*) *madhuścuta* (KŚ.\* *manthivato*, v. l. *manthi<sup>o</sup>*) *indrāya* (MŚ. *savanasya śukra<sup>o</sup> manthivato niṣk<sup>o</sup> bhāgasyendraya*) . . . KŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Stem is *manthin* (weak *manthi*) + *vant*.  
*paramesṭhi tvā sādayatu* . . . *raśmivatīm* (MŚ. *raśmi<sup>o</sup>*) MS. KS.

§520a. In one case *i* is required in composition with a derivative of the root *ky*, while the *i*-form (otherwise textually dubious) may possibly represent an *in*-stem before *cāriṇ*:

*ima udeśikāriṇa ime* . . . TB. ApŚ.; *imā uddhāśicāriṇa ime* . . . MŚ.  
 Cf. §59.

§521. And finally, a single case of a noun compound, with what looks

like genuine rhythmic lengthening of *i* as stem final of its first member; *yā te agne harisayā* (VSK. *harī°*, MS. MŚ. *harā°*) *tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahvar-  
eṣṭhā* VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratīkas MS. MŚ.)

## 2. Final *i* in the seam of compounds shortened phonetically

§522. No wholly satisfactory formulation of the circumstances of this not uncommon phenomenon has yet been attained. We cannot improve on Wackernagel II. 1 §56 e-g (cf. also Leumann, *Gurupājakaumudī* 13 ff.). It seems most likely to have been dependent originally on the opposite conditions to those which caused rhythmic lengthening; that is, to avoid a succession of long syllables, *i* was shortened before two consonants and between long syllables. The variants are on the whole favorable, or at least not unfavorable, to this hypothesis.

§523. Radical *i* is shortened in the word *senānī*, not only in composition but in case-forms (below, §527); the following group of variants occurs all in one passage, where TS. alone has the shortening:

*tasya rathagṛtsaś* (KS. *°gṛtsaś*, MS. *°gṛtsenāś*) *ca rathaujāś ca senānī-  
grāmaṇyau* (TS. *senānī°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so with *tārkyāś cārṣṭanemiś ca*, *senajic ca susenāś ca*, *rathaprotāś* (TS. *rathe°*) *cāsamirathāś ca*, *rathusvanāś ca* *rathecitraś ca*.

§524. The other cases concern the feminine nouns *prthivī* and (once) *prapharvī*:

*yā devy usiṣṭoke prāṇadā . . . prapharvīdāh* (ApŚ. *°vidāh*) . . . KS. ApŚ. *namo °gnaye prthivīkṣite lokasṛte* (ChU. *prthivīkṣite lokakṣite*, MU. *prthivīkṣite lokasṛte*) TS. KSA. ChU. MU.

*prthivīśadam* (MS. *prthivī°*; VS.† *°śadam*) *tvāntarikṣasadam* (VS. *śaddaś  
divīśadam devasadam*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*prthivīsprū* (MS. *prthivī°*) *mā mā hīṣṣīh* MS. TA.

*ye devā divībhāgā . . . ye prthivībhāgās* (TS. KS. *prthivī°*, but 2 mss. of KS. *°rī°*) . . . TS. MS. KS.

*śvadhā pītṛbhyah prthivīśadbhyah* (MŚ. GG. *prthivī°*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. HG.

## 3. Miscellaneous final *i*-i

§525. There is very little else. On *na ced areḍi* (*areḍi*) etc., see §530 below; it does not belong here except by grace of Boehtlingk's emendation, which is not justified. Otherwise we have noted only a few stray cases concerning noun declension, which really belong later and are placed here only because both forms happen to have final *i* or *i*:

*agne tean śaktavāg asy upaśruṣ* (MS. *°ti*, TB. *°śrīto*) *divas* (TB. *divah*) *prthivyoḥ* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The form is locative of an *i*-stem:



MS. is anomalous (or possibly felt as a sort of neuter accusative adverb?).

*ado* (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *adō yad*) *devī* (AV. KS. *devī*) *prathamānā pṛthag yat* (AV. °*mānā purastāt*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Nominative and vocative.

*stomatrayastrīṇṣe bhuvanasya patnī* TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastrīṇṣe bhu° patnī* MS. As prec.: see §818.

*smā devī* (KS. *devī*) *devyorvakyā* . . . TS. KS. ApŚ.

*rātri* (TB. *rātri*, v. 1. of KS. *rātriḥ*) *stomam na jigyuse* (KS.† TB. °*ṣi*) RV. KS. TB.

*satyād ā* (ApŚ. *satyā tā*) *dharmaṇas pati* (Vait. MŚ. *parī*) AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

*abvinendram na jāgri* (TB.° *ri*) VS. MS. TB. The -*ri* form is a dual adj., and so Mahidhara takes the -*ri* form also; but possibly it may be a neut. sing. adverb.

*gāyatrī* (MG. °*tri*) *chandasām mātā* (MG. *mātāḥ*) TA. TAA. MahānU. MG. Nom.: voc.

*na śisaridata* (HG.† *śisaridataḥ*) ApMB. HG. See §384.

#### 4. Noun stems in *i*:*i*

§526. It is well known that the division between short and long *i*-stems is lax; many words slip over from one category to the other sporadically or even frequently, and in some cases it is hard to be sure to which they originally belonged. Practically all the variants in this division concern such fluctuations. Little evidence for rhythmic influence can be discerned.

§527. We begin with cases where the original is certainly or probably *i*. First, a case of the stem *śenānī*, where the root *nī* 'lead' guarantees the original length of the vowel. In §523 we have seen that the shortening occurs also in composition:

*namah śenābhyah śenānībhyah* (VS. TS. °*nībhyah*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

§528. In the same context occurs the following variant. Bochtlingk takes the form in short *i* from a stem *śvan-in* 'having dogs', while he derives the other from *śva-nī* 'leading dogs'; this seems improbable in the light of the variants; both are probably from *śva-nī*, with (possibly rhythmic) shortening in the one case (so Mahidhara, followed by Griffith and Keith):

*namah śvanībhyo* (MS. *śvanī°*) *mṛgayubhyah ca vo namaḥ* VS. MS. KS.: *namo mṛgayubhyah śvanībhyah ca vo namaḥ* TS.

Other cases of probably original *i* are:

- sucakṣā aham akṣibhyām* (MG. *akṣi*°) *bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG. N. The *i*-form is regular in the older language; Wackernagel III p. 303.
- varūtrīh* (KS.† *varu*°, TS. *varūtrīh*) *tvastur varuṇasya nābhim* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *tvastur varuṇīm va*° *nā*° MS. MŚ.
- rātrīh-rātrīm* (AV. TS. *rātrīh-rātrīm*) *aprayāsam bharaṇtāh* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
- rātrīm* (KS. *rātrīh*) *jinea* TS. KS. PB. Vait.
- rātrīm* (TS. *rātrīm*) *pīvaṃ* TS. KSA.
- śam rātrī* (VS. *rātrīh*, VSK. TA. *rātrīh*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA.
- rātrīm* (SMB. PG. MG. °*rīh*) *dhenuṃ ivīyatīm* (AV. *upāyatīm*) AV. HG. ApMB. SMB. PG. MG.
- ye rātrīm* (KS. °*rām*) *anulīṣṭhanti* (KS.† °*gṭhatha*) AV. KS.
- prati teḥ parvatī* (TS. TB. °*tīr*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vetu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. See §490.
- reṣasrīr* (TS.° *śrīr*) *asī* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait. IŚ.
- mahinām* (VSK. *mahinām*) *payo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. Even from the stem *mahi*, the VSK. form would be anomalous.
- hrādunībhyah* (KSA. °*nībhyah*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. This is uncertain; both short and long *i* are otherwise known. RV. has *hrādunīm*, but *hrādunī-ṛt*. See also *dūṣṭkābhīr hrādunīm* etc., §543.
- śimībhih* (KSA.† *śimī*°, VS. *śamī*°) *śimiyantu* (VS. *śam*°) *teḥ* VS. TS. KSA. §529. But in the rest stems in short *i* seem to be primary:
- svāhākṛtibhyah* (TS. ApŚ. and most mss. of MŚ. °*kṛtī*°) *preṣya* TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'To hail-makings'; suffix *tī*.
- ayāś cāgne 'sy anabhiśastis* (AŚ. ApMB. HG. °*tis*) *ca* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. Suffix *tī*, as in the last.
- ākūlīm* (SMB. °*līm*) *devīm manasaḥ* (SMB.°*śā*, AV. *subhagāh*) *puro dadhe* (SMB. *prapadye*) AV. TB. SMB. As prec.
- ātīr* (TS. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyare* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāh*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. *ātī* is Rigvedic.
- abhiśrīr* (HG. °*īr*, ApMB. *abhiśrīr*) *yā ca na grhe* (RVKh. *ca me dhruvā*) RVKh. ApMB. HG.
- dīva* (*dīvas*, *dīvaḥ*) *skambhanīr* (VS. ŚB.° *nīr*, VSK.† *skambhany*) *asī* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Here fem. gender is responsible for the long *i*.
- śīrah-śīrah* *prati sūri vi caṣṭe* TS. ApŚ.: *śīro devī prati sūri vi caṣṭe* KS. Here too *sūri* is made fem., agreeing with a fem. entity.



- śronibhyān* (TS. *śronī*<sup>o</sup>) *vāhā* TS. KSA.  
*yakṣman śronibhyān* (ApMB. *°ṇī*<sup>o</sup>, v. 1. *°ṇī*<sup>o</sup>) *bhāsodāt* RV. ApMB.;  
*yakṣman bhāsyān śronibhyān bhāsadam* AV.  
*mātrivarunau śronibhyām* (TS. *śronī*<sup>o</sup>) TS. KSA.  
*śam methir* (ApMB. *śam te methī*) *bhavatu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB. *trdma*) AV. ApMB.  
*ṛtūn prṣṭibhiḥ* (KSA. em. *prṣṭibhiḥ*, ms. *bhr*<sup>o</sup>) TS. KSA. Cf. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2. 358 f.  
*prṣṭibhyah* (KSA.† *prṣṭi*<sup>o</sup>) *vāhā* TS. KSA.  
*imān khanāmy oṣadhīm* (ApMB. *°dhīm*) RV. AV. ApMB.  
*oṣadhībhyah* MG.: *oṣadhībhyah* ŚG.  
*kratvā varigṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV.: *kratoḥ vare athemany āmurim uta* SV.  
*śam arir* (VS. ŚB. *arīr*) *vidām* (KS. *vidah*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Nom. sing. of stem *ari*; the anomalous VS. ŚB. form is noted in BR., s. v. 2 *arī*.  
*adhā jivri* (AV. *atha jivri*, ApMB. *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB. Stem *jivri* (or, with most mss. of AV., *jivri*). RV. has a dual form; ApMB. an isolated sing. from a stem in *i*, perhaps due to confusion between the RV. and AV. forms. On the *i* of the initial syllable see §544.  
*plāśir* (TB. *°śir*) *vyaktah śatudhāra utsah* VS. MS. KS. TB.  
*ambā ca bulā ca nitatnī* . . . MS.: *ambā dūlā nitatnī* . . . TS.  
*apo mahi vyayuti cakṣase tamah* RV.: *apo mahi vṛyute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV. TB. Here we have a complete change of construction, in addition to (or perhaps rather than?) a change of stem-form.  
*vi te bhīnādmī takarim* (KS. *°rim*, AVPpp. [Roth] *taḡarim*, AV. *mehanam*) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. See §49. There is no way to determine the original quantity of the *i* here.  
§529a. There are also cases in which a nom. sing. in *i*, apparently from a stem in *in*, varies with one in *iḥ* from a stem in *i*:  
*vyānakīḥ* (SV. *°śi*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmāṇā*) RV. SV.  
*tan no dantī* (TA. *°tiḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Comm. on TA. *mahādantah*.  
*dūreketir indriyānān* (PB.† *°yavān*) *patatṛi* (PB. *°triḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.: *dūr*<sup>o</sup> *patatṛi vājīnācān* MŚ. MG.  
*suparṇa avyathir* (SV. *°thi*) *bharat* RV. SV.  
§530. In one variant there is multiple confusion, involving also verb forms:  
*na ced aveḍi* (BrhU. *aveḍi*) *mahatī rinagṣṭiḥ* ŚB. BrhU. So Conc., with

the printed texts. But *avedi* is only Boehtlingk's emendation; mss. *avedi*. The Kāyva recension, however, has *avedir*; and Kena Up. (not in Conc.) *avedin*, a verb-form ('if he has not known [this, it is] a great disaster'). *avedir* would be nom. sing. of a noun stem *avedi*: 'if not, (there is) ignorance, a great disaster.' *avedi* is taken by comm. as nom. sing. of *avedin*: 'if not, (he is) ignorant', etc. These are surely enough variants, without Boehtlingk's additional one!

5. Verb forms containing *i:ṣ* and *i:ṣ* in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases

§531. This variation occurs in a considerable number of miscellaneous cases in the inflection of the verb, oftenest in root or stem syllables, in which may be included the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. Among the latter we find cases which may plausibly be interpreted as rhythmic or at least phonetic in character. We include with them also nouns which show the same shift in the second syllable of dissyllabic bases, since they are of the same phonetic character:

*sukāmi śamīṣva* (TS. TB. *śamīṣva*, KS. *śśamīṣva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. *aranty aśya pavitāram* (SV. *paviṣ*) *āśavaḥ* RV. SV. The shortening of SV. improves the meter (anapest after cesura).

§532. The next two concern noun forms which may possibly contain dissyllabic bases in their first elements, but they are very obscure:

*antarikṣaṁ puritātā* (TS. *purit*°, MS. *pulit*°, KSA. *pulit*°) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KSA.

*ulo halikṣṇo* (TS. *ūlo halit*°) . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA. Name of some animal. A theory as to the origin of this *i* in Wackernagel, I §39 note.

§533. At least in origin, the *i* of the *i:ṣ* norist represents likewise an IE *schwa*, the second syllable of dissyllabic bases. For well-known phonetic reasons, it is regularly long in the 2d and 3d persons singular, short in the rest of the inflexion. When we find divergences from this scheme, they are to be regarded as analogical extensions in one direction or the other, cf. VV I p. 189:

*tena* (TB. *talo*) *no mitrāvaruṇān* (MS. *°pā*) *aviṣtam* (TB. *aviṣ*°) RV. MS. TB. The root *av* is undoubtedly dissyllabic in origin. The *i* of TB. is due to the analogy of singular forms like *avit*. So in the next.

*amānūdanta pīlaro* (Kauś. also *patuṇo*) *yathābhāgam* (. . .) *āṛṣṭyāyīṣatā* (AŚ. *°yīṣatā*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. IŚ. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG. Cf. prec.



*mā tsāgnīr dhanayāḍ* (TS. °*yid*, KSA. °*yed*, MS. *dhanayāḍ*) *dhūmagandhīh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. This is the converse of the preceding; TS. shortens the vowel by analogy with dual and plural forms.  
*ata ā su madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhāh* RV. AV. SV. AA. MŚ. On the anomalous TS. form see VV I p. 27.

*ā gharṃ agnīm ṛṣayann asādi* (TA. °*ḍit*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agnīr amṛto na sādī* MS. See VV I §84.

§534. Probably rhythmic in character is the *i* which varies with *ī* in denominative stems before the *ya*-sign; cf. VV I p. 155, and above §478 where the same shift occurs between *a* and *ā*:

*putrīyantaḥ* (AV. *putriyanti*) *sudānavaḥ* RV. AV. SV.

*janīyanto nu* (AV. *janīyanti nāu*) *agravaḥ* RV. SV. AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§535. In some cases we seem to have rhythmic or metrical lengthening of *i* in stem syllables; at least it occurs in positions where the meter favors a long:

*prati śma* (SV. *śma*) *deva riṣataḥ* (SV. *riṣ*°, and so p.p. of RV. and MS.) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. The p.p. readings confirm our opinion that the *i* is metri gratia.

*avāmba* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *ava*) *rudram adīmahi* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *adī*°, and so v. l. of MS. KS. MŚ., and p.p. of MS.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§536. But the same shift in root or stem syllables occurs in some cases where it cannot be rhythmic; the explanation varies and is sometimes obscure:

*sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣīyema* (AV. *kṣī*°) AV. TB. TA. ApŚ. The root *kṣī* 'dwell' here presents an exceptional form with *i*, perhaps under the influence of the other root *kṣī* 'perish', from which *i* forms are familiar.

*yūpāyocchrīyamānāyānubrahī* (MŚ. °*chriya*°) ApŚ. MŚ. Here the *i*, in the passive of *śrī*, is regular, and is probably to be read also in MŚ. with most mss.

*samīṅgayati* (ŚB. *samī*°) *sarvataḥ* RV. ŚB. BṛhU. The root *iṅg* appears sporadically as *iṅ* in the Brāhmaṇas; the true reading of BṛhU. is *samīṅg*° in this passage (text emended).

§537. Jumbled participial forms of the parallel roots *jī* and *jyā*, *jī*: *ajitāḥ* (TA. *ajitāḥ*, ApMB. and one ms. of HG. *ajitā*) *syāma saradaḥ satam* TA. ApMB. HG.

*vājīno vājūjito vājam sasṛvāṇso* (KS *jīgīvāṇso*, TS. *sasṛvāṇso vājam jīgīvāṇso*) . . . VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

§538. We have classified the form *igāna* 'going', as a reduplicated present from root *i*; see VV I p. 126:

*iyānaḥ* (SV. *iy<sup>o</sup>*) *kṛṣṇo dasabhiḥ sahasraih* RV. SV. AV. KS. TA.  
*stotr̥bhyo dhr̥ṣṇav iyānaḥ* (SV. *iy<sup>o</sup>*) RV. AV. SV.

§539. The participle *idāta* appears as *id<sup>o</sup>*, probably under the influence of the nouns *id*, *idā*:

*idīto* (MS. KS. *id<sup>o</sup>*, VSK. *id<sup>o</sup>*) *devair harivān abhiṣṭiḥ* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§540. The present and past passive participles of root *kṣi* 'perish', *kṣiṇat* and *kṣiṇa*, are concerned in the following:

*namo vikṣiṇatkebhyaḥ* (TS. KS. *vikṣiṇak<sup>o</sup>*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *nama ākṣiṇakebhyaḥ* MS. If MS. is right it has a blend of the other two readings; but the mss. vary, and it is likely that *ākṣiṇak<sup>o</sup>* was intended.

The 3 plur. perfect ending *ire* appears once as *irē*:

*lāḥ prācyā* (Vait. *°yāḥ*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ.† *°irē*, Vait. *sanjī-gāire*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.: *prācīś cajjagāhire* ApŚ.

#### 6. Noun suffixes containing *i*:i

§541. Twice in MS. the suffix *iya*, representing *ya* after two consonants, appears as *īya*; but both times the p.p. of MS. has *īya*:

*namo agrīyāya* (VS. KS. *'gryāya*, MS. *'grīyāya*) *cā prathamāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*sahasriyo dyotatām* (TS. TB. *dīpyatām*; MS. *sahasriyo jyotatām*) *aprayu-chaṇ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

§541a. We have quoted in §249 (q. v.) three variants in which AV. reads *varīyaḥ* for older *varivah*:

*asmabhyam indra varivah* (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *sugam kṛdhī* RV. AV.: *asmabhyam mahī varivah sugam kaḥ* RV.

*sakhā sakhibhyo varivah* (AV. *\*varīyaḥ*; so one ms. of GB.; Ppp. *varivah*) *kṛnotu* RV. AV. \*TS. KS. GB.

*tvāṣṭā nō atra varivah* (AV. *varīyaḥ*) *kṛnotu* AV. TS.

§542. Several times forms in *ina* vary with other forms containing short *i*:

*yā sarasvatī veśabhaginā* (ApŚ. *\*viśobh<sup>o</sup>*, KS. *veśabhagini*) . . . MS. KS.

ApŚ. *-bhaginā*, from *bhaga*, seems to be found only here; KS. substitutes a more regular form (fem. of *bhagin*).

*tīrakṣirājī* (MS. *tīrakṣīnarājī*) *rakṣitā* AV. MS. Again *ina* varies with *in* (weak stem *i*).

*namo yuvabhyo nama āśinebhyaḥ* RV. ApŚ.: *namo yuvabhya āśinebhyaś*



(MS. *āśī*<sup>o</sup>, p.p. *āśī*<sup>o</sup>) *ca vo namah* (MS. *namo-namah*) MS. KS. *āśina* is *ḥr. lēy.* in RV.; in MS. it seems to be secondarily adapted in form to words in *ina*.

§543. The shortening of *i* to *i* before suffixal *ka* may properly be classed with rhythmic shortenings. Cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31, 95 f., 111. *dūṣikābhīr hrādunim* (KSA. *ḥhra*<sup>o</sup>) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīr* VS. MS.

#### 7. Miscellaneous *i* and *i*

§544. Here, first, a few variants which seem to concern what are fundamentally related forms, one being usually more or less suspicious: *imkārdya*, and *°kṛtāya* (KSA. *im*<sup>o</sup>, VS. MS. ŚB. *him*<sup>o</sup>) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*īryatāyā* (TB. *ir*<sup>o</sup>) *akitavam* VS. TB. From the equivalent adjective forms *īrya* (RV.) and *īrya*, doubtless ultimately the same, tho the etymology is doubtful (cf. Neisser, *ZWsch. d. RV.*, s. v. *īrya*).

*uṣṭārayoh pīlayoh* (ApŚ. *pīlayoh*) MS. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. the word *pīlu* or *pīlu*, name of a tree. Obscure.

*vīdīr yāmanu avardhayan* VS.: *vīdīr yāman savardhayan* TB. Comm. on TB. *dr̥ghasaktayoh*, that is equivalent to *vīdī*, for which *vīdī* is not recorded.

*adhā jivī* (AV. *atha jivir*, most mss. *jivir*, which Whitney would restore; ApMB. *athā jivī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB. Various theories connect the obscure word with either *jyā(jī)* or *jī*. The *i* in the first syllable in ApMB. is isolated and no doubt due to popular etymology, thinking of *jī* or of the *i* forms of *jyā* or *jī* (*jir̥ṇa* etc.). See §529.

*anāmīdā idayā* (MS. *anāmīdāsā idayā*, p.p. *idayā*) *madantah* RV. MS. TB. AŚ. The MS. form is probably a mere corruption (due to thought of *id*? cf. the lexically quoted *idā*), corrected in p.p. *dame-dame sugṭyā* (TS. *°tir*, MS. *°ti*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *°tir*) *vār̥dhānā* (AV. *°nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Different case forms of an *i*-stem. See §236.

*śaṇḍerathāś śaṇḍikera ulūkhalah* ApMB.: *śaṇḍikera* (PG. *śaṇḍikera*) *ulūkhalah* HG. PG. See §489.

§545. The rest are more definitely lexical in character, but even they occasionally show traces of phonetic relations; thus in the first:

*subhātāya pīpīhi* (MS. *pīpīhi*) MS. TA. ApŚ. And others, with *ipe*, *ūrje*, *brahmavarcasāya*, etc. In MS. always *pīpīhi*, probably from *pā* 'drink', while *pīpīhi* is from *pīā(pī)* 'swell'. The result, how-

ever, gives the semblance of a mutual (quasi-rhythmic) shift of quantity; cf. VV I p. 182.

*sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣṇak* (TB. ApŚ. *abhīṣṇāt*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. See §142.

*sudītīr asi* TS. PB.: *sudītīr asi* KS. GB. Vait.: *suditinādītyebhya ādītyān jīva* MS. Boehtlingk: *sudīti* Anklang an Adīti; *sudīti* glanzvoll (dī). *Sudīti* is Rigvedic.

*vīkram id dhītam* (MS. *dhītam*) *ānāśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ. Roots *dhī* and *dhā*.

*tīgmam āyudham* (AV. *anīkam*) *viditam* (AV. *viditam*; KS. °*dham* *īditam*) *sahasvat* AV. TS. MS. KS. See §169.

*kavīr yaḥ putrah sa īm ā* (TA. *sā imāh*, Poona ed. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N.

*atī vā* (AV. Kauś. *atīva*) *ya maruto manyate naḥ* RV. AV. Kauś. Metathesis of quantity.

*saṁ padam magham trayīṣiṇe na kāmam* (AA. *rayīṣaṇī na samah*) SV. AA. *rayi-īṣin*: *rayi-san* (so Keith; or, *-sanī*).

*ghāsinā* (ApŚ. *ghāṣinā*) *me mā samprkthāḥ* VSK. ApŚ. Corruption in ApŚ.; perhaps for *ghāsinā* (RV. *ghāsi*), with metathesis of quantity? Cf. Caland's note.

*ā yāhi sūra haribhyām* (SV. KB. ŚŚ. *hariha*, AŚ. *harī iha*) AV. SV. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless read, in all except AV., *harītha* (= *harī iha*), with Whitney on AV. and Keith on KB.

*gaurīr* (TB. TA. °*rī*, AV. *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni takṣati* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

*indrāpāsya phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śepham atīkam* . . . HG. See §46.

*samidhho ognir vṛṣanāratir* (AV. °*ṇā* *rathī*, ŚŚ. °*ṇā* *rayir*) *divah* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*rūdhānait* (MS. MŚ. °*si*) *samprcānāv* (MS. MŚ. °*nā*) *asam*° MS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*nen nā ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānah* TA.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānah* MS. And others; see §180.

[*atikirīṣam* (comm. °*rīṣam*) *atidanturam* TB. So Conc. with Bibl. Ind. ed.; probably misprint; Poona ed. comm. with text *atikirīṣam*.]

[*tvāṅkrīr* (so all!) *āśvarya vadhītīḥ sam eti* RV. VS. TS. KSA.]

### 8. Final u lengthened

§546. As with the *a* and *i* vowels, we include here cases in which the vowel is relatively final, that is, final in its stem as prior member of



compounds, or before the suffix *mant*, or in the reduplicating syllable. The cases are still less numerous than those of *i*: *i*, and add nothing further to the subject.

§547. Of absolutely final *u* lengthened to *ū* we have noted only four cases, three of the particle *u*, and one of *su*. All occur before single consonants (once *v*, twice a sibilant), and in most of them the surrounding syllables are short. In only one are both long, but here the original form has short *u*, and *ū* is introduced in a secondary text (MS.):

*o-ṣu* (MS. *ṣū*) *varita* (MS. KS. *varita*) *maruto vipraṃ aha* RV. MS. KS. *taṃ ū* (MS. *u*) *kucim kucayo dīdivāṇsam* RV. ArS. TS. MS. KS.

*imam ū* (MS. *u*, p.p. *ū[mi]*, and MŚ. *ū*) *ṣu team asmākam* (TA. ApS. *tyam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApS. MŚ.

*idam tā ekam para ū* (TB.† ApS.† *u*) *tā ekam* RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApS. MŚ. (*u-ta* = *uta*.) On *puru*: *purū*, a matter of

noun inflexion, see §555.

§548. In the reduplicating syllable the change occurs in reduplicated aorists of root *gup*; the *ū* form is here more usual, and is doubtless a matter of rhythmic lengthening. Cf. VV I p. 182:

*grhān ajūgupatam yuvam* AŚ.: *grhān* (MŚ. *grhān*) *jugupatam yuvam* MS. MŚ.

*prajān me* (ApS. \**no*) *naryājūgupah* (ApS. and MŚ. v. l. \**jūgupah*) MS. KS. ApS. MŚ.

*paśūn me* (ApS. \**nah*) *śaṅsyājūgupah* (ApS. and MŚ. v. l. \**jūgupah*) MS. MŚ. ApS.: *dhanam me śaṅsyājūgupah* KS.: *śaṅsya paśūn me 'jugupas tān me pāhy eva* ŚŚ. And others in the same passages.

*ahīrhudhnya mantram me 'jugupah* (v. l. 'jū°) . . . MŚ.

§549. There is one doubtful case before the suffix *mant*:

*savitṛe tvārbbhumate* (VS. ŚB. *tvā rbbhu°*, MS. *tvārbbhū°*) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. If MS. understands a form of *rbbhu°*, as do the others, we have rhythmic lengthening in it. But this would imply anomalous sandhi for MS. (see §916); and two mss. read *tvārbbhūmate*.

§550. In the seam of compounds, we find first several variants of the preposition *anu*, lengthened to *anū*. The change occurs before either *v* or *r* in every case but one (cf. under §516).

*anuroham jīva* Vait.: *anuroho* (KS. *anū°*) 'si TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait.: *anurohāya te* PB. Vait.: *anūroheṇānūrohāyānūroham jīva* MS. (with p.p. and v. l. each time *anu°*).

*anurj* (KS. *anū°*) *asi* KS. GB. PB. Vait.: *anurj* (KS. *anū°*) *te* KS. PB. Vait.: *anurj* *jīva* Vait.: *anūrj* *jīva* MS. *panthām anūrybhyaṃ* (KSA. *anu°*) TS. KSA.

*anukāśena bāhyam* MS.: *anūkāśena bāhyam* VS.: *antareṇānūkāśam* TS. KSA.

§551. Among other compounds, we find several which quite clearly contain rhythmic lengthening of *u*; in the first two this is the older form, and is shortened in secondary texts:

*sandhātā sandhikā* (MS. °dhīr) *maghavā purūvasuh* (TA. ApMB. and p.p. of MŚ. *puro*°; MS. *puru*°) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

*urūṇasāv* (TA. *uru*°) *asutpā* (AV. TA. °pāv) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulu*°) RV. AV. TA. AŚ.

*mithucarantam* (TS. *mīthūś ca*°, KS. *mīthū*°, AV. *mīthuyā ca*°) *upayāti* (AV. *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*sindhoh śīṭkumārah* (KSA.† *śīṭū*°) TS. KSA.: *samudrāya śīṭumārah* VS. MS. See §305. Whether this is really a compound or not is wholly uncertain.

§552. Aside from one or two compounds where the *ū*:*u* concerns noun stem formation or inflexion (§§554 ff.), we find further only compounds of *su* (*suyama*) and its opposite *ku*, appearing also as *sū*, *kū* (cf. also §563):

*brahmanas pate suyamasya* (MS. *sū*°, p.p. *sū*°) *vīsvahā* RV. MS. TB.

The *ū* is secondary and not favored by the meter (anapest after cesura).

*suyame me adya ghṛtācī bhūyāstam svārtau sūpārtau* ApŚ.: *suyame me bhūyāstam* VS. ŚB: *sūyame me 'dya stam svārtau sūpārtau* MS. MŚ.

*kuyavam ca me 'kṣitīś* (VS. °tām) *ca me* VS. MS. KS. (v. l. *kū*° in MS.): *akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.

#### 9. Final *ū* shortened

§553. Only one variant, concerning the old adverb *kū* 'where?', which appears in SV. as *ku* before a consonant combination, so that it may be regarded as a case of rhythmic or quasi-Prakritic shortening:

*kūśtho* (read *kū śtho*) *devāv aśvinā* RV.: *ku śthah ko vām aśvinā* SV.

See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 5. 74. 1.

#### 10. Long and short *u* in noun stem formation and inflexion

§554. The words *hanu* and *tanu*, compounds of -bhū, and a few others, vary between *u* and *ū* forms, in case-forms and in composition:

*hanūbhyām* (KSA. *hanu*°) *svāhā* TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

*hanūbhyām* (TS. *hanū*°) *stenān bhagavaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In this and the prec. Tait. texts alone have *ū*, the others *u*.



*agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† °nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agnih sadakṣaḥ satanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.

*śūrāso ye tanūtyojah* (TA. tanu°) RV. AV. TA. Note that two consonants follow the ā, which opposes the possible theory of rhythmic lengthening.

*īyam te yajñīyā tanūh* (VSK. tanuh) VS. VSK. ŚB. ApŚ.

*avasayur* (VS. ŚB. °syūr) *asī duvasvān* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ.

*śundhyar* (VS. TS. °yār) *asī mārjālīyah* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

Only -yu in RV.

*ārādhyai* (see §474) †*didhizūpatim* TB: *arāddhyā edidhizūpatim* VS (on the latter see §381).

*vareṇyakraṭūr* (AV. °tur, ApŚ. īdenyakraṭūr) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ.

Whitney calls °tūr 'an improvement'. See also §383.

*vibhūr* (PB. vibhur) *asī pravāhayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. PB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*vibhūr* (KSA. vibhur) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA. prabhuh) *pitṛā* VS. TS. MS.

KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*śambhūr* (KS. °bhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

Note *mayobhūr* even in KS.

*ābhūr* (VS. TS. ābhur) *asya nīṣaṅgathih* (VS. °dhih) VS. TS. MS. KS.

*savitre tearbhumate* (etc., §549) *vibhumate* (MS. vibhū°) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA.

*phalgūr* (KSA. °gur) *lohitorñi* . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*havanāśruṇ* (TB. hāvanāśrūr) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB. Comm. on TB. *dhvānasya śrotā san*. Irregular lengthening of *śru* in composition.

§555. Neuter *u* stems in the Veda have nom.-acc. forms, both sing. and plur., in either *u* or *ū*:

*so hi purā* (SV. puru) *cid aśasā virukmatā* RV. SV. Adverbial.

[*saṁ grbhāya purā* (TB. puru, Poona ed. purū-) *śatā* RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.]

Different forms of related stems *āyu* and *āyus*:

*dadhad ratnam* . . . *āyuni* (AV. āyūñṣi) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §819.

*vṛṣā punāna āyusu* (SV. āyūñṣi) RV. SV.

§556. In the first member of a dual *devatādvandva*, the *ā* may be understood as the dual ending, rather than lengthened-stem vowel: *kratūdakṣābhyām me varcodā varcase pavasva* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *dakṣakraṭubhyām* (so, me etc.) TS. ApŚ.: *dakṣakraṭubhyām me varcodāh pavasva* MŚ.

§557. The stem *dhur* regularly appears as *dhūr* before a consonantal ending (Wackernagel III §134c). In the ApŚ. form of the following

variant *ur* appears before the ending *bhih*; and conversely in the KS. form *ūr* before vocalic endings. Both must be analogical, if textually sound; note that in the 'correct' MŚ. form both *dhur* and *dhūr* forms occur. Von Schroeder, followed by the Conc., stigmatizes KS. *dhūro* and *dhūran* (for *\*rañ*) as corrupt; and Knauer proposes to emend KS. on the basis of MŚ. But mechanical form-assimilation may account for all the variants:

*yathādhuram* (KS. ms. *\*dhūran*) *dhuro* (KS. *dhūro*) *dhūrbhih kalpaniām* KS. MŚ.: *yathāpatham dhuro dhurbhih kalpantām* ApŚ.

#### 11. Other *u*; *ū*

§558. The remaining variants are so miscellaneous that they seem hardly worth subdividing. In verb inflexion there is practically nothing. Once TB. presents an anomalous *ūh* for the regular 3d plural secondary ending *uh*; it occurs at the end of a pāda, and remains unexplained:

*upo ha yad vidatham vājino guh* (TB. *gūh*) RV. MS. TB.

§559. The various forms of the root *su*, *sū*, 'beget, enliven' etc., show some confusion as to the quantity of the radical vowel. Thus: *praśāstah pra suhī* (KS. *sūhī*, MŚ. *suva*, ApŚ. *suva pra suhī*) AŚ. ŚŚ. KS.

ApŚ. MŚ. Both *sūhī* and *suva* are regular forms, and in VV I p. 189 it is suggested that *suhī* is a blend of the two. Cf. next.

*ardhamāṣyam prasūtāt pitryācātah* JB.: *pañcadāśāt prasūtāt pitryācātah* KBU. Both must apparently be from the same root, of which the regular participle is *sūta*, but *sūta* is recorded otherwise. JB. 1. 18 has v. l. *prasūtāt* (see Oertel, JAOS 19 [2], 112, 115; delete in Conc. *tam ardhāmāsam . . .*).

1st and 2d aorists of *bhū*:

*abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm* (ApŚ. *\*bhūvam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam* (v. l. *\*bhūvam*) MŚ.

§560. Quite similarly *vah* (weak stem *uh*) and *ūh* are 'in some forms and meanings . . . hardly to be separated' (Whitney, *Roots*); indeed, Whitney gives some forms (such as passive *ūhyate*) as identical from the two roots. Of course they are ultimately variants of each other:

*mā hīnsiṣur vahatum ūhyamānam* (ApMB.† *ūhyamānām*) AV. ApMB.

Here *ūh* does not fit very well; AV. means 'may they not injure the procession as it proceeds'. (In ApMB. the pple. is made to agree with the bride—'as she is being carried off'.)

*samūhyo 'si viśvabharāh* ŚŚ.: *samūhyo 'si viśvabharāh* ApŚ.: *samūhyo 'si viśvavedā . . .* VSK. KS. Here, contrary to the prec., it is *sam-ūh* that is meant, even in ŚŚ.

*phalgunībhyām vy ūhyate* ApG.: *phalguniṣu vy ūhyate* AV. Kauś.



§561. The present participle of the 'root' *tūr* varies with the related adjective *tura*:

*tūrtan* (KS. *turo*) *na yāmann etakasya nā rage* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§562. Several times the word *varūtrī*: *varātrī*, from the dissyllabic root *vr* 'cover', varies in its two forms:

*varūtrī* *tā* (KS. *varutrīs tā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatī* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.:

*varātrāyo janayas tā devīr* . . . TS.: *varātrī* (once, 2. 7. 6, *varu*<sup>o</sup>,

and so v. l. in the other passage) *tā devī vīva*<sup>o</sup> . . . MS. (bis)

*taṣṭur varūtrīm varuṇasya nābhīm* MS. MŚ.; *varātrīm* (VS. ŚB. <sup>o</sup>*trīm*,

KS.† *varūtrīm*) *taṣṭur va*<sup>o</sup> *nā*<sup>o</sup> VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

*varudrīr avayan* KS.: *varātrāyas īteḍayan* ApŚ.

§563. The word *sumna* or *sū*<sup>o</sup> has been interpreted by some as a compound of *su*, but can scarcely have been felt as such in Vedic times; yet it is possible that the not infrequent *ū* in it may have been due to confusion with compounds of *su*, which as we saw (§552, cf. §547) also appear with *sū*:

*sumnāya* (VS. *sū*<sup>o</sup>) *nūnam imaho sakubhyah* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*dhitrā deveṣu sumnayā* (AV. <sup>o</sup>*yan*; VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

The word *stūpa*, of unknown origin, ordinarily appears in that form; but two variants show that the form *stupa* was fairly widespread:

*viṣṇo* (<sup>o</sup>*noh*, <sup>o</sup>*nos*) *stupo* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *stūpo*) <sup>o</sup>*si* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *viṣṇoh stupah* MS. MŚ.

*reṣmāṇam stupena* (MS. *stū*<sup>o</sup>, but p.p. *stu*<sup>o</sup>!) VS. MS.

§564. The word *ūrva*, on which see last Neisser *ZWbch. d. RV.*, s. v., may be ultimately connected with *uru*. At any rate forms which look like derivatives of these two words vary with each other in a confused way which usually suggests textual corruption:

*urvīm gavyām pariṣadam na akran* AV.: *ūrvam gavyām pariṣadanto agman* RV. KS. See §46.

*urv* (AŚ. once *uruy*, once *ūrvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. We might be tempted to see in *ūrvy* a phonetic lengthening before *r* + consonant (cf. Wackernagel I §38), but it is probably only a misprint.

*ūrva* (TB. *urva*) *iva paprathe kāmō asme* RV. †3. 90. 19c, TB. N. Comm. on TB. *urva iva, vāḍavāgnīr iva*, connecting the word with *aurva*, a derivative of *ūrva*.

*rubhāṇam urvyāyām* (ApŚ. *ūrmāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §228.

§565. The word *kulyā* 'stream' is written *kūlyā* certainly once, and probably twice, probably under the influence of *kūla* 'bank':

*kulyābhyah* (TS. *kā°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Here the TS. comm. takes *kūl°* as a secondary adjective from *kūla*; but it is probably only an equivalent of *kulyā*, cf. next. Keith, 'to those of the pools'.

*medasaḥ* (HG.\* *ājyasya*) *kulyā* (HG. *kū°*) *upa tām* (AG. *upainān*, SMB. *abhi tām*) *srawantu* (HG. ApMB. *kṣarantu*) VS. AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. HG. ApMB.; *medaso ghṛtasya kulyā abhīnīḥsrawantu* MG. Cf. also *ghṛtasya kulyā(m)* . . . in Cone., and prec. Here there can be no question of the precise equivalence of *kūlyā* and *kū°*.

§566. The form *pāruṣa* for *puruṣa* is familiar in all periods of the language, beginning with RV., but is almost if not quite restricted to positions where the first syllable must be metrically long, such as the following variant, where TA. Poona ed. reads *pi°* with v. l. *pu°*:

*ato* (AV. ArS. ChU. *talo*) *jyāyānś ca pāruṣaḥ* (TA. *pu°*) RV. AV. ArS. VS. TA. ChU.

§567. Twice the RV. writes *ūgra* for *ugra*. According to Oldenberg, *Noten* on I. 165. 6, following an earlier suggestion of Haug's, the *ū* would be due to the fact that the syllable has *kampa* (*swarita* accent followed by an accented syllable; cf. Wackernagel I p. 293 f.). One might think of understanding the particle *u* plus *ugra*, but p.p. *hi, ugraḥ*. Both *pādas* occur in the same hymn:

*aham hy ugras* (RV. *ū°*) *taviṣas taviṣmān* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*aham hy ugro* (RV. *ū°*) *maruto vidānaḥ* RV. MS. KS.

§568. Other cases concerning different readings of what is apparently the same word or related words:

*ūlena parimīdho 'si* HG.; *ulena pariṣito 'si* ApMB. Followed by: *parimīdho 'sy ūlena* HG.; *pariṣito 'sy ulena* ApMB.; *ulūla parimīdho 'si* PG. The meaning of *ula* or *ūla* is unknown. Cf. next.

*ulo halikṣyo* (TS. *ūlo halī°*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KSA. Cf. prec. Here apparently some animal is meant.

*godhūmāś ca me masūrāś* (TS. and KapS. *masu°*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Both forms are otherwise known; *masūra* seems to be commoner.

*hotā vediṣad atithir duroṇasat* (VS. *dū°*, but comm. *du°*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TA. MahānU. KU. NṛpU. VaradapU. The word *dūroṇa*, for the usual *duroṇa* 'house', seems to be otherwise unrecorded.

*kurkuro nīlabandhanah* HG.; *kūrkuro bālabandhanah* (ApMB. *vāla°*) PG. ApMB. The usual form is *kurkura*; perhaps cf. Wackernagel I §38 (lengthening before *r* + consonant). Cf. next.



*kurkuraḥ sukurkuraḥ* HG.: *kūrkurah* (ApMB. °*ras*) *sukūrkurah* PG.  
ApMB. Cf. prec.

*kuṣmāṇḍāḥ*, °*ḍāni*, °*dyah*, and *kuṣ*°, *kūṣ*°, *kūṣ*°. See §290.

*prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṣ(h)āḥ* (AV. *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ. *bhūma ne*°) AV. AŚ.

ŚŚ. Different but related stems *bhuvana* and *bhūma(n)*.

*ā puṣā etv ā vasu* TS.: *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV.

*āpara stā* ŚŚ.: *āpūryā sthā* . . . TS. AŚ.

*atikulvaṇ* (VSK. °*kūleam*) *cātilomaśam ca* VS. VSK. *ḥulva* 'bald', regularly with short *u*.

*agnaye dhūñkṣṇā* (KSA. °*kṣā*) TS. KSA.: *dhūñkṣṇagneyi* (VSK. °*kṣva*° or °*kṣyā*°) VS. VSK. MS. Said to mean a sort of bird; original form and precise meaning unknown.

*uṣo* (PB. *ūṣā*) *dadṛkṣe* (PB. *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yaṭlea* RV. PB. Conc. suggests reading *uṣā* in PB.

*pūlyāñy* (ApMB. *kulpāñy*) *ārapantika* AV. ApMB. The latter is secondary if not corrupt (note metathesis of consonants). Cf. §151.

§569. The rest concern lexically different words, and are all isolated, except that there are two cases of interchange between the stems *ugra* and *ūrdhva*:

*ugro* (HG. *ūrdhvo*, MG. *agne*) *virājann* (MG. °*jam*) *apa* (MG. *upa*-) *sedha* (AV. *vrākṣva*) *batrān* (MG. *ḥakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG.

*ugradhanuā* (TS. MS. KS. *ūrdhavadhu*°) *pratihitābhīr astā* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*ud vaṇṣam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvaṇ kham iva menire* Mbh.

*yad annam admi* (PrāṇāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrāṇāgU. *virād-dham*, vv. ll. *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA. PrāṇāgU.

*brahmādhiguptah* (etc.) . . . : *brahmābhigūrtam* . . . , see §742.

*athā jivah* (KS. *adhā viṣṭah*, VS. ŚB. *athaitam*, AV. *adomadam*) *pitum* (AV. *annam*) *addhi prazūtah* (TS. MS. KS. *pramuktah*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*aghnyau śūnam* (AV. *aghnyāv akunam*) *āratām* RV. AV. *śūna* 'want': *akuna* 'unprosperity'.

*vuhulakṛtah stha* AŚ.: *vubhūlakṛta stha* ApŚ.

*utem* (SV. *ūtim*) *arbhe hasāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. In RV. etc. *uta-īm*, in SV. acc. of *ati*. But the Saṃhitās contain no actual variation in quantity of the *u* vowel, since in all it is fused with a preceding final *u*.

*sā brahmajāyā vi dunduti rāṣṭram* AV.: *sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahma-jyasya* AV. 'Burns up': 'shatters'.

*trīṇi padāni rūpo anu arohat* AV.: *pañca padāni rūpo anu aroham* RV.

Read *rupo* in AV., with many mss., comm., and Whitney's Transl. *ūdno* (AV. text *ūdhno*) *divyasya no dehi* (AV. MS. *dhātah*) AV. TS. MS.

KS. *ūdhno* is a false emendation, withdrawn in Whitney's note. Cf. §106.

*namo raḥ pitarah śuśmāya* (VS. ŚŚ. *śośāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūśāya*)

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720.



# CHAPTER XIII. QUALITATIVE INTERCHANGES OF A, I, AND U VOWELS

## 1. Short *a* and *i*

§570. The variations between *a* and *i* are numerous, but also rather miscellaneous. One large group stands out among them as concerning noun suffixes which differ only or chiefly in containing the vowels *a* and *i* respectively. These have little phonetic interest. At the opposite pole stands the only other considerable group which appears prominently in this section, namely *a: i* in radical syllables which concern ablaut, or quasi-ablaut. That is, the *i* forms are, or have the aspect of being, reduced ablaut grades corresponding to full-grade forms in *a*, which vary with them. That *ir* and *ur* may appear historically in such relations to *ar* is recognized by all (cf. Wackernagel I §21). Whether the same is true of *i* in relation to short *a* (as distinguished from *ā*) before other consonants, is a disputed question. Cf. Wackernagel I §15 note, where this possibility is denied and the attempt is made to explain otherwise some of the seeming instances.

§571. We shall content ourselves with recording the variants which seem to concern this real or supposed ablaut; it will of course be understood that we do not claim that they prove or disprove either side. We shall begin with one in which an otherwise unrecorded *śikya* appears persistently for the common *śakya* (by which TA. comm. glosses *śikya*). One naturally thinks of comparing *śikvan* and other forms of the sort with *i* (*śikman*, *śikvas*); according to Wackernagel (l. c., p. 17) *śikvan* would be etymologically unrelated to root *śak*, which seems to us doubtful. But the forms in *i* might perhaps be influenced by *śikṣ*: *śatām śikṣaḥ* (MahānU. śa<sup>a</sup>, v. I. śi<sup>a</sup>) *provācopaniṣat* TA. MahānU.

A form of *śikṣ* itself varies with one from *śak* in:  
*dātum cec chikṣān sa* (TA. *chaknurdānsaḥ*, or <sup>a</sup>*śān sa*) *svarga eva* (TA. *śām*) AV. TA. See §S26.

§572. Several variants concern the root or roots *śam*: *śim*, which certainly are synonymous, but according to Wackernagel (p. 18) ultimately unrelated. In the variant *pādas* VS. uses only *śam*, TS. KS. only *śim*:

*śamibhīḥ śamyantu te* VS.: *śimibhīḥ* (KSA. †*śimi*<sup>a</sup>) *śimiyantu te* TS.

KSA.

*kaś te gātrāṇi śamyatī* (TS. KSA. śim°) VS. TS. KSA.

*māsā āchyanu śamyantaḥ* VS.: *māsāś chyanu śimyanataḥ* TS. KSA.

*śimāḥ* (KSA. Conc. *śimān*, ed. with v. 1. *śimāḥ*; VS. *śimāḥ*) *kṛṇvantu* (VS.\* *śamyantu*) *śimyanataḥ* (VS. *śamyantāḥ*) VS. TS. KSA. Note that VS. denies consciousness of relation between the verb and the noun by reading *śimāḥ* with *s*, not *ś* (comm. interprets by *śimā rekḥāḥ*).

*sūcibhiḥ śamyantu* (TS. KSA. śim°, MS. *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§573. Next a few variants which either contain or have the aspect of containing ablaut between *ir* and *ar* (or *ri* and *ra*), cf. Wackernagel I §21; but most of the cases are obscure or dubious; only the first is a clearly genuine instance, and there too both forms are familiar; SV. has merely substituted a more commonplace synonym (*hari*) for the old and rarer *hiri*:

*hīriśmaśruḥ* (SV. *hari°*) *nārvāṇaḥ* (SV. *na varmaṇā*) *dhanarcam* (SV. °cim) RV. SV.

*asyai nāryā upastare* (ApMB. °stire) AV. ApMB. Infinitive forms; Whitney emends to °stire with Ppp.

*śiśirāya vikakarān* (KS. *ṭvikarān*, ApŚ. *vikirān*, vv. 11. *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS. KS. ApŚ. Name of an animal, of uncertain form, origin, and meaning.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugavā twaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. With *karasyu* cf. the noun *kāras*, RV.?

*rudra yat te krayī* (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri°*) *param nāma . . .* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47: all the forms are unintelligible.

§574. There is a sort of superficial resemblance to these cases in certain verb forms (e.g. the desideratives mentioned in §583), to be dealt with presently; and ablaut of a different kind (*ay* for *e*: *i*) also appears among the verbal variants (§582). Here we shall append a number of variations between words which, while actually of independent origin, simulate the kind of ablaut relation here considered, being usually quasi-synonyms and (but for the shift between *a* and *i*) nearly or quite homonyms.

§575. First, cases in which *r* follows (cf. §578). Here we find two cases in which *pratara*, that is *pru-tara*, a comparative from *pra*, varies with forms in *pra-tir-* (verbal or nominal), in which *tir* is connected with the root *tr* 'cross'. The psychological affinity between this root as commonly used in Sanskrit and the comparative suffix is evident.



*drāghīya āyuh pratarām* (TA. †*pratarām*, MG. *pratirām*) *dadhānāh* (AV. \**te dadhāmi*) RV. AV. TA. AG. MG.: *dirgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajāni* TB.; *āyur dadhānāh pratarām navīyah* AV. Here *pratirad* is a verb-form (*prakarṣeṇa dadātu*, comm.); *pratarām* an adverb (comm. *prakarṣeṇa*); *pratirām*, if correct, is the Rigvedic infinitive *pratirām*, but all but one of Knauer's mss. read *pratarām* in MŚ.

*aganma yatra pratiranta* (MG. *pratarām na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.

§576. Before other consonants than *r* (cf. §§570 ff.); here might be mentioned, first, the three variants concerning the synonymous roots *saṁ-vas* and *saṁviś*, which are listed in §281. Formally even closer are two variants between *kṣan* 'injure' and *kṣi* 'destroy', also virtual synonyms:

*indra iṣṭrīṣṭo akṣatah* (AV. *akṣitah*) RV. AV.

*akṣatam asy* (SMB. omits *asy*) *ariṣṭam* . . . SMB. ŚG.: *akṣitam* (*akṣitir*) *asi* . . . (see §586).

*prthivī darvir akṣitāparimitānupadastā* (ViDh. *akṣatā*) . . . Kauś. ViDh.: *yathāgnir akṣito* . . . ApMB. HG.

§577. Other near-synonyms:

*yajñavā devehbhir anvitam* (TS. TB. *inv*°) TS. MS. ApŚ. TB. †l. 4. 4. 5b. 'Accompanied' (*anu* + *i*): 'impelled'.

*kṣīte bṛhge rakṣase* (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vimikṣe* (KS. *vinakṣe*, AV. mss. °*nikṣe*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. *nikṣ* 'pierce': *naṣ* (as if causative) 'destroy'. But no such form of *naṣ* is otherwise recorded, and the KS. form is questionable.

*pavamāno daśasyatī* (SV. *diś*°) RV. SV. Benfey would derive the SV. form from stem *dīśas* = *dīś* (lex., and class. in composition).

§578. Since it is impossible to draw a sharp line between these cases and other lexical variants, we shall add here other cases which seem to us purely lexical, concluding with some false readings or corruptions. First, there are a number that concern pronouns (the bases *a* and *i*) and particles (*ha*: *hi*, etc.):

*ato* (AV. MahānU. *ito*, TB. *tato*) *dharmāṇi dhārayan* RV. AV. SV. VS. TB. MahānU.

*pūrvo ha* (TA. MahānU. *hi*) *jātaḥ* (JUB. *jajñe*) *sa u garbhe antaḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. SvetU. ŚirasU. JUB.

*ṛṣir ha* (ŚŚ. *hi*) *dirghairuttamaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*eṣo* (TA. MahānU. *eṣa*, ŚirasU. *eko*) *ha* (TA. MahānU. *hi*) *devaḥ pradīṣo* 'nu *sarvāḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. SvetU. ŚirasU.

*vīṣvaṁ hi* (KS. *ha*) *ripraṁ pravahanti* (MS. °*tu*) *deviḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agnīḥ sudakṣaḥ sutaṇur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.: *agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.†  
°nūr) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.

*krēḡho ha* (Sāyaṇa, AV. Intro. p. 5, *hi*) *vedas tapaso 'dhijātāḥ* GB.  
*amutrabhūyād adha* (AV. *adhi*) *yad yamasya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA.  
*anūdhā yadi jījanad* (SV. *yad aṣṭjanad*) *adhā ca nū* (SV. *adhā cid ā*)  
RV, SV. Two cases in the same pāda.

*vīcā cit prayataṁ* (AŚ. *ca prayutī*) *devahedanam* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*duraś ca vīcā avṛṇod apa svāḥ* RV.: *turaś cid vīcām arṇavat tapasvān*  
AV.

*tāv ehi* (AV. *iha*, AB. *eha*, MG. *tā eva*) . . . AV. AB. AG. ŚG. PG. MG.

Others, §888. *ehi* contains the verb *ihi*; *eha* is probably corrupt  
(Weber, *IST.* 10, 160), and *eva* is certainly secondary.

*anu manyasva suyajā yajāma* (MŚ. *yaje hi*, most mss. *yajeha*) TS. MŚ.  
*asūrte* (TS. MS. KS. °tā) *sūrte* (TS. °tā) *rajasī* (TS. °so) *niḡatte* (MS.  
°tā, KS. *na sattā*, TS. *vimāne*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

*mā no agne 'va* (MG. *vi*) *srjo aghāya* RV. AG. MG.

*sūryo apo vi* (MG. 'va) *gāhate* MS. ApŚ. MG.

Miscellaneous pronominal forms:

*āre asman* (MS. NīlarU. *asmin*) *nī dhehī tam* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.  
*asmat* 'from us': *asmin* 'in it' or 'in him'. MS. has v. l. *asman*,  
and its p.p. *asmat*.

*prajāyai kam* (AV. *kim*) *amṛtaṁ nāvṛṇta* RV. AV. Both forms are used  
as particles here.

*yad vā me api* (LŚ. 'pi, Vait. *apa*) *gachati* AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

*yo gā udājad apa* (MS. *apī*) *hi valaṁ* (MS. *balam*) *vaḥ* RV. MS.

*ahv jaghāna* (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kih*) *cana* AG. PG. ApMB.  
HG. MG. Here true pronoun forms; 'no one': 'nothing'.

*māmīśāṁ kaṁ canoc chīṣaḥ* RV SV. VS.: *maiśām kaṁ canoc chīṣaḥ* TS.  
TB. ApŚ.: *maiśām uc cheṣi kih cana* AV. As in prec.

§579. Remoter lexical variants:

*mā no vidad* (KS. *vadhīd*) *abhibhā mo āsastiḥ* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. These  
forms are still quasi-synonyms; 'find' (in a hostile sense): 'injure',  
*dyutāno vājibhir yataḥ* (SV. *hitāḥ*) RV. SV. 'Guided': 'placed'.

*jāmim itvā* (Poona ed. *jāmi mītvā*) *mā vivītsi lokān* (Poona ed. *lokāt*)  
TA.: *jāmim ftvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. See §198.

*śukrāṁ vayanty asurāya nirṇijam* RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije*  
SV.

*vātajarair* (HG. *vātājirair*) . . ., see §268.

*anarṣarātīm* (SV. *alarṣirātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. SV. AV. N. See  
§292.



*hṛtsu kratunḥ varuṇo* (°ṇam) *vikṣv* (apsv, dikṣv) *agnim*, see §360.

*mītrāvaruṇā karadāhnām* (MS. °nā) *cikītnā* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnā*, AŚ. *cikiteam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §45.

*tisro yajvasya* (MS. MŚ. *jihvasya*) *samidhaḥ pariṣmanah* RV. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §192.

*viśvakarman bhauṇa mām didāsiha* (ŚB. *munda āsiha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. See §840.

*abhi dyumnam* (RV. VS. *sunnam*) *devubhaktam yaviṣtha* (MS. KS. *devahitam yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ* (TB. *vivasvataḥ*) RV. MS. TB. See §255.

*yaśo* (AŚ. *diśo*) *yajñasya dakṣiṇām* (AŚ. °ṇāḥ) TB. AŚ.

*agniḥ pareṣu* (AŚ. *prutneṣu*, SV. VS. ŚB. *priyeṣu*) *dhāmaṣu* AV. SV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*hinwāno hetṛbhīr yataḥ* (SV. *hitah*) RV. SV.

*alivandāya svāhā* KSA.: *ilivardāya svāhā* TB. ApŚ. Followed by *balivardāya* (KSA. °vandāya), which suggests that KSA. has an assimilated form.

*kaṁ padaṁ maghaṁ trayāṣiṇe na kāmam* (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somaḥ*) SV. AA. See §545.

*vazūni cārur* (SMB. *cārje*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB.

*mihaṁ na vōto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV. Metathesis of *a* and *i*.

§580. The following seem to be false readings:

*ahīm* (RVKh. *ahan*) *dandēnāgatam* RVKh. AV. Both words make good sense; but Scheftelowitz (p. 62) reads *ahīm* for RVKh. with his ms.

*tādītā* (TB. Poona ed. *ṭādīknā*) *śatrum* (TB. *śatrūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB. *vivatse*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. *vivitse*; comm. gloss *na labhase*.

*gāvo bhogo gāva īndro me achān* (AV. *ma ichāt*; TB. with two AV. mss. *ṭachāt*) RV. AV. KS. TB. *achān* is the only intelligible reading and is adopted by Whitney; see VV I p. 130.

[*aṅjisakthāya* (KSA. °ṣak°, Conc. °ṣik°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.]

[*namah śaspiṇjarāya* (TS. *sasṣ*°; Conc. wrongly *ṣiṣṣ*° for MS.) *trigāmate* VS. TS. MS. KS.]

[*mā no vadhiḥ* (Conc. *vidhiḥ* for TS., wrongly) *pitarām* . . . RV. VS. TS. TAA. MŚ.]

§581. In verbal inflexion there are a number of miscellaneous variants. Thus the reduplicating syllable contains variously *a* or *i*; included are some noun or adjective forms based on reduplicated stems:

*pra bhānavah sisrate* (SV. *sa°*) *nākam acha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS.

On this and the two next see VV I §272.

*vr̥ṣṍva cakradad* (and *°do*) *vane* RV.; *vr̥ṣo acikradad vane* SV. See prec.

*lūh̥ prācyā* (Vait. *°yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigādhire* (KŚ. *°īre*, Vait. *saṁji-gāīre*) KŚ. Vait. MŚ.; *prācīś cojjagādhire* ApŚ. See prec. two.

*stotāram id didhiṣeya* (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *raddraso* RV. AV. SV. See VV I p. 90.

*hastagrābhasya didhiṣos* (AV. *da°*) *tavedam* (TA. *tvam etat*) RV. AV. TA.

Manymss. of AV. *di°*, which Whitney would read. Cf. however next.

*vahā* (TB. N. *vaha*) *devatrā didhiṣo* (MS. *da°*) *haviṁṣi* MS. KS. TB. N.

Cf. prec. The MS. reading is not certain; several mss. *di°*.

§582. In present formations of different classes:

*suṣṭrābhīs t̥tirate* (SV. TS. *tarati*) ... RV. SV. TS. KS. Note the following *r* (§573).

*anāgaso adham it saṁkṣayema* TB.; *anāgaso yathā sadam it saṁkṣiyema*

Vait. 1st and 4th class presents; VV I p. 125. In the latter *y* is epenthetic.

*yac ca prāṇiti* (AV. *°ati*) *yac ca na* AV. ŚB.† TB. BrhU.† 1st and 2d class presents; VV I p. 123.

*yah̥ prāṇitī* (AV. *prāṇati*) *ya īm̐ br̥ṇoty uktam* RV. AV. Cf. prec.

*kati k̥ṛtvaḥ prāṇati cāpānati ca* (ŚB. *prāṇitī cāpa cāniti*) GB. ŚB. Cf. prec. two.

*ni ṣṭanihi* (AV. *abhi ṣṭana*) *duritā bādhamānaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.

KS. Cf. prec. three.

§583. The *i* of the following is of desiderative character, cf. Whitney §1030:

*na yac chūdreṣv alapsata* (ŚŚ. *ali°*) AB. ŚŚ. An aorist in AB. See VV I p. 87.

*sa bhikṣamāṇo* (SV. *bha°*) *amṛtasya cāruṇaḥ* RV. SV. Both *bhikṣ* (a sort of desiderative) and *bhakṣ* are derived from *bhaj*, but function as quasi-independent roots.

§584. In various miscellaneous verb forms;

*ajījapata* (TS. TB. *°jīpata*) *vanaspatayaḥ* TS. MS. TB. MŚ. See VV I p. 192. Both are reduplicated (causative) aorists; the form with radical *a* is influenced by the vocalism of the causative, the other by that of the simple root.

*gr̥hā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam* (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. *vepidhvam*) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. See VV I p. 133.

*nābhā saṁdāyī navyasī* (SV. *°dāya navyase*) RV. SV. *saṁdāyī* is 3d sing. passive aor.; *saṁdāya* gerund (but awkward, with no finite verb).



*yenā samatsu sāsahāḥ* (SV. °hīḥ, MŚ. °hī) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ.  
 'Whereby thou shalt conquer in battles', RV. (perfect subj.): 'where-  
 by (thou shalt be) conqueror in battles' SV. (adjective). In MŚ.  
 the adjective is made neuter, agreeing with *manas* '(thy) mind' in  
 prec.

*sam indra no (no) manasā neṣi* (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhīḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.  
 KS. ŚB. TB. See VV I p. 105.

*pītā no bodhī* (TA. *bodha*) VS. ŚB. TA. See VV I p. 123.

*a; i* in noun formation

§585. The remaining cases, considerable in number, concern different noun suffixes. Phonetics has little to do with them; at most they show how easily different suffixal forms containing *a* and *i* may exchange. Most of the variants are in fact practically synonymous. Thus there are many interchanges of past participles in *ta* with nouns of action or abstracts in *tī*; the change may or may not be accompanied by slight changes in the psychology of the passages. Thus the participial forms may be used as nouns, practically equivalent to the nouns in *tī*; or the nouns in *tī* may become concrete in meaning, approaching the meaning of the participles. Besides these cases, we find suffixal forms in *na: nī* (the latter sometimes influenced by feminine stems), and *ra: rī*; patronymics in *ka: kī*; heteroclitic stems in *a(an): i*; stems in *ana: in(a)*; stems in *in* (in composition *i*): *a(n)*; stems in *a-ka: ikā*; and a remnant of unclassifiable *a: i* forms.

§586. We begin with the suffixes *ta: tī*, and first with those in which the participles stay close to their original meaning; see also §599 below:  
*yam akṣitam* (ŚŚ. N. °tīm) *akṣitayaḥ pibanti* TS. ŚŚ. N.: *yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti* AV.: *yathākṣitim akṣitayaḥ pibanti* (KS. °yo *madanti*) MS. KS. 'Which imperishable one (imperishableness) the imperishablenesses (AV. imperishable ones) drink (or the like).'

*akṣitam asi mā pīṭṛyām* (with variants) *kṣeṣṭhā* . . . ApG. ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāḥ* TS.: *akṣitam asy akṣitam me bhūyaḥ* MS.: *akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā* . . . VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. And other variations.

*apā vṛdhi pariṇṭam* (TB. Conc. °vṛttim, Poona ed. text and comm. °vṛtīm) *na rādhaḥ* RV. TB. 'Open up as it were hidden treasure': 'open up treasure, as it were a fence'.

*bradhnaś cid atra* (SV. *yasya*) *vāto na jūtaḥ* (SV. *jūtim*) RV. SV. *jūtaḥ* 'speedy', adj. with *vāto*; *jūtim* 'speed', with change of construction.

*pra samrājo* (SV. °jam) *asurasya praśastim* (SV. °tam) RV. SV. KB. *atirūtram varṣan pūrtir āpt* (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rīrat*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

§587. These are supported by other cases in which the participle is used as a noun, practically equivalent to the noun in *tī*:

*puṣṭapate cakṣuṣe* . . . MS.: *puṣṭipataye* (AŚ. °pate) *puṣṭiś* . . . AŚ. ApŚ. *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam* RV. SV. PB.: *pra vā etindur indrasya niṣkṛtīm* AV.

*nyañ* (AV. *ni yan*) *ni yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °tim) RV. AV. KS. *ākūtim* (MS. MŚ. MG. °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.

*vīco vidhṛtīm* (MS. °tam) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In same passage with prec.

*sviṣṭam* (MŚ. v. l. °ṭim) *no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS. MŚ.: *sviṣṭīm no abhi* (KŚ. 'bhi) *vasīyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KŚ.

*kṛnutañ naḥ sviṣṭim* (MS. KS. °tam) VS. TS. MS. KS.

*mayi puṣṭim* (AV. °tam) *†puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭa*°, KS. \**puṣṭipatnī*) *dadhātu* (AG. *†dudātu*) AV. MS. KS. (four times) TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB.

*kuyavañ ca me 'kṣitīś* (VS. 'kṣitam) *ca me* VS. MS. KS.: *akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.

[*ādityās te citīm* (KS. Conc. wrongly *citam*) *āpūrayantu* KS. ApŚ.]

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °nītir, KS.\* °dhītam, v. l. °dhītim; KS.\* [38. 12b] *†nītha*, KapŚ. °dhītam or °tim, MS. °dhīte) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.\* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. °nītha is a variant for °nīta, see §93.

§588. Coming to variants between *na* and *nī*, we find in several cases that the *i* is apparently due to influence of the feminine ending *ī*:

*asapatnā sapatnaghñī* (ApMB. °nighñī) RV. ApMB. ApG. Cf. *sapatnī*, for which *sapatnī* is recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa (BR.).

*gandharvāya janavide* (ApMB. *janī*°) *svāhā* ApMB. MG. Cf. the stems *jani* and *janī*. Here, strictly speaking, the *i* and the *n* are both radical, not suffixal (disyllabic root *jan*).

*somāya janivide* (MG. *jana*°) *svāhā* ApMB. MG. In same passage as prec. *teṣāñ yo ajyānim* (PG. 'jyānim) *ajītim āvahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajījim āvahāt*, but Jørgensen text and comm. as others) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.: *teṣāñ ajyānim* (MŚ. °nam) *yatamo vahāti* (KS. MŚ. *na āvahāt*) AV. KS. MŚ. *a-jyā-ni*, 'non-oppression': *a-jyā-na* id., not recorded lexically, contains properly the suffix *ana*, which appears as *na* after *ā*.



*hiraṇyapakṣaḥ śakunīḥ* HG.: *hiraṇyaparkṣa śakune* PG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

*pururūpaṁ sureśaṁ maghonam* (TB. °nim) VS. TB. *maghonam* may be taken either as an irregular acc. sing. of *maghavan* (cf. RV. *maghonas*, nom. plur.) or as from an *a*-extension of the weak stem; *maghonim* (masc.) can only be from an *i*-extension of the same. TB. comm. *annavantam*; VS. comm. *maghavantam dhanavantam*.

§589. Of the suffixes *ra*: *ri* we have only noted one variant, of the word *tittiri*: °*ra*. The usual form is °*ri*, but °*ra* occurs elsewhere; however in this passage the MS. p.p. reads *tittiriḥ*:

*maṇḍūko mūṣikā tittiris* (MS. °*ras*) *te sarpaṇām* VS. MS. Cf. §598, *varṣābhyas* . . .

§590. The suffixes *ka* and *ki* exchange in patronymics; really the exchange is doubtless between *a* and *i*, since probably in all cases the primary noun contained *k*; all occur in the same passage:

*śaunakam* (ŚG. °*kim*) AG. ŚG.

*kaḥolam kauṣītakam* (ŚG. °*kīm*) AG. ŚG.

*mahākauṣītakam* (ŚG. °*kim*) AG.†ŚG.

§591. Next, *a* and *i* as finals in inflexion or composition of heteroclitic stems in *an* (weak grade *a*, always used in compounds, and tending to pass into the *a*-declension) and *i*, of the type *asthan*: *asthi*:

*asthabhyaḥ* (KSA. *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

*ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohīlākṣi* (MahānU. *puruṣaḥaritaṭpiṅgala lohīlākṣa*) *dehī dehī dadāpayitā me śudhyantām* TA. TAA. MahānU.

And extensions of such stems in suffixal *ka* (in compounds):

*anākṣikāya* (KSA. °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

*anasthikāya* (KSA. °*akāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

§592. A few cases of interchange between adjectives in *i* and participles (or quasi-participles, *mahat*) in *at*:

*dhruvas tiṣṭhāvicācaliḥ* (AV. MS. KS.° *calat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*parvata ivāvicācaliḥ* (AV. MS. KS.° *calat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*dadhīr* (SV. *dadhad*) *yo dhāyi sa te* (SV. *sute*) *vayāṁsi* RV. SV.

*enāś cakrvaṇ mahī baddha eṣām* TS.: *eno mahac cakrvaṇ baddha ṛeṣa* MS.

§593. Variations between suffixal *ana* and *in* (°*ina*):

*tan nau saṁvānanam kṛtam* MG.: *tana saṁvānināu svake* HG. *saṁvānana* 'concord': *saṁvānin* 'concordant'.

*manyoh krodhasya nāśanī* PG.: *manyor mṛddhasya* (ApMB. *mṛdhrasya*) *nāśinī* ApMB. HG. Feminines of *nāśana*: *nāśin*.

*mā no vidad* (KS. *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. °*anā*) *dveṣya* *ṭya* AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. Both words mean 'deceit', and seem to be otherwise unknown.

*śunām agraṁ suvṛiṇaḥ* (ApMB. *subṛiṇaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Cf. next. *subṛiṇa śrja-śrja śunaka* ApMB.: *suvṛiṇaḥ śrja-śrja* HG. Epithets of dogs, of unknown origin and meaning.

§594. Variations between stems in *in* (in composition *i*) and stems in *a* or *an* (once *an* by sandhi for *at*):

*tasya te* *ṛvājipitasyopahūtasypahūto* (Vait. *vājipitasyopahūto*, IŚ. *vājapitasyopahūta* [text °*hata*] *upahūtasya*) *bhakṣayāmi* AŚ. IŚ. Vait.: *tasya te vājibhir bhakṣamkṛtasya vājibhiḥ sutasya vājipitasya vājinasypahūtasypahūto bhakṣayāmi* ApŚ.: *vājy ahaṁ vājinasypahūta upahūtasya bhakṣayāmi* VSK. KŚ.

*vājan tvāgne* . . . Vait.: *vāji tvā* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.: *vājinam tvā vājin* . . . KS.: *vājinam tvā vājedhyāyai* (*sapatnasāham*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.

*ava jyām* (HG. *dyām*) *iva dhanvanah* (HG. *dhanvinah*) AV. ApMB. HG. See §159.

*matṣvā suśīpra* (SV. °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV. *tam*) *īmahe* RV. SV.

*bodhinmanā* (SV. *bodhan*°) *id astu naḥ* RV. SV. In SV. pres. pple., *bodhat*.

§595. Before feminine forms of the suffix *ka*, most commonly *i* replaces *a*, see Edgerton, JAOS 31. 95 f.:

*vidyutam kanīnikābhyām* (VS. *kanīna*°) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS.

*vṛtrasyāsi* (KS. *mītrasy*°) *kanīnikā* (VS. ŚB. °*akāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °*akāsi*) VSK. TS. ApŚ.

*agner akṣṇaḥ kanīnakam* (VSK. °*kām*, TS. MS. KS. °*ikām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*nī galgalīti dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgalīti* (KSA. ms. *ṭjalgalīti*, em. °*ṭti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

*avajihvaka nijihvaka* ApMB.: *avajihva nijihvika* HG. Here, in a masculine form, the *i* before *ka* is anomalous; it may be corrupt, or may be based on thought of a form \**jihvin*, with suffixal *in*.

§596. The rest are miscellaneous cases of *a*:*i* in suffixes and endings: *tasmīn ma indro rucim ā dadhātu* AV.: *tasmīn somo rucam ā dadhātu* HG. ApMB. Stems *ruci* and *ruc*. Cf. next.

*hriṣmaśruṁ nārvēṇaṁ dhanarcam* RV.: *hriṣmaśruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcim* SV. Stems *rc* and *rc-i* (possibly with confused thought of *arcis*?).



*kuwayaḥ* (KSA. °yih, VS. TS. *kuwayiḥ*) *kuṭarur dātyauhas te vājindm* (TS. KSA. *sinūvālyai*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. A name of an unknown animal; p.p. of MS. also *kuwayiḥ*.

*indraḥ* (ŚŚ. °as) *patis tuiṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tavastamo*) *janeṣu ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. Stems *tavas* and *tuiṣ-* (the latter not used as a separate word).

*tilvilāstām* (ed. misprinted *tilva*°, see Stenzler's Transl. p. 83 n.) *īrāvatiṃ* AG.; *tilvilā sthājirāvati* ŚG.; *tilvalā sthīrāvati* MG.† 2. 11. 12b; *tilvilā syād īrāvati* ApMB. The word is otherwise *tilvīla*; probably MG. is to be emended.

*vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *śloka yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS. †*sūrah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

*agne varcasvin* (VSK. °van) *varcasrāṇs* (ŚŚ. °vī) *tsam deveṣu asi varcasvān* (ŚŚ. °vy) *aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

*pradakṣiṇin* (AV. °yam) *marulām stomam ṛdhyām* (MS. *aṣyām*) RV. AV. MS. TB. The old adverb *pradakṣiṇit*, of anomalous appearance, is replaced by a more ordinary form in AV.

*mānasya patnī karaṇā syonā* AV.; *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śarayaḥ syonā* HG. *harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB. °atā) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N. See §122 and VV I §86.

*kṛkalāsah* (KSA. *kṛki*°) *pippakā śakunis* (TS. KSA. *śak*° *pi*°) *te śaravyāyai* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Of uncertain origin; simulates a compound of a stem *kṛka-* or *kṛki-*.

## 2. Long ā and ī

§597. These variants are few. The most interesting group concerns ā varying with ī as ending of the first part of a compound or seeming compound. We seem justified in thinking of the parallel feminine stem-endings ī and ā in this connexion. These feminine endings exchange themselves a number of times, as we shall see in our volume on Noun Inflection, which we may anticipate here by quoting the following examples:

*samhītāsī viśvarūpā* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °pī, TS. ApŚ. \*°pīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (bis)

*upasthāvarābhyo dāsam* VS.; *upasthāvarābhyo t̐baindam* (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB.

*sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB. °padā) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. MG.

*śivā rudasya* (TS. and v. l. of MS. *rudrasya*, VSK. *śiva ṛasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. See §684.

The compounds in question are, however, so obscure that it is hardly ever possible to be sure that they contain such feminine stems, or indeed even that they are really compounds (the last one certainly is not):

*grūhrah kīṭikakṣī vārḍhrānasas te divyāḥ* (KSA. *vārhi*°, ed. em. *vārḍhrī*°, *te 'dityāḥ*) TS. KSA. The word (otherwise spelled with ī) seems at least to be felt as a compound; cf. *vārḍhra*?

*uṣṣro ghrṇvān vārḍhrānasas* (MS. *ghṛṇvān vārḍhrā*°) *te matyāi* VS. MS. Cf. prec.; p.p. of MS. *vārḍhrī*°. In *ghṛ*° we have another animal name, of unknown meaning and apparently found only here.

*ākhuḥ kaśo mānḥālas* (MS. °thālas, VSK. *mānḥālas*) *te pītṛṇām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktraḥ* (KSA. *†pāṅktaḥ*; mss. of both *pāṅtra*-) *kaśo mānḥālas* (KSA. *†man*°) *te pītṛṇām* (KSA. *†pītṛ*°) TS. KSA. See §77.

*yā te agne harīṣayā* (VSK. *harī*°, MS. MŚ. *harā*°) *tānūr . . .* VS. VSK. ŚB. (Pratikas MS. MŚ.) *harāśaya* is doubtless influenced by *haras*.

*vidyutām kanīnikābhyām* (VS. *kanīna*°) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Certainly not a compound, but seems to belong psychologically here.

§598. The other variations of *ā* and *i* are very miscellaneous; mostly they concern inflexional endings of some sort.

*agne tejāsvin tejāsvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāḥ* TS.: *agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvam tejāsvān deveṣu edhi* MS. See also *agne varcasvin* etc., §596. *indrasyāham devayajyayendriyāṇī* (KS. °yāvān, MŚ. °yavān) . . . TS. KS. MŚ.

*śivā vīśvāḥa* (VS. °hā) *bheṣajī* (TS. °habheṣajī; MS. °jā) VS. TS. MS. KS. *vīśvacarṣaṇīḥ sahurīḥ sahāsvān* (AV. *sahīyān*) RV. AV. MS.

*śilpā vaiśvadevīḥ* (VS. °vyaḥ) VS. MS.: *śilpās trayo vaiśvadevāḥ* TS. KSA. Fem. and masc. forms, nom. plur.

*samānī va ākūṭīḥ* RV. AV. TB. AG.: *samānā vā* (KS. *vā*) *ākūṭānī* MS. KS. MG. *ī* of fem. sing.; *ā* of neut. plur.

*varṣābhyas tittirīn* (MS. °rān) VS. MS. KSA. ŚB. ApŚ. Acc. plur. of the words which vary in §589.

*dhiyā manotā prathamō manīṣī* (SV. °mā *manīṣā*) RV. SV. 'The foremost intelligent one': ' . . . intelligence'.

*sā śantātī* (SV. °tā, TB. ApŚ. °cī) *mayas karad apā sridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śantātī* acc. neut., and *śantātā* loc. sing., from *śantātī*; on *śantācī* see §156.



*aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni* (VS. and v. l. of MS. 'sthāni) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Stems *asthan*: *asthi*.

*teṣāṃ saṃ hanmo akṣāṇi* (AV. *saṃ dadhmo akṣāṇi*) RV. AV. (Ppp. has *akṣāṇi*.) Stems *akṣan*: *akṣi*.

*bahu ha vā ayam avarṣād* . . . MS.: *bahu hāyam arṣād* (KS. °ṣad) . . . TS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

*tisro ha prajā atyāyam āyan* (JB. *tyuh*) AV. JB. Imperfect and perfect of *i*.

In VV I p. 185 are collected some variations between strong and weak verb stems in (n)ā: (n)ī, which we shall not repeat here. Add the following:

*śṛṇīhi viśvataḥ prati* RV.: *śṛṇāhi viśvatas pari* SV.

§598a. There are a number of cases of interchange between gerunds in *tvā* and *tvī*. As was to be expected, the form in *tvī* is regularly the older: *avāḍ dhavyāni surabhīṇi kṛtvā* (RV. VS. *kṛtvī*) RV. AV. VS. TS. ApŚ. SMB.

*kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvā* (RV. °*tvī*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*kṛtvī* (AV. *kṛtvā*) *devair nīkilbiṣam* RV. AV.

*kṛtvī* (AV. *kṛtvā*) *savaryām adadur* (AV. *adadhur*) *viśvasate* RV. AV. N.

*pītvī* (SV. TS. *pītvā*) *śipre avepayah* RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB.

*vayo ye bhūtvī* (AV. °*tvā*) *patayanti naktabhiḥ* RV. AV.

*svinnah snātvī* (AV. °*tvā*, VS. ŚB. *snāto*) *malād iṣa* AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*hītvī* (SV. *hītvā*) *śiro jihvayā vāvadac* (SV. *rārapac*) *carat* RV. SV.

*apālām indra* (MG. °*ras*) *triṣ (trih) pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, ApMB. *pūrtvī*, MG. *pūrti a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.

### 3. *a* and *i* with shift of quantity

§599. Here are found only a few stray variants: too few to classify. Some of the variants in the preceding sections show shift of quantity as well as quality; these will not be repeated. We begin with variants of *ā* and *i*; the first two belong with those of *a* and *i* in §586:

*prācīm jivātum akṣilām* (ŚŚ. ŚG. °*tīm*) AV. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. AG.† (Stenzler's Translation, p. 36 n.) ApMB. N.

*vyacasvatīṣayanā subhūtiḥ* AŚ. MS.: *viśvavyacā iṣayanā subhūtiḥ* (KS. °*tvā*) TS. KS. In the latter *subhūtvā* is an adjective going with *aditir* in the next pāda.

*tan no durgā* (TA. °*gih*) *pracodayāt* TA. MahānU. Durgī for Durgā seems to occur only here.

*śriyo* (AV. TB. °*yani*) *vasānāś carati svarociḥ* (TB. °*cāh*) RV. AV. VS. KS. TB.

*āṅgūṣāṇām* (SV. *āṅgoṣiṇām*) *avāśanta vāṇiḥ* RV. SV. Different case-forms of *a* and *i* in stems.

*adhī kṣami viṣurūpaḥ* (ArS. *kṣamā viṣva*<sup>o</sup>) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB.

*kara ād* (SV. *id*) *arthayāsa it* RV. SV.

*anādhṛṣṭā* . . . VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā* . . . TS. See §176.

§600. Between *a* and *i* the cases are even fewer and equally sporadic: *sirāḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *sarāḥ*, AV. *sarā*) *patatrīṇi* (TS. MS. KS. <sup>o</sup>*ṇiḥ*) *sthana* (KS. *stha*, AV. *bhūtvā*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Besides the synonymous *sarā* and *stṛā*, *sirā* is also found (RV.). All are from root *sr*; cf. §§570, 573.

*amṛtendṛptām puram* (TA. *purīm*) AV. TA. Equivalent stems *pur* and (later) *puri*.

*yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakikārim* (TB. *kaṇṭakakāram*) VS. TB. Both the stem of the first member, and the entire cpd., show shift in gender. *nayanto garbhāṁ vanāṁ dhiyaṁ dhuḥ* RV.: *nayantāḥ gīrbhīr vānā dhiyaṁ dhāḥ* SV. Lexical.

*āsminn* (KS. *ā sīm*) *ugrā* (MS. *ā samudrā*) *acucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Lexical.

*vireṇyaḥ kratur indrah subastih* RV.: *varenyakratūr* (AV. <sup>o</sup>*tur*, ApŚ. *īdenya*<sup>o</sup>) *aham* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. See §§383, 554.

#### 4. Interchange of short *a* and *u*

§601. Under this head we find a clearly defined group of cases, which seems to have no parallel among the *a*:*i* variants, in which *a* varies with *u* before a following *v*, the influence of which must be partly concerned in the shift. To be sure both forms can as a rule be explained historically, the *av* forms as full ablaut grade, the *uv* as weak grade forms, representing *ā* before a vowel, or—in the few forms concerning roots in short *u*—epenthesis of *v* between *u* and following vowel. Phonetic and morphological matters are no doubt blended here. But the occurrence of some forms which are morphologically anomalous confirms us in the belief that phonetics cannot be entirely excluded. The great majority of the forms concern roots in *ā*. There is to be observed a striking tendency to prefer the *u* forms in SV.; and the like seems to be largely true of MS.

§602. In VV I §23 we have already collected most of the verb forms which show this variation. The following are those from *ā* roots:

*acikradat swapā iha bhuvāt* (Ppp. *bhavāt*, Barret, JAOS 30. 244) AV.

Ppp. Add to VV I l. c.



*tasmai devā adhi bravan* (MS. KS. TB.† [Poona ed. text and comm.]

ApŚ. *bruvan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*tasmai somo adhi bravat* (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS.

*yatra* (SV. *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV.

*pra bravāma* (MS. *bruvāma*, v. l. *bra°*) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. ApMB.

ApG. HG. MG.

*sahmiślo aruḥ bhava* (SV. *bhuvah*) RV. SV.

*uta trātā śivo bhavā* (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Kauś.

*nemiś cakram ivābhavat* (SV. MS. °*bhuvat*) RV. SV. TS. MS.

*yat some-soma ābhavaḥ* (SV. *ābhuvah*) RV. SV.

*yad dūre sann ihābhavaḥ* (SV. °*bhuvah*) RV. SV. MŚ. N.

*tatra pūṣābhavat* (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV. SV. KS.

*asapatnā kilābhvam* (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB.: *asapatnah kilābhvam* RV.

*sahpriyah* (TA. °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhīr bhava* (TB. TA. ApŚ. *bhuvat*)

MŚ. TB. TA. ApŚ.

*marutvantaḥ sakhyāya havāmahe* (SV. †*huvemaḥ*) RV. †1. 101. 1-7, SV.

[*śvāvēśo anamīśo bhavā* (Conc. wrongly *bhuvā* for ApMB.) *nah* RV. TS.

MS. SMB. PG. ApMB.]

§603. From roots in short *u* the cases are much fewer:

*abhi pra nonuvur* (SV. *nonavur*) *girah* RV. SV. (It is not quite clear whether this is originally a short or long *u* root.) Here SV. goes counter to its usual tendency, with *av* for RV. *uv*.

*upa śravat* (MS. *śruvat*, p.p. *śra°*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. On the anomalous and doubtful MS. form cf. VV I p. 106.

*tad aham niḥnave* (ŚŚ. °*nue*) *tubhyam* AB. ŚŚ. To be added to VV I §193, since it is a case of 1st and 2d class presents; the latter (*hnute*) is more regular.

*nedīya it sr̥ṇyah pakvam ā yavan* (Ppp. *yuran*, Barret, JAOS 30. 207)

AV. Ppp. (Others, see Conc.) Add to VV I l. c.

§604. The same shift is found in noun formation and declension, both *ā* stems (placed first in the list) and short *u* stems:

*abhūbhuvē* (MS. °*bhve*, KS. °*bhave*) *svāhā* MS. VS. KS. TB. ApŚ. And, in same passage:

*vībhuvē* (MS. *vībhve*, KS. †*vībhave*) *svāhā*, same texts.

*samudraḥ na suhavaḥ* (*suhuraḥ*, *subhuvah*) . . .; *mahīṣaṇ nah subhvaḥ* (*subhavaḥ*) . . ., see §119.

*indraḥ* (ŚŚ. °*as*) *patīḥ turigāmo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tarastamo*) *janeṣv ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*)

AV. AA. ŚŚ. Cf. §596.

*śitibhravo* (MS. °*bhravo*) *vasūnām* VS. MS.

*puṣṣavanāḥ puṣṣavanam* AG.; *puṣṣavanam aśi* ApMB. The form in *av* is regular in the earlier language, but that in *uv* occurs first (in AV.).

*tad viprāso vipanyavaḥ* (SV. °*yuvah*) RV. SV. VS. NṛpU. VasuU. SkandaU. AruṇU. MuktiU.

*tā vān gīrbhir vipanyavaḥ* (SV. °*yuvah*) RV. SV.

*sumnāyaveḥ* (KS. °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS. *sumnyam*) *dhatta* MS. KS. MŚ.

*tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvaḥ* (MS. *bhīravo nāma*) TS. MS.

§605. Of other variations in radical syllables between *a* and *u*, analogous to the variations between *a* and *i* treated in §§570 ff., we have noted surprisingly little. We might have expected to find a number of cases especially before *r* (cf. §573, and Wackernagel I §21), as in the two forms of the present stem *karo*: *kuru*. The chief cases we have noted, however, concern adverbs and adjectives in *par*:- *pur*-, which we shall list below in §615, along with other variations in adverbs and particles. Otherwise the only case we have noted—the first in the following list—is of very dubious character. In it and practically all the others in this section assimilation or dissimilation seems to have been at work:

*sukarīrā svopaśā* (v. l. *swau*°) MS.: *sukurīrā swaupāśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

The usual form is *kurīra*; the etymology is unknown. If MS. is correct, it may have dissimilation to the preceding *u* (*su*).

*acabhr̥tha nicumpuṇa* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. MŚ. *nicuñkuṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. N. See §150.

Here dissimilation seems highly likely as an explanation of the *a* form, despite the obscurity of the words.

*nicerur aśi nicumpuṇaḥ* (TS. TB. *nicañkuṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñkuṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Cf. prec.

*sañkasuko rikasukah* AV. MS.: *sañkusuko rikusukah* TA. ApŚ. The root is *kas* and the *kus* forms are certainly secondary, and apparently assimilated to the suffixal *u* which follows. Cf. next.

*azmīn rayam sañkasuke* (ApŚ. °*kusuke*) AV. ApŚ. Cf. prec.

*nī nivartana vartayendra nardabuda* (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB.

See §273. Note that the variant vowel is preceded by *b*, a labial consonant.

*etām sañkṛṣya* (MS. MŚ. °*kaṣya*, v. l. °*kuṣya*) *juhudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

Here the original form was neither *a* nor *u*, but *r*; see §631.

*tuce tanāya* (SV. Svidh. *tundya*) *tat su nah* RV. SV. Svidh. The SV. form is isolated, and probably due to the adjoining and synonymous *tuce*.



Benfey tries to explain it independently, which seems to us highly improbable.

§606. Next comes a rather interesting, if somewhat heterogeneous, group in which the *a: u* is found in the second syllable of a word, yet is not clearly suffixal; assimilation or dissimilation may again explain some of the changes, but in one or two, at least, it seems that we are dealing with dissyllabic roots, or root-determinatives, in *u*, of the type *karc-*, *karu-* (VV I p. 116 f., and references there quoted). Most of the other words are obscure; often one is inclined to suspect that the variations in spelling point to a real uncertainty or ambiguity in the pronunciation of an unaccented vowel:

*karaṇam* (TS. *karuṇam*) *asi* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both words occur in the sense of 'religious work'; but *karaṇam* is much commoner, and is secondarily substituted for the rarer but original *karuṇam* in this variant. *varaṇo vārayātai* (and, *vārayiṣyati*) AV.: *varuṇo vārayāt* TA. The root *vr*, like *kr*, has dissyllabic forms in *u*. It is unnecessary here to consider the old question whether *Varuṇa* is derived from it; the god's name (if the reading is correct; Poona ed. has *varaṇo* with v. l. *varuṇo*) is here used obviously with punning intent.

So with the verb-forms *vanate*: *vanute* and the like, on which see VV I p. 121; whatever their grammatical classification (discussed l. c.), they seem ultimately to have a sort of root determinative *u*:

*agnir na vanate* (VSK. *vanute*, SV. TS. KS. *vaṇsate*) *rayīm* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate* (MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§607. The rest are more dubious in character:

*pitvo* (VS. MS. *pidvo*, KSA. *bidvo*) *njāṇkuḥ kakkaṭas* (MS. *kakuṭhas*, TS. KSA. *kaṭas*) *te 'numatyai* (KSA. °*yāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. There may be assimilation in VS. or dissimilation in MS., but the forms are wholly obscure.

*tad vo astu sucetanam* (JB. °*tunam*, ŚŚ. *sojoṣaṇam*) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

Here both *a* and *u* may perhaps be called suffixal; yet the variant seems to belong in feeling to this group. No uncompounded *cetuna* is found, but *sucetuna* is recorded later, and cf. RV. *cetu*.

*somasya rājñāḥ kuluṅgaḥ* TS.: *somāya kuluṅgaḥ* (MS. *kulaṅgaḥ*) VS. MS.: *somāya rājñe kuluṅgaḥ* KSA. The usual form is *kuraṅga*, and the medial *u* is apparently due to assimilation to *u* of the first syllable.

In both this and the next variant MS. p.p. has *kulu*°; contrariwise VS. comm. reads in both *kula*°, glossing *kuraṅga*.

*sādhyebhyaḥ kuluṅgān* (MS. *kulaṅgān*) VS. MS. Cf. prec.

*yādase śābalyām* (TB. *śābulyām*) VS. TB.: *parā dehī śāmulyam* (ApMB. *śābalyam*) RV. AV. ApMB. Popular etymology has confused two originally distinct words; *śāmulya* means a kind of woolen garment, and is not connected with *śabala* 'spotted'. A derivative of the latter is concerned in VS. TB., whose comms. interpret 'a woman with spotted skin'; the *u* of TB. is either due to vague reminiscence of *śāmulya*, or to phonetic influence of the labial consonant *b*. ApMB. is clearly thinking of *śabala*, and intends the meaning 'spotted garment'; in RV. AV. ApMB. reference is made to the bridal garment, spotted and impure after the wedding night. Cf. §241.

§608. Next we come to cases in which the variant vowels are more definitely suffixal, and matters of noun formation. First a group in which the common synonyms *cakṣas* and *cakṣus* interchange. Note the misreading *cakṣaṣī śāmavedasya* in GB. Bibl. Ind. ed., which is a mere misprint for *cakṣuṣī* as shown by the following §; Gaastra reads correctly *cakṣuṣī*. *Cakṣas* is an older form, which later texts tend to replace by *cakṣus*:

*namah samudrasya cakṣase* (PB. *cakṣuṣe*) TS. MS. KS. JB. PB. LŚ.  
*apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah* RV.: *apo mahi vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV.  
*āyus ca prāyus ca cakṣaṣ ca vicakṣaṣ* (ApŚ. *cakṣuṣ ca vicakṣuṣ*) ca ...  
 MS. ApŚ.

§609. Other, miscellaneous cases of noun formation:

*tarakṣuḥ* (KSA. † °*kṣah*) *kṛṣṇah* ... TS. KSA. Both forms otherwise recorded; original unknown.

*sādhu* (SV. *sādhaḥ*) *kṛṇvantam avase* RV. SV. As the accent of *sā'dhu* shows (see Wackernagel II. 1 p. 20), it is a noun, not an adjective or adverb. It occurs only here, and is replaced in SV. by the equally unknown *sā'dhas*.

*tā mandasānā manuṣo duroṇa ā* RV. ApMB.: *sā mandasānā manasā śivena* AV. Really a lexical variant, even tho the words may be related prehistorically; but resembles the case of *cakṣas*: *cakṣus*, §608, superficially.

*dairya mīnānā manasā* (VS. *manuṣah*) *purutrā* VS. MS. KS. TB.  
*sugantuḥ karma karaṇah kariṣyan* JB.: *sugam twah karmaḥ karaṇah karah karasyuḥ* LŚ. Cf. §573.

*ārārah prathasnu* (MŚ. † *pr̥thasnu*, v. 1. *prathasnu*) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Knauer, note on MŚ., would understand *prathasnu* (TB. comm. *prathanaśīlo*) as dialectic by-form of *pr̥thasnu*.



*saṁśṛṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam* (KŚ. *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

Note metathesis of *a: u* in KŚ., which is poor and secondary; and cf. next.

*puñjikasthalā* (KS.† *puñjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu°*) *cāpsarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Proper names, compounded of *kṛta: kratu:* cf. prec. Really lexical, since the words are radically not related.

*dhanasprtam* (MS. *dhanu°*, but p.p. *dhana°*) *kūśueāṁsam sudakṣam* RV.

MS. *dhanu°* could only mean 'winning by the bow', instead of 'wealth-winning'; it is doubtless a blunder, perhaps helped by assimilation to the *u* vowels of the following.

§610. We have noted only one case concerning noun inflection, a shift between the genitive and vocative forms of the stem *savitar:* *ghṛtaviṭi savitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

'In Savitar's overlordship' or 'in (thru) thy overlordship, O Savitar'.

§611. In verb inflexion, morphological change between *a* and *u* vowels is fairly common in shifts between imperative and injunctive (imperfect indicative) endings, (n)*tu: (n)ta*. The instances are gathered in VV I, mainly in §§136, 156, 159, and need not be repeated here, since phonetics are hardly concerned. We add a few other stray cases:

*adārasyd bhavata* (AV. °*tu*) *deva soma* AV. TB. ApŚ. *bhavata* seems uninterpretable and may be a mechanical form-assimilation, see VV I p. 283.

*ā pitaraṁ vaiśvānaram avase kaḥ* (PB. *kuḥ!* comm. *akaḥ*, glossed *kuru*)

PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *kuḥ* is impossible and, if not a misprint, must be a gross corruption for *kaḥ* ('*kaḥ*'); VV I p. 283.

§612. The remaining cases of *a: u* are purely lexical. A large group concerns the prefix *sa* and the particle *su*, which are practically synonyms as used in composition, and which exchange often with each other; also the pronoun *sa*, and other exchanges of the syllables *sa: su*, of various character, are included here:

*ye sajāldāḥ samanasah* (Kauś. *su°*) TB. ApŚ. Kauś.: *ye samāndāḥ samana-*  
*sah* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*śataḥ jīvema śaradaḥ sarvasirāḥ* (TB. *sarirāḥ*, ApŚ. *surirāḥ*) AV. TB. ApŚ.

*ā tvā vahantu harayaḥ sucetasah* (ApMB. *sa°*) MS. ApMB. HG.

*ādityāsah sumahasah* (SV: *sa°*) *kṛṇotana* RV. SV.

*agnih sudakṣah sultanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ.: *agne sadakṣah satanur* (KS.†  
°*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.

*namo vṛddhāya cā savṛdhe* (TS. *savṛdhvane*, KS. *savṛdhvane*, MS. *surṛdhvane*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*śajātānām kraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* AV. TS.: *sa° madhye kraiṣṭhyā ā dhehī mā* MS.: *śajātānām kraiṣṭhya ā dhehy enam* KS.

*tad vo astu sucetanam* (JB. °*tunam*, ŚŚ. *śajoṣanam*) AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ.

*marutvān astu gaṇavān śajātavān* (AŚ. *śajātaiḥ*) TB. AŚ.

*akāḥ su* (TS. *sa*) *lokaṁ sukṛtaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*vyām*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* exchanges with *su*. *ayam sa* (ŚŚ. *su*) *vām aśvinā bhāgā ā gatam* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*prā sumartyaṁ (su mṛtyuṁ) yuyotana* SMB. ApMB.: *prā sa mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG. Here *sa* seems uninterpretable; Conc. would read *su*.

*dadhad yo dhāyī sute vayāṁsi* SV.: *dadhir yo dhāyī sa te vayāṁsi* RV.

Here and in the next the pronoun *sa* varies with a syllable *su* of different character, involving false divisions of words.

*sahsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *sahsṛṣṭāsu yutse indro gaṇeṣu* MS.

*ṛcakaṣāḥ* (MŚ. *sucakaṣāḥ*) *soma uta suśrug* (comm. and Poona ed. *śuśrug*; MŚ. *sasrud*) *astu* TB. MŚ. If Poona ed. is right, TB. has *śu-*, the reduplicating syllable. See §145.

§613. Similarly, the particle *u* varies with *a-* of the augment, or with other *a-*:

*yajñāḥ pratyasṭhāt* (v. l. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñāḥ praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau malinām* MŚ.

*tam ahve* (SV. *u hve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV. In VV I p. 26 we have suggested here possible influence of the following *v*, separated from the vowel only by the aspirate.

*irām u ha* (AV. *aha*) *praśaṁsatī* AV. ŚŚ. AG.

§614. The particle *nu* varies with the negative *na*, or with other *na*, sometimes involving false division of words:

*taṁ te vi śyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS. KS. *nu madhye*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *idam te tad vi śyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* TS.

*yajñāyate vā paśuṣo na* (MS. *nu*) *vājān* RV. MS. KB.

*upānasah saparyan* RV.†: *upo nu sa saparyan* SV.

*avasyurātā brhātī* (TS. °*hr*) *na* (TS. *nu*, AŚ. *tu*) *śakearī* (TS. °*riḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*mahān indrah paraś ca nu* (SV. *puraś ca naḥ*) RV. AV. SV. Metathesis of *a:* *u*.

§615. Various adverbs and adjectives in *pur-*, *par-* interchange; this goes back to the same prehistoric phonetic relations dealt with in §605, q. v. Besides the last variant in §614, the following occur:

*parī pūṣā parastāt* (AV. *pu°*) RV. AV.



*yasmāj jāta na parā naiva kiṃ canāsa* TA.: *yasmāj jātaṃ na purā kiṃ canaiva* VS.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmāt param nāparam asti kiṃcīl* TA. MahānU. N.: *yasmād anyan na param kiṃ canāsti* Vait.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* (NrpU. 'sti) VS. TB. ApŚ. MahānU. NrpU.

[*ye devāḥ purahsado* . . . TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. BDh.: *ye deva agni-netrāḥ purahsadas* . . . VS. ŚB. Conc. quotes *parahsado* for TS.]

§616. Miscellaneous variations involving other particles, adverbs, and light words; sometimes with false division of words:

*pra na* (SV. *na*) *indo mahe tane* (SV. *tu naḥ*) RV. SV.

*sarve rādhyāḥ stha* (ŚŚ. °*yās tu*) *putrāḥ* AB. ŚŚ.

*devāṃśo yasmai tvede tat satyam upariprutā* (ApŚ. *apariprutā*) *bhaṅgena* (ApŚ. *bhaṅgyena*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*ugro* (MG. *agne*, HG. *ūrdhvo*) *virājann* (MG. *virājam*) *apa* (MG. *upa*) *sedha* (AV. *ṛñkṣva*) *śatrūn* (MG. *śakram*) AV. ApMB. HG. MG. *upaśṛṇvate* (ŚŚ. *apa*°; corrupt?) *tvā* AŚ. ŚŚ.

*apa snehitir* etc. RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuki* etc. TA. See §110.

*tāni brahmā tu* (AV. ApMB. *brahmota*) *śundhati* (AV. *śumbhati*, ApMB. *śaṃsati*) RV. AV. ApMB.

§617. The same change occurs in other lexical variants, in words still fairly close in meaning to one another:

*mitro yatra* (AV. *no atra*) *varuṇo ajyamānaḥ* (AV. *yuyjo*°) RV. AV.

*devebhīr aktam* (VS. TS. *yuktam*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*vācā cit prayataṃ* (AŚ. *ca prayutī*) *devahedānam* TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*pramade* (TB. °*mude*) *kumārīputram* VS. TB.

*anu stomam mudimahi* (PB. *mademahi*) RV. AV. PB.

*asmin goṣṭhe kariṣiṇīḥ* (Kauś. °*ṇaḥ*, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś.

See §152; note *p* before *u*.

*sā saṃnuddhā sanuḥī sājam emam* (MŚ. *sunuḥī bhāgadheyam*) AV. MG.

(Others, §52.) *ā-san*: *su*, near-synonyms.

*añjanti suprayasaṃ* (Ppp. *yujjanti suprajasaṃ*) *pañca janāḥ* RV. AVPpp. MS. See §192.

*vāyosāritra* (MS. *vāyusavitṛbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA.

*pratnāso agna ṛtam ākuzānāḥ* (AV. *āśāśānāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS.

*āṣimahi* (MS. *uś*°) *tvā* MS. TA.

*ā rātmān* (RV. °*mīm*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *sraśvān* (RV. TB. °*vaḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*nī galgalitī dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *nī jalgalitī* (KSA. ms. *tjalgalitī*, ed. em. °*liti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA. Onomatopoetic forms?

*ye pūrvaśo ya uparāśa* (AV. *ye apa°*, some mss. *ya upa°*; comm. u. *parāśah*) *īyuh* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS.

[*yaje samrādhaniṁ aham* ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. SMB. ApMB.; *yuje* (but read *yaje* with most mss., Hillebrandt, p. 250) *†samardham im aham* ŚŚ.: *agnau samrādhaniṁ yaje* HG.]

§618. And finally, in words that are psychologically more remote: *pratiṣaṁ prātisutvanam* (AB. *°sutvanam*) AV. AB. ŚŚ. Boehtlingk regards the reading *°sutr°* as a corruption of the other. But the word is probably a proper name, and may as well contain *sutvan* as *sutvan*.

*svasti naḥ putrakṛtheṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, v. 1. as RV.) *yoniṣi* RV. AB. MG.

*vasiṣṭhahanaṁ śiṅgini koṣyābhyām* VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanaṁ śiṅgini koṣyābhyām* (TA. *°koṣā°*) TS. TA.

*yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. See §401.

*adha syāma* (MS. *athā syāta*) *surabhaya* (ApŚ. *syām asur ubhaya*) *grheṣu* AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. See §840.

*pratiśruthāyā artanam* (TB. *ṛtulan*) VS. TB. See §651.

*śumbhānas (stambh°)* . . ., see §287.

*vi no rāṣṭram unattu* . . . TB.: *sam te rāṣṭram anaktu* AV. See §139.

*bhakṣīmahi* (TS. MS. KS. Vait. *dhukṣ°*) *prajāṁ iṣam* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. Vait.

*rajani* . . ., *rajjuni* . . ., see §107.

*īde agniṁ svavasam* (AV. *svāvasam*) *namobhiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §466.

*īmau stām anupakṣitau* (ApMB. *anapekṣ°*) AV. ApMB.

*ākṣam jayantam anu* (KS. *yā samjayantam adhi*) *yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*abhi sprdha usro veditṁ tatarda* ŚŚ.: *vy usridho asro adrir bibheda* TB.

The TB. looks generally secondary. Comm. *asro nirasanakūśalo. priyāṅy aṅgāni svadhītā parūṇṣi* (Vait. *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṇi*) TB. Vait. [*hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram acīṣṭum* (TB. Conc. *°ṭam*, Poona ed. *°ṭum*, which certainly read) . . . MS. KS. TB.]

[*haviḥ haviṣṣu* (SV. *haviṣṣu*) *vandyaḥ* (SV. Conc. wrongly *°yuh*) RV. SV.]

[*asmākam aṅśum maghavan puruṣprham* SV. Conc. 'read *aṅśam*' for *aṅśum*; but cf. Benfey's Glossary; perhaps *aṅśum* is correct.]

[*upa drava payasā godhug oṣam* (ŚŚ.† *oṣum*, AŚ.† *payasā goṣam*) AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Both AŚ. and ŚŚ. probably contain misprints, as suggested by Whitney on AV.]



## 5. Other interchange of a and u vowels

§619. The variations between long *ā* and *ū*, and between *a* and *u* with shift of quantity, are negligibly few and scattering. We have noted only the following of *ā* and *ū*:

*divyo gāndharvāḥ ketapūḥ* (VSK. °pāḥ) *ketam naḥ* (MS. KS. omit *naḥ*) *pundtu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. SMB. 'Purifying (protecting) the will'; the verb *pundtu* is cognate with -*pāb* of the original reading.

*pītā devānām janitā vibhūvasuḥ* (ApŚ. MŚ. *vibhā*°) RV. SV. ApŚ. MŚ. *drapsaś caskanda prthivīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamā anu dyān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*aghadviṣṭā devojātā* AV. Kauś.: *atharvyuṣṭā devojūtāḥ* ApŚ.

*yad annam admi* (PrāpāgU. *agnir*) *bahudhā virūpam* (PrāpāgU. *virād-dham*, vv. ll. *virājam*, *viruddham*) AV. TA. PrāpāgU.

§620. Besides the last, which also includes a form with short *u*, we find short *u* and *ā* varying in:

*sakhā suśevo adwayāḥ* (Mahānāmnyah °yuh) RV. KS. AA. Mahānāmnyah. Nom. sing. masc. of *as*: *u* stems.

*yo naḥ* (AV. *mā*) *kadācid abhidāsatī druḥā* (AV. *druhuḥ*) RV. AV. *druḥā*, instr. sing. of stem *druḥ*; *druhuḥ*, nom. sing. of adj. *druku*.

*sā prasūr* (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °gā) *bhava* AV. ŚG. ApMB. HG. Pronoun *sā*; prefix *su*.

*pumānsam u* (ŚG. *ā*) *dadhad* (ŚG. †*dadhād*) *iha* AV. ŚG. Add to VV I §§167, 193.

§621. Variants of *a* and *ū*:

*yad adya hotvārye* (ŚŚ. °vūrye) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. °vūrya is Rigvedic; its long *ū* seems anomalous. For the *u*-vocalism cf. *varita* etc. (VV I §10).

*nakiḥ* (RV. *nū cit*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV. SV. *nū* = *nu*.

*druḥāḥ pāsān* (TS. KS. *pāsam*) *prati sa* (KS. *gā*) *muctṣṭa* RV. TS. MS. KS. See §612.

*utsaḥ juṣasva madhumantam ūrva* (KS. MŚ. *ūrmim*, VS. *arvan*, VSK. °*sva śatadhāram arvan*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §228.

6. Interchanges of short *i* and *u*

§622. These variants are not numerous, and chiefly morphological or lexical. Of phonetic interest is, however, a small but striking group of cases in which texts of the Taittirīya school show a tendency to substitute *u* for *i*, in various formative syllables. These are to be considered in connexion with the tendency of the same school to substitute suffixal

*v* for *y* (§§247-8). The tendency seems to us undeniable, even tho in nearly every case one or another special consideration may have contributed to the change; so in:

*pareyivāṇsam* (TA. ApŚ. *pareyu*<sup>o</sup>) *pravato mahīr anu* (AV. *iti*) RV. AV. MS. TA. AŚ. N. (Pratīkas, ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. Rvidh.) This form of the perfect active participle of *parā* + *i* is certainly anomalous enough in appearance; possibly the *u* may be partly due to assimilation to the following *v*.

*hlādike hlādikāṇati* (TA. *hlāduke hlādu*<sup>o</sup>) RV. AV. TA. Here, too, another motive is discernible. The word is felt as a kind of primary derivative of root *hlād*, 'cooling'. This meaning in the Brāhmaṇa language is expressed by the suffix *uka*; cf. Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 104 ff. But again the form appears only in a Tait. text.

*goṣṭv aṣveṣu kubhriṣu* (TB. *uṣu*) RV. AV. KS. TB. The stem *śubhru* occurs only here; the surrounding *u* vowels may have assisted (assimilation).

*made-made hi no dadīh* (TB. *daduh*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. *daduh* can only be a noun form equal to *dadīh*, and otherwise unknown (a 3d plural verb is not construable). The saṃhitā mss. of MS. have a different phonetic corruption, *dadrk*; ed. follows p.p.

§623. In other texts *i* and *u* occasionally interchange in formative elements of the same type, but in these the *u* forms are less anomalous: *acety agniś cikituḥ* (SV. KS. *uṭiḥ*) RV. SV. KS. Perhaps assimilation in SV. KS.

*daivya* (AV. *daiivā*) *hotāro* (TS. *ra*, AV. *raḥ*) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vaniṣ*<sup>o</sup>, KS.† *vaniṣan na*, AV. *vaniṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS. The ancient aorist *vanuṣanta* is based on *vanu-*, the same element mentioned above in §606, end. It is historically quite as justified as *vaniṣanta*, which is substituted for it in later texts (TS., contrary to its general trend!) to bring it into a commoner type of aorist formation.

§624. In two other rather obscure words assimilation or dissimilation may be concerned:

*rkṣo jatūḥ suṣīlikā* (MS. *śuśulūkā*) *ta itarajanānām* VS. MS. (p.p. of MS. *suṣīliketi suṣīlikā*). See §279.

*dṛṣe ca* (MS. *dṛṣā ca*, RV. *abhikhyā*) *bhāṣā bṛhatā sukukvanīḥ* (RV. *śuśu*<sup>o</sup>; KS. *vaḥhiḥ*; MS. *śuśikmanā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §240.

§625. In verb inflexion there are many cases of variation between indicative endings in *i* and imperatives in *u*. They need not be listed here; see VV I, e.g. §116. Otherwise the remaining variants seem to be



sporadic and purely lexical, so far as not corrupt; unless one make an exception of the following which shows two mere interjections, *him* and (commoner) *hum*:

*paśūndm tvā hinikāreṇābhijighrāmy* (GG. °mi; HG. *hum*°) *asau* . . .  
SMB. GG. ApMB. HG.

§626. In several variants forms of root *śri* exchange with *śru* or *śru*:  
*agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti* (ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. °ñ; TB. *upaśrito*) *divas*  
(TB. *divah*) *prthivyoḥ* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *upaśrito divaḥ prthivyoḥ*  
TS.

*kavaś hy asi śrutah* (AV. *śritah*) RV. AV. But SPP. *śrutah* for AV., with many mss. (other mss. *śrtah*); and so Whitney's Transl.

*ā tvā parisrutah* (MG. °śrtah, mss. °tam; AG. °śritah) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. † °āḥ) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. And others; see §275.

§627. The rest are sporadic:

*prajāvatīḥ sūyacasam* (AV. °se) *ruśantiḥ* (RV. TB. comm. *riś*°) RV. AV. TB. See Whitney's note on AV. *ruś*° 'shining', tho no doubt secondary to *riś*° 'grazing', is not impossible of interpretation and is clearly the reading of AV. tradition.

*priyo me hṛdo* (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *huto*) 'si' (MŚ. †*bhava*) TS. MŚ. This, as between *i* and *u*, concerns of course only a textual corruption in the mss. of MŚ.

*svarvido abhi gā adrim uṣṇan* (SV. *iṣṇan*) RV. SV. See §401.

*pāti priyam ripo* (and, *rupe*) *agram padam veḥ* RV. (both): *pāty agnir ripo agram padam veḥ* ApŚ. Read *rupe* in both RV. passages; cf. Ludwig ad loc., Bloomfield, JAOS 27. 75, and RVRep. 184.

*apām tvā sadhiṣi* (MS. † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §353. The MS. is mangled; is its ending felt as loc plur.? (*sadhiṣi* loc. sing.)

*upa yajñam asthita* (MŚ. *astu* no, AV. comm. *astṛta*) *vaiśvadevi* RV. Kh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ā śuṣe* (SV. *ākiṣe*) *rādhase mahe* RV. SV. The RV. has a verb form from *ā-śvas*: 'I fan (instigate) you unto great bounty'. In SV. we have an interesting case of assimilation in sense to outward form. The ending *e* suggests a dative matching the following *rādhase*; hence *ākiṣe* 'unto blessing', which leaves the sentence without a verb. Benfey supplies 'we summon'.

*rtasyartena mām uta* (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *rtasya tv enam āmutaḥ* (p.p. *itā*, *enam*, *mā'm*, *uttām* *ma*) MS. (corrupt in both forms). TA. comm. takes *ita* as a verb form (= *prāpṛta*).

*mandāna ud vṛṣāyate* (SV. *id vṛṣāyase*) RV. SV.

*ṣaḍ id yamā* (TA. *udyamā*) *ṛṣaṣo devaṣa iti* RV. AV. TA. N.

*ud it te vasuvittamāḥ* ApŚ.: *ud u tye* (MS. MŚ. *ud-ut te*) *madhusattamāḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. GB. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

*sarvān it tān anu vidur vasisthāḥ* RV.: *sarvam uktam anuvīdur vasisthāḥ* JB.

*rikvair devai rātibhiḥ samravarāṇaḥ* (MG. *devair ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ*) ApMB. MG.

*augandhinī* (*subandhinī*) . . ., see §152.

*lokam* (RV. *ulokam*) *u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmi* (RV. *jāmin*) *īyatuh* RV. MS. ApŚ.

[*vātāpe pteu id bhava* RV. KS.†—Conc. *ud* for KS. *id*.]

*nāḍya śatruṃ namu* (ŚB.† *na nu*) *purā vīritse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. SV.

See §255; and other interchanges of *vi*: *yu* in §805.

*alivandāya svāhā* KSA.: *iluvandāya svāhā* TB. ApŚ. See §579.

*achidrā uśījaḥ padānu takṣuh* TS.: *achidrosījaḥ kavayaḥ padānutakṣīṣuh* (so text; em. by Caland; ms.† *padānitakṣīṣvat*) KS.

*vratānī* (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bibhrad vratapā adabdhāḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. *adabhyāḥ*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

#### 7. Interchanges of long *ī* and *ū* (*u*)

§623. Here are found only a few stray variants:

*ūrjān samśūdēna* (KSA. °*śūdēna*) TS. KSA. Parts of a horse's body; wholly obscure. TS. comm.: *samśūdān samśatalakṣaraṇo nāsikādīḥ*.

*vīṣṇur āprītapā āpyāyyamānaḥ* VS.: *apūtāpā ādhūyamānaḥ* TS. The passages are rather low bathos.

*ahīr na jūrṇām* (TB. *ahīr ha jūrṇām*) *atī sarpati tvacam* RV. SV. TB. Both participles of the dissyllabic root *jṛ*. The *ī* form is regular in Sanskrit, but the Vedic *ū* form survives in Prakrit (Edgerton, *Ind. Stud. C. R. Lanman* 27).

*ṛkṣo jatūḥ suśīlikā* (*śuśulūkā*) . . ., see §624.

*sam im* (SV. *u*) *rebhāso asvaran* RV. AV. SV.

*dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ* . . . VS.: *pitr̥bhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān* ApŚ. See §742.



## CHAPTER XIV. VOCALIC LIQUIDS AND OTHER VOWELS

§629. With this chapter we once more enter definitely into the sphere of Prakritism. In a considerable number of cases the variations seem to be, in fact, strictly Prakritic. That is, *a*, *i*, or *u* vowels are historically secondary, and are derived from *r* (*l*) by phonetic changes as in the Prakrit dialects. These are flanked by cases of hyper-Sanskritism, in which an older *a*, *i*, or *u*, which is conceived (perhaps wrongly) as Prakritic, is replaced by *r* in a secondary text. These are not less interesting than the other cases from the phonetic standpoint, as helping to show the wide spread of Prakritism in Vedic times.

§630. We also find not a few variations between vocalic *r* and consonantal *r* with another vowel; especially when that other vowel is *i* or *u*, we are reminded of the later pronunciation of *r* as *ri* or *ru*. On the other hand the not infrequent variations between *r* and *ra* or *ar* are mainly matters of ablaut, in so far as they are not lexical. Perhaps the majority of variants in the entire chapter are indeed in some sense lexical; that is they concern, or at least may concern, lexically independent forms. But even then it is still perfectly possible, and indeed highly likely, that Prakritic influences have been influential in the shift, even tho the exact extent of that influence cannot be determined. Cf. our remarks in §20.

### 1. *r* and *a* (one anomalous case of *ā*)

§631. We shall quote first the cases which can with most confidence be classed as purely phonetic (Prakritic), beginning with one in the Rigveda itself:

*ava sma durhaṇḍyataḥ* (SV, *durhṛṇ*<sup>o</sup>) RV, SV. The SV. has (secondarily, of course) restored Sanskritic vocalism in the Prakritized form of the RV. The root is originally *hṛṇ*, and this form continued to flourish by the side of the early Prakritism *haṇ*.

*īṣāṇ khr̥galyaṇ kavam* (ApŚ, *khr̥galyaṇ śapham*) MS. ApŚ. An uncertain part of a wagon is meant. The natural presumption of Prakritism arising from the juxtaposition of the two forms is supported by the form *khr̥gala*, RV., if that word (of uncertain meaning) may be assumed to be related.

*paśṭhavād* (MS. *pr̥ṣṭhavād*, p.p. *paśṭavād*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS.

TB. The p.p. form of MS. suggests that its *saṁhitā* form may be a hyper-Sanskritism; in any case it is hardly to be doubted that it gives the original form of the word.

*etāṁ saṁkṛṣṭā* (MS. MŚ. °kaṣṭā or °kuṣṭā) *jukudhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. The MS. MŚ. forms are not incapable of interpretation as lexically independent words; Boehtlingk chooses the form °kuṣṭā. But they are probably Prakritic after all.

*acchalābhīḥ* (KSA. °rābhīḥ, MS. [m]atsarābhīḥ, VS. *rkaḥalābhīḥ*) *kapīñjalān* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See §184. The AV. knows *ṛcharā*; probably *r* is older than *a*.

§632. The following cases seem more or less clearly to contain hyper-Sanskritism in the forms with *r*:

*sarvaṁ taṁ māsmaśā* (VS. *bhaś°*) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāś tān maṣmaśā* (MS. †*mṛsmṛśā*) *kuru* MS. KS. TA.: *sarvān nī maṣmaśākaram* AV. In this onomatopoetic word (cf. Eng. *mash*) there is no doubt that the *a* vowel is original; MS. pedantically tries to make it sound Sanskritic and 'hifalutin'.

*atirātraṁ varṣaṁ pūrtir āvṛt* (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrtā rāvaṭ*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūrtā rāvaṭ*) TS. MS. KS. And various other formulas in the same passages, all containing the same exclamations. Despite the lingual *t* in MS. *rāvaṭ*, which might be argued to point to an original *r*, we believe with Keith that *āvṛt* is a mere hyper-Sanskritism, without real standing. Cf. §168.

*vanasade* (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §650.

*vasūnī cārur* (SMB. *cārya*, ApMB. *cāryo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛj°*, HG. *bhujā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. The SMB. form is certainly a hyper-Sanskritism if it is not corrupt; one ms. *bhajāsi*; Stönnner 'geniessen' (as if *bhaj*).

*yajuryuktam sāmabhir āktakham tva* (MS. *ṛktakham tā*, p.p. *ṛktakham itī ṛkta-khām, tā* [unaccented]) MS. TA. This is the only case of *ā* varying with *r*; it is highly problematic. See §365.

§633. The remaining cases are more clearly lexical in character. In the first we have probably a mere textual error:

*jīvasūr devakāmā* (HG. *vīrasūh*) *syonā* ApMB. HG.: *prajāvatī jīvasūr devṛkāmā* AV.: *vīrasūr devakāmā* (AV. *devṛ°*, SMB. °sūr *jīvasūr deva°*, GG. °sūr *jīvasūr*) *syonā* (AV. omits; GG. *jīvapatnī*) RV. AV. SMB. GG. PG. MG. Most mss. of AV. read *deva°* both times, and this is doubtless the true AV. reading, as Whitney observes. Either reading would however make sense.



*indro nāma hruto gr̥ṇe* (TB. ApŚ. *gaṇe*) SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *gr̥ṇe* is dubious; Benfey suggests taking it as 3d sing. passive; *gaṇe* is simple enough but may be a lect. fac.

*jālena jālam atī sa pra sars̥ṣte* (TB. *atī s̥ṣt pra s̥ṣasate*) RV. MS. TB. Comm. on TB. *s̥ṣt pras̥ṣtam, atī pras̥ṣasate 'tiṣayena pras̥ṣasayaty adhaḥ karoti*. TB. is evidently secondary.

§634. In the other lexical changes the two forms are less close to each other in form, the vowel change being accompanied by other changes in the words. We omit cases of *bṛhat* and *mahat*, cf. §241.

*vadhūr jāṇa* (AV. *jigāya*, MS. KS. *mimāya*) *navagaj* (ŚG. *navakṛj*) *janitrī* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚG. ApMB. See §46.

*jagdhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . ApMB. HG.: *jagdho maśako jagdhā vitṛṣṭir* (HG. *vicaṣṭir*) . . . ApMB. HG.: *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdho maśako jagdhā vitṛṣṭi evāhā* ApMB.: *jagdho vyadhvaro jagdhā vicaṣṭir jagdho maśakah* HG. See §156.

*ud usriyāḥ sṛjate* (TB. *sacate*) *sūryaḥ sacā* RV. SV. TB. See §3.

*dadhr̥g* (TA. *dadhad*) *vidhakṣyan* (AV. *\*kṣan*) *paryāṅkṣayāte* (TA. *\*tai*, AV. *pariāṅkṣayātai*) RV. AV. TA. See §145.

*ajanti* (SV. *mjanti*) *vahnin̄ sadanāny* (SV. *\*neṣe*) *acha* RV. SV.

*sacitā bhr̥tyām* (KS. *†manyām*) TS. KS. So ms. of KS.; ed. em. *bhr̥tyām*. *yad adya dugdham̄ pṛthivīm asṛpta* (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §152.

*satyaujasā dṛṇhanā* (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. *†dṛhanā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhr̥ṇo yau nudethe* AV. See §305.

*somah sutaḥ pūyate ajyamānah* (SV. *suta ṛcyate pūyamānah*) RV. SV. See §57.

*rasena sam asṛkṣmahi* (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *apṛkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB.

*yān* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS. *†\*tho*, AV. *viśato*) *yau ca rakṣataḥ* (AV. KS. *†\*thah*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

*deva puraścara saḥyāsam̄* (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam̄*) *toṣi* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. But cf. §838; it is doubtful if this belongs here.

*ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny āṇḍhuḥ* (TS. *āṇḍhuḥ*, MS. *ānaṣuḥ*) AV. TS. MS.

*āsannīṣūn hṛtvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuvidho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

## 2. *r* and *i* (once *i*)

§635. Here most of the variants can be justified lexically in either form. Perhaps the clearest cases of Prakritism are the two following.

The first is striking because of the persistence with which the Prakritie form occurs, in three out of four texts; and even in the fourth a v. l. has it:

*tejo yaśasvi sthāviraṃ samiddham* (ŚG. *saṃṛddham*, v. l. *sami*?) ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34; *samiddham* is pretty clearly for *saṃṛddham*.

*dadhiṣa ehi* ApŚ.: *dadhr̥ṣy ehi* MS. The forms are voc. sing. fem., and the first can hardly be anything but a Prakritie form of root *dhṛṣ*; so apparently Caland, who renders 'Kühne'.

To these may be appended another, in which however *i* for *r* seems to be a textual corruption:

*ayam śatrūn jayatu jarhṣāyaḥ* (AŚ.† *jarhiṣ*°) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. But elsewhere AŚ. has the vikāra: *aham śa° jayāmi jarhṣāyaḥ*, indicating that *jarhiṣ*° is corrupt.

§636. An interesting case, with a sort of lexical hyper-Sanskritism, is the next; *gotrabhṛd* is probably felt sophistically as 'supporting the gens', but is fundamentally hyper-Sanskritic (the true epithet of Indra can only be the familiar *gotrabhid*), cf. Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Hermann Collitz* 34:

*purandaro gotrabhid* (MS. °*bhṛd*, all mss.; TB. *maghavān*) *vajrabāhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§637. In words closely related in meaning, when the only or chief difference of form is the shift between *i* and *r*, it is fair to assume some degree of Prakritie influence, even if the forms are both historically correct:

*jāmim r̥tvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. *jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA. The roots *r* and *i* are synonyms. But Poona ed. of TA. *jāmi mited*.

*ādityānām prasitir* (MS. °*sṛtir*) *hetir ugrā* MS. TB. TA. 'Extension': 'progress'. Cf. next two.

*prayatiś ca me prasitiś* (MS. KS. °*sṛtiś*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. prec. and next.

*dīrghām anu prasitim* (KS. *saṃṛtim*) *āyaye dhām* (KS. *tvā*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *dīrghām anu prasitim saṃspr̥kethām* MS. Cf. prec. two.

*tām dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK. °*diśya*) *yajante* (KS. *śanudṛśyāyajanta karayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB.: *tām dhīrāsaḥ karayo 'nudṛśyāyajanta* MS.: *tām u dhīrāso anudṛśya yajante* VS. ŚB. *anu-diś* 'assign': *anu-dṛś* 'survey'.

*tam ghed* (MS. *hed*) *agnir vṛdhāvati* (MS. *vidh*°) RV. TS. MS. In the original there are two words, *vṛdhā avati*. MS. is obscure and probably corrupt; p.p. *vadhā* (sic!), *avati*.



§638. To this same group belongs the single case involving long *i*; it is of doubtful validity, since most MŚ. mss. read °*mṛte* with the rest, and probably this should be adopted in the text. But the form as printed can be interpreted as a negative past participle of root *mi* 'change, alter':

*tasmīn śīdāmṛte pratitiṣṭha* (MŚ. text *śīdāmīte pratitiṣṭhan*) TB. ApŚ.

MŚ. Add to VV I §250.

§639. Still pretty close to each other in meaning are the variants between *hita* (or *dhita*), participle of *dhā*, in compounds, and *bhṛta* (once *hṛta*), from *bhr* (*hr*):

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ bibhartu* (Ppp. *pipartu*) AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhṛtaṁ dadhātu* TB.

*gandharvo dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat* VS.: *ga<sup>a</sup> nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA.

MahānU. And others; §855.

*devair devīḥ samāhitaḥ* RVKh. (but Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*): *devīr devaiḥ samābhṛtāḥ* (TB. °*bhṛtāḥ*) SV. TB.

*yad agne pūrvaṁ prabhṛtaṁ* (AŚ. *prahitaṁ*, MŚ. *nihitaṁ*) *padavā hi te* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*hiraṇye 'smin samāhitaḥ* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz °*hṛtāḥ*, HG. °*bhṛtāḥ*) RVKh. ApMB. HG.

*garbha iva* (SV. KU. [Poley's ed.] *ivet*) *subhṛto garbhiniḥbhiḥ* (RV. *sudhito garbhiniṣu*) RV. SV. KU.

*sūryaraśmīn samābhṛtaṁ* TS. TB.: *sūryān* (p.p. °*yāt*) *śukraṁ samābhṛtaṁ* MS.: *sūrye santanī* (KS. TA. *śukraṁ*) *samāhitaṁ* (KS. TA. *samābhṛtaṁ*) VS. KS. ŚB. TA.

§640. Rather remoter are the remaining lexical variants:

*priyo mā hṛdo* (MŚ. *hito*, v. l. *kuto*) 'si (MŚ. *ḥbhava*) TS. MŚ.

*īmā* (MS. *idām*) *brahma pīpihī* (MS. *piprhi*, v. l. *pipihī*) *saubhagāya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vr̥ṣajātīr no 'vṛtāḥ* (SV. 'vītā) RV. SV. *a-vṛ-tāḥ*: *av-i-tā* (nom. ag., root *av*). *hotrāvidaḥ* (RV. °*vida*, TB. °*vṛdha*) *stomataṣṭīso arkaiḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. *mā no vidad* (KS. *vṛdhad*) *vṛjinā* (KS. TB. ApŚ. °*and*) *dveṣyā* † *yā* AV.

KS. TB. ApŚ.

*indrartubhīr brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānaḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *indra r̥bhubbhīr brahmaṇā suhṛvidānaḥ* ŚŚ.

*āñjanena sarpiṣā samā nīśantu* (AV. *spṛśantām*, TA. *mṛśantām*) RV. AV. TA.

*atrāha tad urugāyasya viṣṇoḥ* (RV. N. *vr̥ṣṇaḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Viṣṇu is meant even in RV.; later texts substitute the name for the epithet.

*prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīr* (SV. *prāntarikṣāt sthāvīrīś te*) *asrkṣata* RV. SV. *edcaspute hṛdvidhe nāman* (MS. MŚ. *hinvidhe*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. All mss. and p.p. of MS. agree on the strange form. Even *hṛdvidhe* is none too clear (TA. comm. *hṛdayasya vidhātāḥ ciltaprakety arthaḥ*).

*vṛtrasyāsi* (mitra°) . . . see §235.

*made-made hi no dadīh* (TB. *daduh*; MS. *sañh*. mss. *dadrk*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. See §622.

*adṛñhathāḥ śarkarābhis triviṣṭapī* (MŚ. *tribhrṣṭibhiḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §222.

*iśāno vi ṣyā* (= *ṣiyā*; TS. *ṣjā*) *dṛtim* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*upa yajñam asthita* (AV. comm. *astṛta*, MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RV. Kh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ.

*dame-dame suṣṭutyā* (TS. °tīr, MS.° tī, AŚ. ŚŚ. °tīr) *vāvrhānā* (AV. °nau, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iṣānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §236.

[*eṣa iṣḍya* (AV. Berlin ed. *ṛṣaye*, emendation) *māmahe* AV. ŚŚ. Keep *iṣḍya* with AV. mss.]

### 3. *r* (ṛ) and *u* (ū)

§641. The not very numerous variants under this head seem to be prevaillingly Prakritic in character. We should expect *u* for *r* especially in the vicinity of labial consonants; but except in the first variant (before *m*), we hardly find this to be the case; the only other instances with labials (e.g. *bhr* and *bhū*) are lexical. The most clearly Prakritic cases are:

*tvastṛmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvastṛi*°, ApŚ. *tvastu*°) *tvā sapoma* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. *tvastṛmatī* (TS. ApŚ. and TA. Poona ed. *tvastṛi*°) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. The Taittirīya form is feminized. *ut* (Vait. *adhāma*) *sakthyā* (ŚŚ. Vait. °yor) *ara gudañ* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *sakthyor grdañ*) *dhehī* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. Altho *grda* seems not to be recorded elsewhere, it may be presumed to be the original form of *guda*.

*etām sañkṛṣya* (MS. MŚ. °kaṣya or °kuṣya) *juhudhī* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §631.

*ṛtaprajābī* (MŚ. *uta pra*°) *bhaga id vaḥ syāma* TS. MŚ. This may be called a lexical variant, since MŚ. makes sense; but it is doubtless fundamentally Prakritic.

§642. Some variants are on their face hyper-Sanskritic, but probably both are mere textual errors or corruptions:



*sa nīrudhyā nahuṣo* (TB. Conc. *nahrṣo*) *yahvo agnīh* RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *nahuṣo*, the only possible reading.  
*devaṃ manah kuto* (AV. *krto*) *adhi prajātam* RV. AV. Altho all mss. of AV. apparently agree on *krto* (if we understand Whitney's meaning), it seems that we must read *kuto*, with Whitney.  
*made-made hi no dadih* (*daduh*, *dadrk*), see §§622, 640.

§643. More purely lexical variants are:

*priyo me hrdo* (MŚ. *hito* or *huto*) 'si (MŚ. *ṭbhava*) TS. MŚ. See §640.  
*agner* (ApŚ. *devā*) *akriwann* (RV. *apunann*) *usiḥ amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*; ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ.  
*vanīḡhōr hrdayād* (AV.\* *udarād*) *adhi* RV. AV. (both) ApMB.  
*upa yajñam asthita* (*astṛta*, *astu no*) . . ., see §640.  
*avimuktacakra* (°*rā*) *āsiran* PG.: *vinṛttacakrā āsīnāh* HG. ApMB.

Note labial consonants preceding *r*: *u*.

*āyurdā deva* (AV. *agne*) *jarasam vṛṇānah* (ApMB. ApG. HG. *grv*°) AV. MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. HG. ApG.: *āyurdā* (VS. ŚB. *āyugmān*) *agne haviṣo juṣānah* (VS. ŚB. ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

§644. The only cases of long *ū* and *ṛ* concern compounds of the roots *bhū* and *bhr*, which are practically synonyms here:

*adbhyaḥ sambhṛtaḥ* (TA. MahānU. ApŚ. *sambhūtaḥ*) *prthivyai* (MS. KS.† °*vyā*) *rasāc ca* (KS. *rasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. KŚ. ApŚ. PG.

*samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyā* (PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*; TS. ApŚ. *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhaḥ pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. omit) *'bhībhūṭaye* (TS. ApŚ. *abhībhūṭyai*, ŚŚ. *'bhībhr̥tyai*, KŚ. *'bhībhūṭyai*) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.: *ariṣṭyā aveyathyai samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyā* (also *triṣṭubho*, *jagatyā*, *anuṣṭubho*, *pañktyā*) *abhībhūṭyai svāhā* ApŚ.

Once *ṛ* is corruptly written *ū* in a single ms.:

*lāsāh svasṛ ajānayat* (MS. *svaṛ ajānan*, KS. ms.† *svasūr* [ed. em. *svasṛ*] *ajānan*) *pañca-pañca* TS. MS. KS.

#### 4. *l* and *u*

§645. There are two cases, both concerning the same very interesting form. A perfect middle participle of root *kṛp* appears twice in ApŚ. with *u* for *l*. There is no doubt whatever of the correct interpretation of the form, which is established by the KS. variant, with correct Sanskrit vocalism. It is the clearest kind of Prakritism, but seems not to be recorded in any grammar or lexicon, nor in Whitney's Roots.

*saṁvatsara ṛtubhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ* (KS. °bhiḥ cākṣpānaḥ, ApŚ. °bhiḥ cākupānaḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ.

*satyaṁ pūrvaḥ* (KS. °vebhīr) ṛgibhiḥ *saṁvidānaḥ* (KS.† °bhiḥ cākṣpānaḥ, ApŚ. cākupānaḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ.

### 5. *r* and *o*

§646. In a single lexical variant, showing forms from the roots *grh* and *guh*:

*grhyopagrhyo mayobhūr* ... ŚG.: *gohya ṭupagohyo* ... SMB. PG.

### 6. *r* and *ar*

§647. The variants under this head are not very numerous, and are almost exclusively concerned with ablaut. That is, the variant forms are nearly all nil-grade and full-grade formations from the same root, in verb inflexion or noun formation. Usually both forms can be justified by regular grammar, altho a number of them are grammatically more or less irregular.

§648. The following concern various finite verb forms:

*pary agnim ahṛṣata* (VSK. ṭarṣata or aharṣata) RV. VS. VSK.: *parīme 'gnim arṣata* AV. (Ppp. ms. aharṣata; Barret JAOS 43. 99 em. ahṛṣata.) Sigmatic aorists from *hr*, weak-grade or guṇa; the latter is ungrammatical, and if it is to be accepted (cf. VSK. and AVPpp.) it is to be regarded as a blend of *ahṛṣata* and *arṣata*.

*bahu hāyam* (MS. *ha vā ayam*) *avṛṣad* (TS. *avṛṣād*, MS. *avarṣād*) *iti śruta rūval* (MS. °vaṭ, TS. *śrutar āvṛt*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

*praty u adarṣy* (TB. *ue ṭadṛṣy*) *āyañ* RV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. This can only be a 3d sing. nor. pass., with *r* in TB. anomalously for *ar* (comm. *drṣyate*). To be added to VV I §281.

*bhartam* (VS. ŚB. *bhṛtam*) *agnih puriṣyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See VV I p. 188.

*agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva* (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva*, KŚ. *abhi no nīvartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś. *abhi na ā vartasva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.: *abhi na ā vartasva* RV. See VV I p. 126.

*punar ūrjā nī vartasva* (Kauś. *ūrjā vartasva*) SV. VŚ. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

*ime jīvā vi mṛtaḥ āvartan* (TA. *āvartan*, Poona ed. °rtin) RV. AV. TA. See VV I p. 42.

*nādhrṣa ā dadhrṣate* (AA. *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ. *dadharṣaya*) AV. AA. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 89.



§649. In various participles and gerundives:

*atirātram varṣan pūrtir āṛṭ* (MS. *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūrta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 147.

*jāgaritāya* (KSA. *jāgrtāya*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Both equivalent participles. *adhā te viṣṇo viduṣā cid ardhyah* (TB. *rdhyah*) RV. TB. Gerundives; cf. Whitney §963b, 4.

*dāma grīvāsu avimokṣyaṁ yat* (TS. *avicartyaṁ*) AV. TS.: *pāśaṁ grīvāsu avicartyaṁ* (VS. ŚB. °*crtyaṁ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec. AVPpp. according to Whitney has °*crtyaṁ*.

§650. In other noun and adjective formations:

*śam methir* (ApMB. *śam te methī*) *bhavatu śam yugasya tardma* (ApMB. *trdma*) AV. ApMB. No stem *trdman* is otherwise known.

*atandraso yuvatoḥ vibhṛtram* (TB. *vibhartram*) RV. TB. Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *bibhartram*. Agni is referred to; TB. comm. *poṣakam*.

*aprajastāṁ putramṛtyuṁ* ApMB. HG.: *aprajasyaṁ putramamṛtyaṁ* SMB. Comm. on SMB. repeats the form, glossing *putrasaṁ-bandhīmarayam*.

*pra-sa* (tead *su*?) *mṛtyuṁ yuyotana* HG.: *pra-sumartyaṁ* (ApMB. *su mṛtyuṁ*) *yuyotana* ApMB. SMB.: *prathamam arim yuyotu nah* MG.

*agner* (ApŚ. *devā*) *akṛṇvann* (RV. *apunann*) *uśijo amṛtyave* (RV. °*vah*, ApŚ. *amartyave*) RV. MS. ApŚ. In ApŚ. a blended stem *-martyu* (fused from *marta*, *marṭya*, and *mṛtyu*); cf. pree.

*jñeṣṭave na mṛtyave* (PB. *martave*) RV. PB. Infinitive in PB.

*sarūpavarṣā chī* MS.: *sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahī* SV. JB.

*vanasade* (MS. *vanarṣade*, KS. *vanṛṣade*) *veṭ* (TS. MS. *vaṭ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The stem *vanar*, equivalent to *vana*, is found in RV. in compounds. It does not occur independently, and *vanṛ* is not recorded even in compounds except here. The next preceding phrase in KS. is *nṛṣade veṭ*; the *r* of *nṛ* has perhaps been responsible for *vanṛ*°.

*devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṁ nyarthāt* (AV. *nirṛthāt*) RV. AV. TS. Synonyms, both meaning 'perdition'; *nirṛtha* also Rigvedic.

[*niṣkarta* (RV. KŚ. *iṣṭ*°, ApMB. Conc. wrongly *niṣkṛtā*) *vihṛtaṁ* (PB. TA. ApMB. *vihṛtaṁ*) *punaḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.]

§651. Miscellaneous and apparently unrelated words:

*patiṣrutkāyā artanam* (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. *artanam*, comm. *duḥkḥinam*; BR. 'reviler'; *ṛtulam*, comm. *deśarājavārtākathanaśīlam*.

*sarṇikāya tvā* TS.: *sṛdikāya tvā* MS. Both words wholly obscure; said to mean 'water'.

*dviṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ.<sup>o</sup> *yai*) *ṛṇayā na iyase* (SV. *irase*) RV. SV. KB. AB. ApŚ.: *dviṣas tad adhy arṇaveṇeyase* AV.

### 7. *r* and *ār*

§652. Here we find only a few cases, in most of which *ār* shows the vriddhi of secondary derivation, varying with the primary word with *r*. Once a form with prefixed preposition *ā* varies with the same form without *ā*:

*aprajāstvam mātavatsam* AV.: *aprajastām paultramptyum* ApMB. HG.

Others, §650.

*ārtavā* (MS. KS. *ṛtavo*) *adhīpataya* (MS. KS. 'dhi°) *āsan* VS. MS. KS.

ŚB.: *ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt* TS.

*ṛtavo 'srjyanta* VS. TS. ŚB.: *ārtavā asrjyanta* MS. KS.

*agnir grhapatīnām* (MS. KS. *gūrhapatyānām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ārtyai* (TB. *ṛtyai*) *janavādinam* VS. TB. Stem *ṛti*, from *r*: *ārti*, from *ā + r*.

### 8. *r* and *ir*, *ur*, *ūr*

§653. Here are found only a handful of cases, almost all of which seem highly questionable or certainly corrupt. Even corruptions are interesting in such a case, however, as signs of phonetic tendencies in later times at least. As to *r*: *ir*, we find just two cases in which the *samhitā* mss. of MS. (the same text each time!) read *r* for proper *ir*. In both cases the p.p. points to the reading *ir*. Von Schroeder inconsistently retains *r* in one case and emends to *ir* in the other; there is as much, or as little, justification in one as the other:

*nāma ānirhatebhyah* (MS. *ānr°*, p.p. *ānir°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu* (MS. mss. *nakṛṇu*, ed. em. *nakir nu*; p.p. *nakis, tu*) RV. VS. MS. KS.

§654. Under *r*: *ur* we also find only a couple of cases, equally dubious: *agnir dvārā vy ṛvati* RV. TB. Conc. quotes *urṇvati* for TB.; but Poona ed. text and comm. *ṛṇ°* without v. l.

*satyaujasā dṛṇhaṇā* (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. *ḍṛḥaṇā*) *yam nudethe* TS. MS. KS. And others: see §305.

*nābhimṛṣe* (MS. KS. *nābhīdhṛṣe*) *tanvā* (TS. *tanuvā*) *jarbhurāṇah* (TS. MS. KS. *jarhṛṣāṇah*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Might also be classed in §643.



§655. Of *r*: *ūr* we find only the following, in which the root *r* varies with the so-called 'root' *ūrṇu*, really a form of *ur*:  
*tveṣas te dhūma rṇvati* (AV. *ūrṇotu*) RV. AV. SV. LŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

9. *r* and *ra*, *rā*

§656. In so far as this variation is properly phonetic, it is mainly a matter of that form of ablaut which is called by modern westerners 'Sañprasāraṇa', with a misapplication of a term used differently in Hindu grammar. On this see Wackernagel I pp. 69-71, and cf. the similar variations of *i* and *u* with *ya* and *va* in the next chapter. There is one case, also, of *r* varying with *ra* which stands for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant, by the phonetic law formulated in Wackernagel I p. 212 f. There are likewise a few variants which concern morphology (verb inflexion, and noun formation): and a few that are purely lexical, with some border-line cases which seem to be half-lexical, half-morphological.

§657. The cases of so-called Sañprasāraṇa concern to some extent roots which are familiarly known in both forms (such as *grah*, *grabh*), to some extent rarer and more doubtful cases which are not recorded in Wackernagel's excellent treatment of the subject. They thus supplement our previous knowledge on the point. We begin with several variations of *grabh*, *grbh*, on which see especially VV I §281:

*agrbbhīt* VSK.: *agrabbhīt* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*agrbbhīṣata* VS.: *agrabbhīṣata* KS.

*udgrābheṣod agrabbhīt* (MS. *ajigrabhat*, KS. *ajīgrabham*, and *ajīgrbham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agnaye tvā mahyañ . . . pratigrahītre* (ŚŚ. °*grhṇate*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ.  
*prāṇo dātra edhī . . . pratigrahītre* (ŚŚ. °*grhṇate*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. The same with *haya dātra . . .*

Similarly ablaut grades of another root, in various verb forms:  
*viṣe viṣam aprkthāh* (*aprāḡ api*) AV. (both)

§658. In radical syllables of various noun formations the same change is familiarly known. Most of the following cases are sporadic and are not recorded in Wackernagel I. c.; some of the forms are so obscure that no theory of historic origin can be regarded as certain, and the phonetic shift may perhaps be secondary and analogical:

*hradam* (MS. *hṛdam*) *na hi tvā nyrṇanty ūrmayaḥ* RV. MŚ. 'Like streams to a pool, flow down to thee (the hymns, *brahmāṇi*).' The ultimate etymology of *hrada* is not clear, but surely *hṛda* can be nothing but a phonetic variant for it, presumably *sañprasāraṇa*. Cf. next.

*namo niveṣyāya* (p.p. *ni*<sup>o</sup>) *ca hr̥dyāya ca* MS.: *namo hradayyāya* (VS. *hrdayyāya*, KS. *hradavyāya*) *ca niveṣyāya* (TS. *ṣyāyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS. See §248. The MS. and VS. forms simulate derivatives of *hr̥d* and *hr̥daya*, but these can hardly be in place here; the adjoining word means 'whirlpool' and apparently we must think of the same form *hr̥da* = *hrada* found in MS. in the preceding variant.

*pr̥kṣasya* (ArS. *prakṣ*<sup>o</sup>) *ṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS. *mahaḥ*) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. *pr̥kṣa* is a name or epithet of a horse; its etymology is obscure, and *prakṣa* has not been recorded elsewhere.

*nimrado* (ApŚ. *nimṛdo*) 'si MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Apparently different grades of root *mṛd*, Wackernagel p. 71.

*avātirataḥ br̥ṣayasya* (TB. *prathayasya*) *śeṣaḥ* RV. TB. See §69.

*bhr̥jaś chandaḥ* MS.: *bh̥rajaś chandaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *bhr̥jaś chandaḥ* KS.† (but v. l. *bhra*<sup>o</sup>). The word is said to mean 'fire', and apparently comes from the root *bhr̥j*, which is not mentioned as such by Wackernagel l. c. but may be related to *bhr̥j*, Wackernagel p. 69; cf. also *bharyas* etc. There is much confusion in the forms of this root or these roots. Cf. next.

*k̥uro bh̥rajaś* (TS. *bhr̥jadā*, MS. *bhr̥jaś*, VS. *bhr̥jaś*, stigmatized by Conc. as erroneous, hardly with justice) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. prec.

*ārdrāḥ prathas̥nur* (MŚ. †*pr̥thas̥nur*, v. l. *pratha*<sup>o</sup>) *bhuvanasya gopāḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §609, and Wackernagel p. 71.

*svasty apsu v̥rajane svarvati* (MG. †*v̥rajane svarvataḥ*) RV. AB. MG. Really a lexical variant; *v̥rajana* 'way' is suggested by *pathyāsu* of the preceding pāda. But some MG. mss. read with RV.

[*digbhyaś cakravākaḥ* (KSA. Conc. *cakrv*<sup>o</sup> with the sole ms.; ed. em. *cakrav*<sup>o</sup>) TS. KSA. This is probably a mere corruption; if genuine it would have to be a purely phonetic variant, for the meaning is certainly the same.]

§659. The roots *rād̥h* and *ṛdh*, tho separated in the history of the language, and tho often regarded as unrelated, are at least quite possibly of identical origin; and certainly the repeated variation between them belongs phonetically with this group. Cf. also §806:

*ṛdhyāsam adya makhasya śiraḥ* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *makhanya te 'dya k̥iro rādhyāsam devayajane pr̥thiryāḥ* VS. ŚB. [The references to MS. MŚ. in Conc. seem to be erroneous.]

*tan me rādhyatām* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś. SMB.: *tan me samṛdhyatām* (Kauś. *samṛddham*) TB. SMB. Kauś.



*harivatō graham rādhyaśam* KS.: *harivatō hariyojanasya harivantam graham rādhyaśam* MS.

§660. The single case noted of *r* varying with *ra* for *ar* before *ṣ* plus consonant (Wackernagel I p. 212 f.) is:

*samśṛṣṭānu yūtsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS.: *samśṛaṣṭā* (AV. v. 4. *samśṛṣṭā*) *an yudha indro gaṇana* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.

§661. From the root *śṛ*, also quoted as *śrā* 'boil', are found the two participles *śṛta* and *śrāta*, which exchange in the following, in which *śṛta* happens to be secondary, but it is equally old otherwise:

*śrūrātām* (AV. *śrūrātām*) *manyo tad ṛtām navīyāḥ* RV. AV.

§662. The remaining variants cannot be called purely phonetic. In verb inflexion forms in *r* vary repeatedly with other forms in which a morphological *a* (thematic vowel, or part of a different personal ending) is added, producing *ra*:

*āpo grheṣu jāgrata* HG.: *āpo jāgrta* MS. KS. MŚ.: *āpo haviṣṣu jāgrta*

ApŚ.: *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG. See VV I p. 123.

*ye ca bhūteṣu jāgrati* (KS. *jāgrtha*) AV. KS. See VV I p. 221.

*yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ.: *saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG. See VV I p. 96.

*tē na ātmasu jāgrati* (KS.† *jāgrta*) AV. KS.

*yat paśur māyūm akrta* TS. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. GG.: *yad vaśā māyūm akrata* Kauś. See VV I p. 257.

*yatra-yatra vibhrto* (KS. *bibhrato*) *jātavedāḥ* AV. KS. Both forms are textually uncertain (for variants see VV I p. 158), and obscure as to interpretation.

§663. Similarly in noun formation, a stem in *r* varies with a derivative in suffixal *a*:

*hotrakānām* (MŚ. *hotrk°*, v. 1. *hotrak°*) *camasādhwaryavah* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

The words *hotṛka* 'secondary *hotṛ*' and *hotraka* 'pertaining to the sacrifice (*hotra*)' are finally synonymous names for a certain priest. See Caland on ApŚ. 12. 23. 4.

§664. Finally, we find similar shifts in words which are lexically quite unrelated; notably three between the stem *kratu* and forms of the root *kr*. Both are important in the ritual, and the repeated interchange may well signify an association of them in the minds of the Vedic poets, by popular etymology:

*puṣṭjikasthalā* (KS. *†puṣṭjiga°*) *ca kṛtasthalā* (VS. ŚB. *kratu°*) *cāpasarasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Proper names, and so naturally flexible.

*samśṛṣṭam ubhayaṁ kṛtam* (KŚ. *abhayaṁ kratum*) KS. TB. ApŚ. KŚ. *indra krataū* (MS. *indrah kṛtā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. The

MS., which is certainly secondary and poor in *indrah*, reads the

gerund *kr̥tā* for *kratā* by a phonetically easy slip, which is banal to the point of senselessness.

*mainā arvā reṇukakāṣaḥ pr̥nak* (MŚ.† [v. l. *pr̥nak*] KS. *pranak*) MŚ. KS.

TB. *pra-nak*, from *naś*, 'attain', with *pra*; *pr̥nak* from *prc*.

*indrāya tō śrmo 'dadāt* (ŚG. *śramo dadāt*) MŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. See §277.

§665. The other lexical variants are more remote from each other in sound, and the resemblance becomes very vague:

*drapsaś caskanda pr̥thivīm anu dyām* (RV. *prathamān anu dyān*) RV.

AV. VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. Vague assonance only.

*taṁ tvam̐ viśvebh̥yo devebh̥yaḥ kratūn* (KS. °*bhya rtūn*) *kalpaya* KS. ApŚ.

*sā* (read *sa*?) *naḥ prajām pakūn pāhy arañīyamānaḥ* (p.p. *ahāḥ, ānī, yāmānaḥ*!) MŚ.: *sa no rucan̐ dhehy ahr̥ṇīyamānaḥ* TA. The MŚ. is hopelessly corrupt; probably read *ahr̥ṇīyamānaḥ*.

*atrā te bhadrā rakanā apaśyam* (KS. *bhadrā vṛṣayā agr̥bhīyām*) RV. VS.

TS. KS.

*idāsmān anu vastām̐ ghr̥tena* ApŚ. MŚ.: *idāivāsmān* (RVKh. *iloiva vām*) *anu vastām̐ vratena* RVKh. AV. Scheftelowitz reads *ghr̥tena* in RVKh.

*idam̐ aham̐ sarpāṇām̐ . . . grathnāmī* (MŚ. mss. *kr̥tenāmī*) TS. ApŚ.

MŚ. See §47; MŚ. perhaps corruption for *grath*°.

*naḍayor vivratayoh̐ sūra indraḥ* RV.: *na devo vṛtaḥ sūra indraḥ* SV. See §828.

*viśvair devai rātibhiḥ sam̐rarāṇaḥ* (MG. *devair r̥tubhiḥ sam̐vidānaḥ*) ApMB. MG.

*āvītte dyāvōṣṣr̥thivī r̥tv̥r̥dhau* MŚ. KS.: *āvinne dyāvōṣṣr̥thivī dh̥rtavrate*

TS. TB. In this and the next, TS. has interchanged the two old adjectives *r̥tv̥r̥dh* and *dh̥rtavrata* (both RV.).

*āvīttau* (TS. *āvinnau*) *mītrāvaruṇau dh̥rtavratatau* (TS. °*ṇāve r̥tv̥r̥dhau*)

VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. Cf. pree.

#### 10. *r* and *ri*, *ri*

§666. Since *r* and *ri* have been pronounced alike for centuries by most Hindus, it follows on the one hand that such variations are especially open to the suspicion of corruption, and on the other that genuine variations of this sort may be expected to occur fairly early, as forerunners of the later change of *r* to *ri* (which occurs, sporadically but not seldom, in the middle Indie dialects). On the whole subject see provisionally Wackernagel I pp. 31 ff. It is a well-known fact that Hindu mss., including those of Vedic works, show much fluctuation in this regard. As a single instance, which might be multiplied indefinitely,



we call attention to Whitney's note on AV. 5. 14. 3, apropos of the pāda: *riśasyeva parikṣam*. So the Berlin ed. prints it. But Whitney informs us that most mss. read *riśasyeva*, and observes that this is a common phenomenon in them. In this case Whitney advises adopting their reading into the text; we agree with him. Against most mss., but with some of them and with the comm., Whitney would also read *riśyapadīm vṛṣadatīm* in AV. 1. 18. 4a, where both editions have *riśya*°.

§667. These AV. cases do not differ in principle in the slightest degree from the following readings of MS., which presents *triṣu* for *trṣu* (adverb 'eagerly', from root *trṣ*) and *tvastri* for the god-name *tvastṛ*. We agree with Von Schroeder's judgment in keeping the readings of his mss., despite the unquestionable meaning of the words. In short, we believe that the Maitrāyaṇīyas pronounced the words in this way, and that we are dealing with real phonetic (dialectic) variants, not 'corruptions' in any proper sense of that word:

*trṣu* (MS. *triṣu*) *yad annā revīṣad vitiṣṭhase* RV. SV. MS. ApŚ.

*trṣucyavaso* (MS. *triṣu*°) *juhvo nāgneḥ* RV. MS.

*tvastṛmantas* (MS. MŚ. *tvastṛi*°; ApŚ. *tvastṛu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Others, see §641.

§668. Similarly, but in a very much more wide-spread and insistent fashion, the word for 'worm' is frequently and in many texts written *krimi*, altho its original form seems to have been *krmi* (Wackernagel I p. 33; Uhlenbeck, *Etym. Wbch.*, s. v.). Several variants show both forms of this common word:

*hataś te atrinā krimih* (GG. *kr*°) SMB. GG.: *atrinā tvā krime hanmi* TA.

ApŚ.: *atrinā vah krimayo hanmi* AV.

*hatāḥ krimayah* (but Jørgensen text and comm. *kr*°) *āśātikāḥ sanīla-makṣikāḥ* SMB.: *āśātikāḥ krmaya* (but Poona ed. *kri*°, v. 1. *kr*°) *iva* TA. Note that different editions differ on both texts!

*nilamgoḥ* (MS. °*gave*) *krmih* (TS. *kri*°) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§669. So far we have mentioned only cases in which it appears that the regular or original form had *r*, not *ri*. But the opposite is also not uncommon. It may be regarded as a kind of hyper-Sanskritism; or at least, it presupposes a tendency to pronounce *r* and *ri* in a similar manner, at any rate in certain linguistic spheres. In some cases, to be sure, as in the preceding group, the tradition of the mss. is confused and we may be confronted with late corruptions. But it would be very rash to make this assumption as a general explanation of the most of such cases. The fact seems to be that this pronunciation of *r* as *ri* is much more ancient than has often been supposed, and must have had some

sort of existence in Vedic times, however limited geographically or socially.

§670. Take for instance the proper name *Trita*, which is quite definitely established in that form as prehistoric (Avestan *Thrīta*). Yet thrice in a single hymn of AV. (6. 113. 1 and 3) it is spelled *Tṛta*, according to all mss. known to both editions. In such cases we should not emend, as Shankar Pandit does, even tho the TB. parallel for two of the pādas (the third is not recorded elsewhere) gives the usual and proper form *Trita*. In short, we feel no right to assume that the Atharvan tradition had any other form than that presented by all mss.:

*tṛta enaḥ* (read *enan*; TB. *trita etan*) *manuṣyeṣu manṛje* (TB. *mā*°)  
AV. TB.

*tṛte* (TB. *trite*) *devā amṛjataitad enaḥ* AV. TB.

§671. There is little doubt that the MS. form *āpaprvān*, which evidently gave Whitney considerable trouble in his *Roots*, is simply a phonetic variant for *āpaprivān* (perfect active participle to *prā*) instead of an independent participle of *pr*, as Whitney questioningly suggests. The MS. p.p. has °*pri*°.

*āpaprivān* (MS. *āpaprvān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§672. The verb *sredhati* makes it clear that *sridh* is the proper form of the stem found in the next variant. In fact many AV. mss. read *sridhaḥ*, which Whitney regards as the true AV. reading:

*ati niho ati sridhaḥ* (AV. MS. *sṛdhaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§673. In the next *krivī* is the only form known to RV., and so may perhaps be assumed as the original; both etymology and meaning of the word are unknown:

*ā ra indraṁ krivīm* (SV. Svidh. *kṛvīm*) *yuthā* RV. SV. ŚŚ. Svidh.

*adha tvigimān abhy ojasā krivīm* (SV. *kṛvīm*, v. l. *krivīm*) *yudhābhavat*  
RV. SV.

§674. According to Wackernagel I §180b, *r* was regularly replaced by *ri* before *y*, by phonetic law; when *r* appears before *y*, as in the majority of texts in the next variant, it would then be due to analogy. In the second variant the original (AV.) reading was pronounced *pītryāc*, and for this TA. *pītryāc* is merely a phonetic variant, with *r* for proper *ri*: *vayam rāṣṭre jāgrīma* (MS.† KS.† °*mā*, TS. and p.p. of MS. *jāgrīyāma*) *purohitāḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*dyaur naḥ pitā pītryāc* (TA. *pītryāc*) *chaṁ bhavāti* (TA. *bhavāsi*) AV. TA.

Cf. the next where the RVKh. reading is doubtful:

*āyruṣam jāgrītād aham* AV.: *dyuṣam jāgrīyād aham* RVKh. Aufrecht.



but Scheftelowitz *āryasañ jāgryām* (em., for *ma. °yāmy*) *aham*. Cf. VV I. p. 102.

§675. The epithet of Rudra concerned in the next is of wholly obscure origin and meaning; presumably MS. is secondary:

*vikirida* (KS. °*ḍa*, VS. °*dra*, MS. *vyakṛḍa*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS.

§676. Finally a few corruptions and false readings:

*ya rīe* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad rīe*, PB. *tyakṛate*) *cīd abhiṣṛiṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB.; *jari cetid* (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti it*) *abhiṣṛiṣaḥ* MS. (grossly corrupt; cf. §193).

*sam tvā rīṇanti* (Vait. *rīṇanti*) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. Note the anomalous sandhi in Vait.; *sam-r* and *sam-ri* would be virtual synonyms; but a 9th class present from *r* is anomalous (allowed by the Dhātup., but not known in literature according to Whitney's *Roots*). The Vait. reading is therefore doubly suspicious. See §992.

[*imau te pakṣāḥ* (°*ṣā*) *ajarāu palatṛiṇau* (VSK. TS. KS. °*ṣaḥ*; Conc. wrongly quotes TS. as *palatṛṇaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.]

§677. Twice *r* varies with *rī*; both forms are morphologically justifiable in both cases:

*ṛtas tvam ṛto 'ham* ApŚ.: *ṛtās tvam ṛto 'ham* KS. Participles of the root which appears somewhat confusedly as *ṛr*, *ṛrā*, *ṛrī* 'cook, mature'.

*adbhir vīvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ApMB.: *adbhiḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG. In ApMB. a distinctively feminine stem *bhartṛī* is used, to agree with *adbhiḥ*; ŚG. uses the stem *bhartṛ* as of common gender.

### 11. *r* and *ru*

§678. The shift between *r* and *ru* is only slightly less frequent than that between *r* and *rī*. There is equally good reason to regard it as having genuine phonetic bearings. In standard modern Marāṭhī the *r* of Sanskrit is regularly pronounced with an *u* coloring (practically *ru*, instead of *rī* as in most other vernaculars). That this tendency is very ancient is proved by RPr. 14. 12 (796), which states that some erroneously 'make the *r*-vowels like the labial vowels' (*svarau kurnanty oṣṭhyanibhau sarephau*). There are, to be sure, not so many variants that seem to be purely phonetic in character as was found to be the case with *r*: *rī*. They seem to tend to associate with neighboring labial consonants, and perhaps justify an assumption that the vocalic *r* in conjunction with labials was apt to have *u* coloring.

§679. Among the clearest phonetic variants are:

*bhṛmīm* (TB. *bhramīm*) *dhamanto apa gā avarṇata* RV. TB. Note that the sound occurs between two labial consonants. The original *bhṛmi* is not very clear; one of Sāyaṇa's theories is that it means 'cloud', which is the meaning assigned to *bhṛumi* by TB. comm., who derives it from root *bhram*.

*drvāsi* VS.; *drbāsi* KŚ.; *drubāsi* VSK. An obscure word; note the following *b*. There is no way of determining the original form.

§680. A clear case of hyper-Sanskritic *r* for original *ru* is the stem *prṣvā*, found several times in Tait. texts for regular *pruṣvā*; note the preceding *p*. BR. call *prṣvā* a 'falsche Form', but it is too persistent to be thus lightly dismissed. TA. comm. explains by *jatābinduḥ*. It seems clear that it was the established Tait. school form of *pruṣvā*, tho there has been much confusion about it among interpreters; see e.g. Keith on TS. 7. 4. 13. 1.

*pruṣvā aśrubhīḥ* VS. MS.; *aśrubhīḥ pruṣvām* (TS. *prṣ°*) TS. KSA.

*pruṣvābhyah* (TS. *prṣ°*, KSA. ed. *pruṣtābhyas*, ms. *pruṣtā°*, read probably *pruṣvā°*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

*śam u prṣthāva* (read with Poona ed. text and comm. *prṣvāva*) *śiyatām* TA.; *śam te pruṣvāva śiyatām* AV.

§681. Hyper-Sanskritic, again, is the *r* in the following cases; we do not venture to say whether the following labial *bh* (part of an inflexional ending) is concerned in the change. At least the *r* form seems quite well established in the Tait. school; the MS. is more seriously corrupt: *purā jatrubhya* (TA. ApMB. *jartṛbhya*, MS. *cakṛbhyā*, p.p. *vaktṛbhyah!*) *ātrdaḥ* (MS. *°da*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB.

§682. The remaining variants contain at least a semblance of independent lexical interchange. Thus, the roots *sr* and *ru* are virtual synonyms, and their derivatives *sr̥ti* and *ru̥ti* both mean 'course, way': *dve srutī* (VS. KS. ŚB. BṛhU. KŚ. *sr̥ti*, and so TB. Conc., but Poona ed. *srutī*) *aśṛṇavam pītṛṇām* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (Von Schroeder needlessly emends KS. 38. 2 to *srutī*.)

*namah srutyāya* (KS. *sr̥t°*) *ca pathyāya ca* VS. TS. KS.: *namah pathyāya ca srutyāya ca* MS. Derivatives of the words concerned in the preē. *ā teā parisrutah* (AG. *°sr̥tah*, MG. *°sr̥tah*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. *†°aḥ*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG.: *enam parisrutah kumbhya* ŚG.: *emān parisrutah kumbhaḥ* AV.: *pārṇān parisrutah kumbhān* ŚB. No form *parisr̥t* is otherwise recorded; despite the equivalence of the two roots, it is probable that MG. (all mss.) has a phonetic variant or corruption for *parisrutah*.



*hiranyam astṛtaṁ* (ŚB. BṛhU. GP. *asrutam*) *bhava* ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Here *aru* varies with *str*; 'indestructible' or 'unmolten' (gold).

Cf. *mṛgasya sṛtam* (HG. *ṣṛtam*, ApMB. vv. ll. *srutam*, *śrutam*) *akṣṇayā* ApMB. HG. See §278.

§683. Similarly *hr* with *vi* becomes a synonym of *hru* with *vi*; the participles of both, exchanging twice, mean 'confounded, gone astray' or the like. A third variation between *hr* and *hru* is merely a textual corruption.

*avinagṣṭān avihṛtān* (AŚ. °*hṛtān*) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

*iṣkartā vihrutaṁ punaḥ* RV. KŚ.: *niṣkartā* (Conc. wrongly °*kṛtā* for ApMB.) *vihrutaṁ* (PB. TA. ApMB. *viḥṛtaṁ*) *punaḥ* AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. ApMB. In TA. there is a v. l. *vihrutaṁ*, adopted in the text in Poona ed.; but the comm. even there reads *viḥṛtaṁ*, and glosses *viṣeṣeṇa bhagnam*.

*aślonā* (comm. *āśronāḥ*) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ svarge* AV.: *aślonāṅgair aḥṛtā svarge* TA. But Poona ed. text and comm. *ahrutāḥ*, v. l. °*tā*, for TA., and this is the only possible reading. The simple *hr* is not a synonym of *hru*; *aḥṛta* would make no sense; comm. *kauṭīl-yarahitāḥ* (= *ahrutāḥ*).

§684. Miscellaneous cases, largely suspicious:

*ruvāḍ dhokṣā* (TB. *ṛvadhhyo* 'kṣā) *paprathānebhīr evaḥ* RV. MS. KB. TB. The original has *ruvāḍ dha-ukṣā* 'the bull roared'. This is misunderstood and corrupted in TB.

*śicā rutasya* (VSK. *śiva ṛtasya*, TS. and v. l. of MS. *śicā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °*jā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Original is certainly *rutasya*: 'healer of what is injured'. *Rudrasya*, 'Rudra's healer', is an obvious lect. fac., and *ṛtasya*, 'healer of the ṛta' or 'the ṛta's healer', while formally intelligible, is clearly a stupid change conditioned by the phonetic relations between *r* and *ru*.

*satyanūjāsā drāhaṇā* (MS. *durhṛṇā*, KS. †*drhaṇā*) *yaṁ nudeṭhe* TS. MS. KS.: *sacetasau druhvaṇo yaṁ nudeṭhe* AV. Multiple confusion; see §305, etc.

*mayobhūḥ śantamā yad āhrudo* (comm. *dhṛdo*) 'si TB. So Conc.; but Poona ed. text with comm. *dhṛdo*.

## CHAPTER XV. THE I AND U DIPHTHONGS AND SAMPRASĀRANA

§685. In most of the variants collected in this chapter, phonetics can be said to be only an ancillary motive in the shift. That is, nearly all of them present interchanges between forms both of which can be justified by recognized principles of morphology or lexicography. They mostly concern ablaut, in radical or suffixal or inflectional syllables, or various details of the inflection of nouns, pronouns, or verbs, with a sprinkling of purely lexical variants. Yet in some parts of the chapter, dialectic (Prakritic) phonology is certainly suggested as a contributing factor. This is especially true as regards the exchanges of the short and long diphthongs, *e: ai* and *o: au*, and the interchange between *e* and *aya*, *o* and *ava*, and the like. Altho some sort of independent interpretation of both the forms is regularly possible, their number is too large to make it reasonable to ignore the corresponding (tho purely phonetic) shifts between Sanskrit and the Middle Indic dialects, in view of the now well established fact that Prakritic phonology played a large rôle in the speech of Vedic times.

### 1. *i: e*

§686. The not very numerous cases collected here are mostly matters of ablaut in the radical syllables of nouns and verbs, or of different case-endings of the same or related noun stems; with a residuum of lexical variants. We begin with those which present different ablaut grades in the radical syllables of the same or related nouns and adjectives:

*atra* (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīma* 'śivā ye *asan* VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahūta*)  
*ye āsann āsevāḥ* (AV. \**āśivāḥ*, \**asan dūrevāḥ*) RV. AV. TA. The  
meter properly requires *āsevāḥ* if the word be final (VS. ŚB. trans-  
pose).

*yā sarasvatī viśobhagīnā* (MS. ApŚ. \**veśa*<sup>o</sup>; KS. *veśobhagīnī*) . . . MS. KS.  
ApŚ. *viśo-* is gen. sing. of *viś*.

*divyaḥ kośaḥ samukṣitaḥ* MS.: *dairyaḥ kośaḥ* (AV. ŚīrasU. *devakośaḥ*)  
*samukṣitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚīrasU.

*dīvo jyote* (KS. \**jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) . . . MS. KS.:  
*vivasvān aditir devajūtis* . . . TS.

*devya* (ApŚ. *divyā*, v. 1. *devyā*) *āpo nannamyadhvam* . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ



*sūrya divo* (TS. KS.\* *devo*) *diviṣadbhyaḥ* (TS. KS. °*bhya*...) TS. KS.\* MS.

*putraṣe putrāya vettarai* (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*) ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApMB. ApŚ. HG.

*pra sūvānāso* (SV. *svā°*) *brhaddivesu* (SV. °*devesu*) *harayaḥ* RV. SV. *lekah salekuḥ*... TS.: *salilah saligaḥ*... MS. KS. See §49.

§687. Of different origin and only superficially resembling these cases is the numeral adverb *tredhā*, which is originally trissyllabic and therefore probably to be regarded as representing a contraction of something like \**trayadhā* (cf. §§744 ff. below; Wackernagel I p. 53, III p. 347):

*tridhā* (MS. *tredhā*) *baddho vṛṣabho roravāti* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. N.

§688. In the stem-syllable of verbal forms:

*maiṣām uc cheṣi kiṁ cana* AV.: *maiṣām kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *māmiṣām kaṁ canoc chiṣaḥ* RV, SV. VS.

*yaḥ prāyato nimiṣataś* (v. l. KS. *nimeṣ°*) *ca rājā* MS. KS.: *yaḥ prāyato nimiṣato* (VS. *nimeṣ°*) *mahitā* RV. AV. VS. TS. KSA. Present participles for 6th and 1st class present stems of *ni-miṣ*; the 1st class stem seems not to be otherwise recorded. Add to VV I §197.

*vāmī le saṁdṛṣi viśvam reto dhiṣṭiya* (MS. *dhe°*)... MS. KS.: *viśvasya te*... *vāmīr anu saṁdṛṣi viśvā relāṁsi dhiṣṭiya* TS. Cf. next. The form *dheṣṭiya* seems to be established in the Maitr. school. It can hardly be interpreted except as an acrist of *dhā* 'place', yet is highly anomalous if so understood (as if the root were *dhi*, with guṇa *dhe*! perhaps by confusion with root *dhi*?). See VV I p. 186.

*somasyaḥam devayajnyā suretā* (MŚ. *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣṭiya* (MŚ. *dhe°*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§689. In inflectional endings of verbs *i* and *e* exchange very commonly as between active and middle-passive forms and elsewhere. See VV I §§39-79 and 82 *et passim*.

§690. Coming to noun case forms, we find first a little group of dat.-abl. plur. forms in *ibhyas*: *ebhyas*, from stems in *i(n)*: *a*.

*divācarebhyo* (MG. °*cāribhyo*) *bhūtebhyah* (sc. *namah*) MG. VIdh.: *ahaścarebhyah* (sc. *namah*) ŚG.

*naktamcarebhyah* ŚG. VIdh.: *naktamcāribhyo bhūtebhyah* MG.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MŚ. °*dhebhyo*) *'nubṛūhi* ŚB. MŚ.

*marudbhyo gṛhamedhibhyo* (MS. °*dhebhyo*) *baṣkīhān* (MS. *vaṣ°*, ApŚ. *baṣkān*) VS. MS. ApŚ.

*svāheṣṭibhyah* (Kauś. °*ṣebhyah svāhā*) KS. Kauś.: *iṣṭebhyah svāhā vaṣad anīṣṭebhyah svāhā* TB. ApŚ.

§691. The others are miscellaneous case-forms; since they are of slight interest here we shall content ourselves with a few examples, referring to our volume on Noun Inflection for full lists:

*pūṣṭe śarase* (MS.† °*ai*) *svāhā* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *svāhā pūṣṭe śarase* VS.

ŚB. KŚ. The majority reading (dat.) is certainly not easily intelligible (labored and worthless explanations in the comms.); but the loc. of MS. is also difficult and may be only an attempt to rationalize an unintelligent passage.

*hiranyapakṣaḥ śakunīḥ* HG.: *hiranyaparna śakune* PG. Nom.: voc. *pra vo mahe mahivṛdhe* (SV, PB, *mahevṛdhe*) *bharadvām* RV. SV. AV.

PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The SV. seems to have a mechanical form-assimilation to the surrounding datives (note especially the identical form *mahe* preceding).

*vī śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*)

*sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrah*, KS.† *sūrah*) RV. AV. VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. Nom.: gen.

*agnir hotā vete agnir* (AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu* (*vettu*) . . . TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.:

*agnir hotā vettu agner hotraṁ vettu* . . . ŚB. Nom.: gen.

*kṛatvā varigṛhaṁ vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kṛatve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV.

§692. Oddities of noun stems:

*agner agneyāny* (KS. *agni*°) *asi* (MS. v. l. and p.p. *agner agner yāny asi*)

MS. KS.: *devānām agneyāny asi* TS.: *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS.

ApŚ. MŚ. See §357, and cf. *vāyosāvitra* . . . , §716.

*śrudhī śruta śraddhivān* (AV. *śraddheyān*) *te vadāmi* RV. AV. See

§248; both forms have the force of gerundives.

§693. The remaining variants are lexical; but in the first we have a shift which simulates ablaut, as in §688:

*sa idhāno* (KS. *edh*°) *vasuḥ* (MS. *vasuḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

The roots *idh* and *edh* are quite independent, but superficially the change looks like a change from nil-grade to guṇa.

*ā yāhi* (and, *a no yāhi*) *tapasā janiṣu* (ŚŚ. °*ṣv ā*, MS. *janiṣva*) MS.

AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The MS. form could be interpreted as a 2d sing. impv. from *jan* but for the accent (*jāniṣva*), which seems to call for emendation.

*ino* (AV. *enā*) *vīśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ* RV. AV. N. *ino*, nom. of stem *ina*; *enā*, adverbial pronominal form.

*udem* (SV. *ūtīm*) *arbhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. *uta-im*; acc. sing. of *ūti*.

*kṛtī ca śakī cojjeṣī* (ApŚ. *sāki* †*corjiṣī* *ca*) VS. VSK. ApŚ. See §407.



*āsanniṣūn hr̥tevaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsuw̥ho mayobhūn* SV. See §820.

[*edā mendriyāniṣa* TS. KS. MŚ. Conc. *vācam indr̥* for KS.; so ed. reads at 4. 14, but at 31. 15 (p. 18, n. 1) it is corrected.]

§694. Several times a word beginning in *i* varies with the same word preceded by *ā*:

*indram* (SV. *endram*) *agnim̐ ca voḍhave* RV. SV.

*iha* (MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. *eha*) *gatir vāmasya* TS. MS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. †1. 14. 19.

*tve iṣaḥ* (KS. *viṣve*; MS. *tva eṣaḥ*) *samdadhur bhūricarpasah̐* (TS. † *bhūri-retasah̐*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See Von Schroeder's note. If correct, MS. must intend *tve*, *ā*, *iṣaḥ*; but the p.p. reads *tve iti tve*, *iṣaḥ*.

*tāṁ* (tā) *ehi* (*eha*, *eva*, AV. *iha*) . . ., see §§578, 888.

*ṛṇān na naryam̐ ertsamānah̐* AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānah̐* TA. See §180.

*ādityānān̐ patvān̐* (PB. °*mānv̐*) *ihi* (KSA. †*ehi*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. PB. ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApMB.

## 2. *i*: *e*

§695. Here the variants are few and scattering, except for a considerable group concerning case-endings of the same or related nouns and adjectives. Often the stems presupposed by the case-forms involved are slightly different:

*viśo yantre* (KS. *yantrī*) *nudamāne arōtim̐* KS. TB. ApŚ. Duals from stems *yantrā* and *yantrī*.

*śaṁgayī* (MS. ŚB. °*gawī*, TB. °*gaye*) *jīradānā* (ŚB. *jīva*°) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Also feminine duals.

*vairāḥī* (KSA. † °*je*) *puruṣī* (so KSA. †) TS. KSA. Also fem. duals; there seems no reason to emend KSA. as von Schroeder would do. *rātri* (TB. °*ṛi*; KS. v. l. °*riḥ*) *etomam̐ na jigyuse* (KS. † TB. °*ṣi*) RV. KS. TB.

*mahī viśpatnī sadane* (KS. °*nī*) *ṛtasya* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Here *sadane* is loc. sing.: '(come) to the seat of the *ṛta*'. KS. makes *sadanī* fem. dual, 'as two seats of the *ṛta*' (addressed to the *arāṇis*); the other reading is simpler and most likely original.

*vaiśvānarāya mahir naryasī* (ArS. °*se*) *śuciḥ* RV. ArS. Nom. sing. fem.: dat. sing. masc. (with *agnaye* in next *pāda*).

*nābhā samdāyī naryasī* (SV. °*dāya naryase*) RV. SV. As prec.

*rāyas poṣam̐ cikituṣe* (AV. °*ṣi*) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadatu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. As prec.

*ūrṇamradā yuvatir* (AV. °dāḥ prthivī) *dakṣiṇdvate* (TA. °tī) RV. AV. TA.

As prec.

*tava praśastayo mahīḥ* (SV. °taye mahe) RV. SV. Nom. pl.: dat. sing. *satyaśya dharmayās patī* (ApŚ. *pate*) ŚŚ. ApŚ. Vocatives, dual and sing. *graha viśvaajānīna nīyantar viprāyāma te* (KS. *nyantar vipra ā tsatī*) MS. KS. See §838.

*sa supraṇīte* (ŚŚ. °tī) *nṛtamaḥ svarād asi* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms are uncertain. The two text mss. of ŚŚ. have °te; comm. apparently °ti which Hillebrandt adopts, seemingly taking it as loc. ('in good guidance?'). Sāyaṇa on AA. takes °te as loc., and Keith follows him, rendering 'when (the rite) is duly paid'; but in his note Keith suggests deleting the accent and understanding a voc., 'O good leader'.

*īdīṣvā hi mahe* (ApŚ. *mahī*, v. l. *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV. ApŚ. Acc. dual (with *dyāvāprthivī*): dat. sing. (with *hotrāya*).

*śruṣṭī* (SV. °te) *jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidah* RV. SV. Instr. (?) of *i*-stem; loc. of *a*-stem. SV. comm. in one of two places reads *śruṣṭī*.

*īyam oṣadhe* (PG. °dhi) *trāyamāṇā* PG. HG. ApMB. The voc. cannot be construed; see Winternitz on ApMB., Introduction, xxiv.

*mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣṭibhir arcinaḥ* (TB. °ṣebhir ūrmibhiḥ) RV. TB. The adverbial instr. of RV. (from the noun *taviṣṭī*) is made an adj. agreeing with *ūrmibhiḥ* in TB.

*dairibhyas* (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS. °yas) *svāhā* KS. TB. ApŚ. Kauś. 'To the bodies of the gods', or 'to the gods, to (their) bodies.'

*viśvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °ṣebhyah) AV. KS.

§696. A few cases involve different ablaut grades, or forms which simulate that relationship:

*agne devānām ava heḍa īyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ.: *ava devānām yaja heḍo agne* (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*, MS. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MS.: *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB. ApŚ.

*apa snehitir* (SV. *snehitīm*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS. *†nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *tanū nṛmaṇām* (Poona ed. *nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA.

*suśīmāṁ somasatsaru* AV.: *suśeṣam somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.

*dhenā'm antaḥ sabardughām* SV.: *dhīnām antaḥ sabardughah* RV. The gen. pl. of *dhi* is changed to an acc. sing.; but the accent of SV. shows that it has a false form (the true stem is *dhénā*); cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on RV. 9. 12. 7.



*lālālaya* (MahānU. *lāle*°) *dhīmahi* TAA.† (not TA.) MahānU. Names of Agni, of unknown origin. Hardly to be classed as ablaut. The two comms. have different and equally ridiculous explanations *aṣṭāḍhāya sahamāndya vedhase* (TB. *mīdhuṣe*) RV. TB. N. Lexical.

In the reduplicating syllable:

*aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge-aṅge ni dīdhyat* (TS. *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nidhītaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The reduplicating syllable with *e* should mark an intensive, and probably the isolated form of TS. is felt as such; cf. VV I pp. 149, 160.

§697. Cases concerning verb inflection. An aor. ind. varies with a present opt. But the KS. ed. reads as ApŚ., with v. l. as Cono.: *grāvāvādīd* (ApŚ. *grāṣā vaded*) . . . KS. ApŚ. VV I p. 86.

*anu stomam mudīmahi* (PB. *mudē*°) RV. AV. PB. Optatives of different verbs.

*mā tvāgnir dhanayid* (TS. °*yid*, KSA. °*yed*, MS. *dhanayid*) . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§698. Twice the presence or absence of the preposition *ā* is responsible for the variant, cf. §694:

*vīdman pitṛbhyo ya idam samerire* (AV. *samī*°) RV. AV. ApMB.

*ṛṣān no narṇam ertsamānaḥ* AV.: *nem na ṛṣān ṛṣavān īpsamānaḥ* MS.

See §180.

### 3. *i: ai*

§699. Nearly all the variants noted here concern derivative noun and adjective stems with the vridhhi of secondary derivation, varying with primary or secondary formations without the vridhhi:

*vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyah* AV. KS.: *yo vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyah* (ApŚ. *vaiśvadavyah*) MS. ApŚ. Whitney's Transl. adopts for AV. *viśvadavyah*, which he states is the reading of Ppp., but this is an error; Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 32. 358) has °*davyah*, intending °*dāvyah*. Only ApŚ. has a derivative of *viśvadeva*.

*divyah koṣaḥ samukṣitaḥ* MS.: *dairyah koṣaḥ* (AV. ŚīrasU. *devakoṣaḥ*) *samubjitaḥ* AV. TS. KS. ŚīrasU.

*achinno divyas* (KS. ApŚ. *dairyas*) *tantur mā mānuṣaḥ* (KS. ApŚ. *manuṣyah*) *chedi* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*bṛhanto dairvāḥ* (VS. *divyāḥ*) VS. MS. ApŚ.

*nirbādhyena* (AV. *nair*°; Ppp. *nir*° according to Whitney) *haviṣā* AV. TB. ApŚ.

*bṛhatā tvā rathamtareṇa triṣṭubhyā* (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā* . . . MS. KS.: *bṛhadrathamtareṇa tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā* . . . TS.

*aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa* (ApMB. *maitreṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *cakṣuṣāham śivena*) AV. KS. ApŚ. ApMB.

*indrasya vimṛdhasyāham* (KS. *indrasyāham vimṛdhasya*) *devayajyāḍ-sapatno* (ApŚ. but not fMŚ. adds *vīryavān*) *bhūyāsam* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*kapota* (MS. °lā) *ulūkāḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṛtāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*nirṛtyai svāhā* MŚ.: *nairṛtyai* (sc. *diśe*) *svāhā* VāDh.

*vihāyaso* (PG. *vaiḥ*°) 'dhi *bhūmyām* HG. PG. *vi*°, abl. of *vihāyas*; *vai*°, nom. of adj. *vaihāyasa*.

*indrasya śuśmam īrayann apasyūbhiḥ* RV. SV.: *aindraḥ śuśmo viśvarūpo na āgan* AV.

*vaivasvato* (AV. *vivasvān*) *no abhayaṁ kṛṇotu* AV. TB. TAA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. *vai*°, of course, means *Manu*.

*hairanyanābhaḥ* (ŚŚ. *hir*°) *kausalyaḥ* ŚB. ŚŚ.

*indropānasyakehumanaso* (MŚ. *aindro*°) ... ApŚ. MŚ. The formula is so obscure, that emendation of MŚ. to *indro*°, while tempting, is hardly safe.

§700. Otherwise we find only miscellaneous cases, two concerning noun inflection:

*indrādhipatīḥ* (MS. KS. °patyaīḥ) *pīptād ato naḥ* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'O Indra, as overlord (by overlordships)' etc.

*tanī* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °yi) TS. MS. TA. The form in *yai* is dat. of stem *śobhā*, 'unto splendor'. The *yi* form would seem to be acc. neut. of a stem *śobhāyin* (cf. §247), perhaps used adverbially.

Two concerning aorist verb forms:

*āpo malam ica prāṇaikṣāt* (ApŚ. *prāṇījan*) AV. ApŚ. See VV I p. 129.

*pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam* (ApMB. °bhaiṣam) ApMB. HG. See VV I pp. 139, 186.

And one in which *ai* contains the augment:

*yam aichāma* (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

#### 4. ī: ai

§701. Most of the few variants noted here concern interchange between instr. plur. and nom.-acc. plur. (fem.) forms:

*indreṇa devīr* (MŚ. *devair*) *vīrudhaḥ saṁvidānāḥ* TS. MŚ.

*devīr devīr* (ApŚ. *devair*) *abhī mā nivartadhvam* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*sapta ca vāruṇīr* (PG. °ṇair) *imāḥ* AG. PG. ŚG. MG.: *sapta ca mānuṣīr imāḥ* ApMB. HG. Followed in all by:



*tisraś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (HG. °vaiḥ) HG. ApMB.: *prajāḥ* (this word belongs to prec. pāda) *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (MG. °vyah) PG. MG.: *sarvāś ca rājabāndhavaiḥ* (ŚG.† °bāndhavaiḥ) AG. ŚG.  
 ā *dadhnaḥ kalāśair* (ApMB. °śir, MG. °śam) *aguh* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayann iva*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.

§702. There are three cases of vṛddhi of the first syllable, the first two (especially the second) anomalous; and one norist verb form, also anomalous:

*strīṣūyam anyatra dadhat* AV.: *strīṣūyam anyān sv* (read *anyāse*) ā *dadhat* ŚG.

*madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānaḥ* (AV. *prai*°) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In the pres. mid. pple. the vṛddhi is quite out of place; 'blundering corruption', Whitney.

*yad adīryann* (MS. *dairyam*) *ṛṇam ahaṁ babhūva* (AV. *kṛṇomī*) AV. MS. TA. BDh.: *adīryann ṛṇam yad ahaṁ cakāra* TB. The original is *adīryan* 'not gambling'; MS. has a stupid lect. fac. Add to VV I §231.

*indra enam* (TB. ApŚ. *eyam*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB. ApŚ.: cf. *indra* to 'dya *parāśarīt* AV. But for the last SPP. with most mss. and Ppp. °sarīt, the regular form. See VV I p. 186.

### 5. e: ai

§703. Altho both forms can be defended morphologically in most of these variants, it seems to us very clear that the Prakritic change of ai to e must be largely concerned in them. They are fairly numerous; the great majority fall into three classes, to wit: dative (or locative) forms in e: ai; forms with e: ai in the root syllable, in which ai is generally the vṛddhi of secondary derivation; and verb forms, chiefly indicative and subjunctive endings.

§704. First, there is a large group of interchanges between the pronominal forms *asme* (dat. or loc.) 'for, to, in us', and *asmai* 'for him, it'. *asmai* (TB. *asme*) *dyāvapṛthivī bhūri vāmam* (Conc. divides AV. before *vāmam*) AV. TB. *asme* is secondary.

*asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata* TS. ApŚ.: *śrad asmai naro vacase dadhātana* VS. KŚ. Keith assumes that TS. intends *asmai*.

*asmai* (MS. *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS. MS. AŚ. *asmai* is certainly simpler.

*supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartandśme* (AV. *kartam asmai*, VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS. 'For him': 'for us', equally possible.

*savitṛā prasavitṛā . . . indreyāśme* (VSK. °*smāi*) . . . VS. VSK. As prec. *asme* (AV. *asmāi*) *dhārayatām* (MS. °*tām*) *rayim* RV. AV. MS. Different contexts; both possible.

*asme* (AV. *asmāi*) *dhātā vasavo vasūni* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Equally possible.

*asme* (KBU. *asmāi*) *prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin* RV. KBU. AG. PG. N.

*asme rāṣtrāṇi dhāraya* (KS. *rāṣtram adhiṣṭraya*) MS. KS.: *asme kṣatrāṇi dhārayeṣṣu anu dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmin rāṣtram adhi ṣṭraya* TS.: *asmāi kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam agne* AV. Kauś. Different contexts.

*asmāi* (MS. *asme*) *karmaṇe jātāḥ* MS. ApŚ. 'For our rite': 'for this rite'. Probably lect. fac. in ApŚ.

*asme* (AŚ. *asmāi*) *indrābṛhaspati* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Probably misprint in AŚ.

§705. Other dative forms in *e*: *ai*, including infinitives:

*ta* (VS. ŚB. *yā*, TS. *te*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS. °*ye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The TS. form is anomalous; cf. Keith's note and Whitney, *Grammar* §976a. Infinitives.

*havyāyāsmāi voḍhave* (KS. °*vai*) *jātavedaḥ* TS. MS. KS. Kauś. Infinitives.

*suḡam meṣāya meṣyai* (RV. °*ye*) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ.: *rukham meṣāya meṣyai* VS. ŚB.

*agne samrāḍ iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ.: *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TB. Cf. §396.

*ābhīṣ tvāhan . . . sūlave* (HG. °*vai*) HG. ApMB.

*kuhvai* (KSA. *kuhve*, ed. em. °*vai*) *trayo 'ruyaitāḥ* TS. KSA.

*putrāya vettavai* (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*, KS. *†kartave*, MG. *kartavai*, v. l. °*re*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.

*śakrāya sunarai* (JB. °*re*) *tvā* RV. JB.

*śriyai* (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vettavai* (MG. *vedhavai*) ApMB. MG.

*śam tokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonah* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

*paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai* PG.: *paridhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG.: cf. *paridam vāso adhithāḥ* (HG. °*dhāḥ*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. ApMB. HG. These forms are taken as datives by the PG. comm., followed by Stenzler and Oldenberg. It is uncertain whether this is correct, or whether they are verb forms; see VV I p. 112.

§706. Another stray case or two concerning noun endings (loc. sing. and instr. pl.):

*ghṛtavatī snavitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*yaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.



*avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.\* *vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV. SV.  
*punar brahmāṇo* (*brahmā*) . . . *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*), see §339.

§707. When *e* and *ai* vary in radical syllables of nouns, it is generally a matter of secondary formations with *vriddhi* varying with other related forms without *vriddhi*:

*daivīm* (VS. *devīm*) *nāvaṁ svaritrām anāgasam* (AV. °*saḥ*) RV. AV. VS.  
 TS. MS. KS.

*devīḥ* (AV. *daī°*) *ṣaḍ urvīr uru naḥ* (TS. ApMB. *ṇaḥ*, and so Whitney for AV. with most mss.) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB.

*daieibhyas* (KS. *devebhyas*) *tanūbhyah* (KS. °*yas*) *svāhā* KS. TB. ApŚ.  
 Kauś.

*brhaspatir devānām* (ŚŚ. *daivo*) *brahmāhaṁ manuṣyāṇām* (ŚŚ. *mānuṣaḥ*)  
 VSK. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*devān mā bhayāt iti* SMB.: *daivān mā bhayāt pāhi* ŚŚ.

*imā yā devīḥ pradīkās catasraḥ* AV.: *yā daivīs catasraḥ pradīkās* TB.  
 ApMB. HG.

*saṁ devena savitrā* TA.: *saṁ daivena* (and, *daivena*) *savitrā* VS. ŚB.  
*divyah koṣaḥ samukṣitah* MS.: *daivyah koṣaḥ* (AV. ŚirasU. *devakoṣaḥ*)  
*samubjitah* AV. TS. KS. ŚirasU.

*vācā tvā hotrā . . . pañcabhir daivyaḥ* (MŚ. *devaḥ*) *ṛvighbhir uddharāmi*  
 ApŚ. MŚ.

*mā devānām* (TA. *daivya*) *tantuś chedi mā manuṣyāṇām* (TA. *manu-*  
*ṣyaḥ*) MS. KS. TA. ŚŚ.

*indro jyēṣṭhānām* (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

*raiśśānaram kṣaitrajityāya* (TB. *kṣetra°*) *devāḥ* VS. TB.

*somaindrā* (KSA. †*saumendrā*) *bahhrulālāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

*adhvanām adheapate kṛeṣṭhaḥ svastyasyādhvanah* (ApMB. *kṛeṣṭhasyādhva-*  
*nah*, MG. *śraiṣṭhyasya svastasyādhvanah*, read *svastyā°* with most  
 mss.) *pāram aśīya* AŚ. ApMB. MG.

*meghyā* (VS. *maighīr*) *vidyuto vācaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§708. A couple of cases with *e*: *ai* in the first syllable of nouns seem to differ from the preceding; it is very questionable whether the *ai* form has secondary *vriddhi* or is in any morphological way different from the form with *e*. In short, it is at least likely that these are pure phonetic variants.

*avārāya kevarṭam* VS.: *pāryāya kaivartam* TB. The usual form is *kai°*, evidently of non-Aryan origin; and it is, to say the least, very possible that *ke°* is a Prakritism.

*veśantābhyo dāṣam* TB.: *vaiśantābhyo baṇdam* VS. Here again we have

a word probably of foreign origin; but this time the usual form is *re*°. Perhaps hyper-Sanskritism in VS.

§709. Several cases are complicated by the possibility that the form *ε*, where *ai* seems to be expected, may be due to elision instead of contraction of final *a* (Wackernagel I §269c). The same phenomenon occurs with *o* for *au*, §731. Wackernagel, l. c. (small print), thinks of the possibility of influence of the Prakritic change of *ai*, *au* to *ε*, *o*; besides this, it should be remembered that in Pāli and Prakrit any final vowel may be elided before any initial vowel, without regard to the quality of either. Thus there are two different tendencies of Middle Indic phonology which may possibly have been at work here. But furthermore, in some of the cases independent lexical or morphological explanations are conceivable for the *ε* form:

*adhī na indraiṣām* (VS. *indreṣām*) RV. VS. Here there can be no doubt that the intention of VS. is *indra-eṣām*. This is the most certain case.

*neva māṁse na pibasi* AV.: *naisa māṁsena pīvari* PG. The AV. p.p. reads *na, iva*; according to Barret *JAOS* 26. 205, Ppp. also reads *neva* (contrary to Whitney's note). Yet it is possible that AV. really intended *naiva*, which certainly is a more natural reading. *jagatyainam* (AŚ. °*tyenam*) *vikṣe ā veṣayāmaḥ* (MS. KS. °*mi*, AŚ. °*nt*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. In VV I p. 75 we have stigmatized *jagatyenam* as erroneous, which is unnecessarily harsh; to be sure the edition of AŚ. inspires little confidence. But it may be a phonetic variant of the sort here considered, or even—possibly—a real morphological change (voc. *jagaty* instead of instr. *jagatyā*).

*enāhnedam ahar aṣṭiya svāhā* KS. (prec. by *-mānā*; actual text, *-mānai-nāhne*°); the MŚ. version quoted in Conc. as *idāhna id āharam aṣṭiya* is Knauer's emend. of corrupt mss. which begin [*-mān*]-*enāhned-*, doubtless intending the same as KS.

See also *anāmayauidhi* etc., §344.

§710. In verb inflection there are a number of cases in which indicative or subjunctive endings in *ε* vary with subjunctives in *ai*; see VV I p. 28:

*vī sakhyāni sṛjāmahe* (ŚŚ. °*hai*, MŚ. *visṛjāmahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. PG.

*yam jīvam aśnavāmahai* (MS. °*he*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*devān yajñīyān iha yān yajāmahai* (TS. *havāmahai*) TS. MS. KS.

*rayim yena vandāmahai* (SV. °*he*) RV. SV.

*sacārahe* (MS. °*hai*, p.p. °*he*) *gad aryaṁ purā eit* RV. MS.



*brahmāham antaram kṛve* (KŚ. *karave*, read. °*vai*) AV. KŚ. (? the proper subjunctive form would be °*vai*; °*ve* either corruption or purely phonetic variant).

*anu nau sūra māṣate* (TS. °*tai*) RV. TS. KSA.

*yā na ūrī ukāṭi vikrayāte* (AV. °*ti*, ApMB. HG. *visrayātai*) RV. AV. ApMB. HG.

*pari śrajāte* (AV. °*tai*) *libujeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV. N.

*pra yaḥ satrācā* (TB. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*tai*, text and comm. in Poona ed.) RV. TB.

*dadhād vidhaksyan paryaṅkhyātai* TA.: *dadhṛg vidhaksyan paryaṅkhyāte* (AV. *vidhaksyan paryaṅkhyātai*) RV. AV.

*manai* (MS. *manve*) *nū babhrūṇām aham* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

*yayā gā ākarāmahe* (SV. °*hai*) RV. SV.

*varuṇeti śapāmahe* (MS. † °*hai*; AV. *yad ūcima*, LŚ. †*ṣayāmahe*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

§711. There are a few cases in which the *ai* is due to the preposition *ā* preceding *e*, cf. §§694, 698; or, in the first two cases, to the augment: *mṛtyoḥ padam* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto* (AV. °*ta*, MG. *lopayante*) *yad* (AV. omits) *eta* (RV. *aita*, TA. *aima*) RV. AV. TA. MG.

*rācaspate 'chidrayā . . . hōtrām airayat* (KŚ. °*yant*, TA. *erayusva*, ŚŚ. *airayasva*) *svāhā* ŚB. TA. KŚ. ŚŚ. Augmented forms in ŚB. KŚ.; the ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

*ā te garbho yonim etu* (AG. *aitu*) AG. ApMB. HG.: *ā te yonim garbha etu* AV. ŚG.: *ā yonim garbha etu te* AV.: *ā garbho yonim etu te* ApMB. HG. The preceding *ā* proves AG. secondary.

*aigu* (AŚ. *eṣu*) *dyumnām svar yamat* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Perhaps misprint in AŚ., as Whitney on AV. suggests.

*etat te agne rādha aiti* (MS. KS. *eti*) *somacyutam* TS. MS. KS.

*grhān aimi* (LŚ. HG. *emi*) . . . AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

*abhyniti* (SV. *abhyeti*) *na ojasā spardhamānā* RVKh. SV. VS.

§712. Miscellaneous cases:

*he 'lavo he 'lavo* ŚB.: *hailo hailo* ŚBK. Interjections.

*mā bheḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *mā bhair mā* MS. KS. MŚ. Aorist verb forms, see VV I p. 129, and next.

*mā bher mā . . .* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā . . .* MS. KS. See prec.

*uṣṇena vīya* (ApMB. *vāyar*) *udakenēhi* (SMB. GG. °*naidhi*, MG. *rāyur udakenē*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §122;

and on the MG. form, VV I p. 87.

*uttamān nākam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhī rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*yainam*, TA. °*rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

TA. Pronouns *imam*; *enam*.

*tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam* (MŚ. °retām, AŚ. °bhavalām) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. fusion of *sambhara* and *etam*; in the others dual verb forms.

*śatruhaṇam amitrahaṇam* (KS. *śatru° asi śatruhaṇam*) *bhrātṛvyahaṇam asurahaṇam tvaindraṁ* (ApŚ. text *tvendram*) *vajraṁ sādāyāmi* KS. ApŚ. Here *tvendram*, if not a corruption or misprint, can only be a phonetic reduction of *tvaindraṁ* (*tvā + aindraṁ*).

[*endram* (TB. *aindraṁ*, but comm. and Poona ed. text *endram*) *acucyavuh* . . . TB. ApŚ.]

## 6. u: o

§713. The variants under this head are relatively not numerous, and quite miscellaneous in character. A fair number have to do with ablaut in stem syllables; thus, in nouns and adjectives:

*namo vaḥ pitarāḥ kuśmāya* (VS. ŚŚ. *koṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *śūṣāya*)

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. See §720. *matyāi śrutāya* (*mahe śrotrāya*) *cakṣase* AV. (both)

*ā mā stulasya stulam gamyāt* (Vait. *gameḥ*) TS. Vait.; *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB.

*duścyavanāḥ pṛtanāṣād* (°ṣāl) *ayudhyaḥ* (AV. MS. *ayodhyaḥ*) RV. AV. †19. 13. 7c, SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Gerundives.

*deva gharma rucitas tvam deveṣv ā* MS.; *rocitas tvam deva gharma deveṣv asi* TA. Causative and simple participles. Cf. next.

*rucito gharmaḥ* MS. KB. ŚB. TA. etc.; *rocito gharma rucīya* TA. Cf. prec.

*ānandā modāḥ pramudāḥ* AV.; *ānando modāḥ pramodāḥ* TB.; *modāḥ pramoda ānandaḥ* TB.; *mudāḥ pramuda āsate* RV. Stems (*pra*)*mud* and (*pra*)*moda*.

*druṇā* (SV. *droṇa*) *sadhasatham aśnuṣe* (and *āsadat*) RV. SV. Stems *dru* and *droṇa*.

714. With these may be grouped certain other cases which are really lexical, and partly involve different word divisions, but which in their external form simulate ablaut relations:

*dyumnī śloki* (KS. *śukti*) *sa somyaḥ* (TB. *śau°*) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB. *suśevam somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh.:

*suśīmanī somasatsaru* AV. See §180.

*sumitraḥ soma no* (Kauś. *sumuno*) *bhava* RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. An obvious lect. fac. in Kauś.

§715. Ablaut relations also occur in the inflection of the verb. Variations between *no* and *nu* as strong and weak stems of 5th and 8th class



presents have been collected in VV I p. 185, and need not be repeated. In the radical syllable different Ablaut grades are found in perfects, and are especially frequent in aorists:

*yan me mātā pralulubhe* (ApMB. HG. *pralulobha*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. MDh.

*sūryasya cakṣur āruham* (VS. *āroha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Aorist and present; see VV I p. 82.

*āditya* (AV. also *sūrya*) *nāvam ārukṣaḥ* (SMB. *ārokṣam*) AV. SMB. See VV I p. 130.

*amoci* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB.

*mā bher mā roṇ* (VSK. *mo roṇ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca naḥ* (TS. *mo eṣām*) *kiṁ canāmamat* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *mā bhair mā rau* *mo ca* (KS. *rauṇ mā*) *naḥ kiṁ canāmamat* MS. KS. See VV I p. 129.

*mā dyāvāprthivī abhi śocth* (TS. *kūśucaḥ*, KS. *śucaḥ*, MS. *hinsth*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See *ibid.* p. 128.

*devasya* (<sup>°</sup>*syāham*) *sarituḥ . . . ruheyam* (GB. *roh°*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. GB. Vait. MŚ. ApŚ. LŚ. See *ibid.* p. 132.

*sa yathā tvaṁ rucyā . . . ruciṣṭiya* (MS. *rociṣṭiya*) AV. MS. See VV I p. 186.

On the following form see VV I p. 281; the MG. form is quite uninterpretable by regular grammar, and must be understood as a phonetic variant or corruption for *tiṣṭhatu*:

*antas tiṣṭhatu* (MG. <sup>°</sup>*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuḥ* SMB. HG. MG.

§716. In several cases, the *o* pertains to the genitive ending of noun stems in *u*, either as independent words or in composition:

*vasuḥ* (TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ*) *sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Nom. and gen. forms; the former an adjective, the latter a noun ('son of Vasu, of Strength' etc.).

*dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoḥ* (AV. <sup>°</sup>*likah sāsūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §189.

*āyusḥkṛte* (ApŚ. *āyoṣ°*) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ. Both 'maker of life'.

*vāyosavitra* (TS. p.p. <sup>°</sup>*trah*; MS. *vāyusavitrbhyām*) *āgomugbhyām caruḥ* (MS. *payah*) TS. MS. KSA. TPr. 6. 8 explains *vāyo°* by *vāyusavitrbhyām*; it is a secondary adj. in suffix *a*, and evidently the *o* is due to influence of the genitive form *vāyoḥ*; cf. *agner agneyāny* etc., §692.

*uror ā no* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *pururāno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. See §371a.

*madhu reto* (TS. *madhor ato*, KS.† *madhur ato*) *mādhavaḥ pāte asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §837.

§717. The stem *puru* in composition varies with *puro*, for *puras*; cf. below, §721:

*samdhātā samdhīm* (MS. °*dhir*) *maghavā purūvasuḥ* (TA. ApMB. MS. p.p. *puro*°; MS. text *puru*°) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. *puru viśvāni jūrvan* RV.: *puro rakṣāṁsi nijūrvan* AV.

§718. Twice the *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §§694, 698, 711:

*obhe prṇāsi* (TS. *ubhe prṇakṣi*) *rodasi* RV. TS. MS.: *prṇakṣi rodasi ubhe* RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB.

*ā yā dyān* (MS. *divān*) *bhāsy ā prthivīm orv* (KS. *ure*) *antarikṣam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§719. The remaining variants are miscellaneous, and certainly for the most part lexical. The first may be some sort of phonetic variant: *sajūr devair vayoṇādhaiḥ* (MS. MŚ. *vayu*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. *vayunā-dha* is certainly a compound of *vayuna*; *vayo*° is ordinarily taken as a cpd. of *rayas* with a derivative of *nah*, which seems highly improbable. The form is difficult and may be based on *vayuna-* with a phonetic alteration, perhaps due to some obscure analogy.

*ye devā manoḥātā* (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu*°) *manoyujah* (KS. *manu*°, ViDh. *manujajah*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. BDh. ViDh. ApŚ. Stems *manas* and *manu*.

*agnir havyānumanyatām* (MŚ. *havyā no man*°) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*pra nu* (TA. ApMB. HG. *nu*; Kauś. *no* with all mss. but *ono*, and the two paddhatis, but probably read *nu*) *vocān cikituṣe janāya* RV. TA. SMB. Kauś. GG. ApMB. HG. MG.

*pra nu vocān* (ArS. *no voco*) *vidathā jātavedasah* (ArS. °*se*) RV. ArS. *yās te stanāḥ śaśayo* (AV.° *yur*) *yo mayobhūḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. AŚ. Equivalent stems, *śaśaya*: °*ṣu*.

*yā coditā yā ca noditā* (TA. *yā cānuditā*) . . . MS. TA. *na-uditā*: *an-uditā*. *yatheyaṁ strī pautram aghaṁ na rodāt* SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

*agnaye tvā mahyaṁ* . . . *dyur* (MS. *mayo*) *dātra* . . . VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. Near-synonyms.

*rudrāyām uryāyām* (ApŚ. *ūrmyāyām*, ŚŚ. *omyāyām*) . . . ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §228.

*śidanto vanuṣo yathā* RV. SV. LŚ.: *śidantu manuṣo yathā* RV. See §227. *karma kṛvāntu* (MŚ. °*to*) *mānuṣāḥ* AV. MŚ. The MŚ. form can only be construed as a participle hanging in the air, without finite verb. It is really a phonetic variation.

[*ato* (TB. *tato*) *no rudrā uta vā ṛnu* (Conc. *no*; TB. *nuv*, Poona ed. '*no*, comm. *anu*) *asya* RV. TB.]



7. *ū: o*

§720. The majority of variants in this group concern forms which resemble shifts of ablaut; but only partially are the forms in question really related to each other in this way. Some, such as *jyotis* and *jūti*, are quite unrelated words but quasi-synonyms. Others are wholly obscure, and while the change of vowel is probably due to some sort of phonetic consideration, the precise nature of it is problematic. One is tempted to think of the fact that in some Prakrit dialects *u* is a phonetic shortening of *o*, implying that the relation of *o* to *u* is not far from the same as that of *ū* to *u* (cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Sprachen* §84).

*abhi tyasā devasā savitāram onyoh* (TS. *ūnyoh*) *karikratum* AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KB. AB. ŚB. AdB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The isolated TS. stem *ūyi* must mean the same as the regular *onī*.

*namo vah pīlaraḥ kuṣmāya* (VS. ŚŚ. *śoṣāya*, SMB. GG. KhG. *kūṣāya*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG. Comm. on SMB. *śūṣa iti balanāma*.

*sam pūṣā* (ApŚ. adds *sam dhātā*; MS.\* *poṣā*) *sam bṛhaspatīḥ* (KS. *dhātā*) AV. MS. (bis) KS. ApŚ. *poṣā* is either a textual corruption or due to the analogy of guṇa forms of root *puṣ*. The mantra is repeated in fragments in a Brāhmaṇa passage immediately following its quotation with *poṣā*, and in the Brāhmaṇa *pūṣā* is read. Cf. next.

*apī* (PG. *iha*) *pūṣā nī śīdatu* (AV. ŚŚ.\* *°ti*) AV. ŚŚ. (bis) LŚ. SMB. PG. HG.: *rāyas poṣo nī śīdatu* ApMB. ApŚ. Cf. prec.; *rāyas poṣo* is here evidently secondary, but sensible.

*kukūnanānām* (KS. *kūtanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā . . .* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kotanāsu* TS. Wholly obscure words.

*yamasya pāṣūrah* (KSA. *pāto°*) TS. KSA.: *yamyai pāṣūrah* TS.: *yamyāḥ pāṣorah* KSA. Uncertain part of the horse's body.

*aṅgoṣṇam* (RV. *āṅgūṣāṇām*) *advaśanta vāṇīḥ* RV. SV. Cf. §490 and next.

*aṅgoṣṇam* (RV. *āṅgūṣyaṇ*) *pavamānam sakṛdyāḥ* RV. SV. Cf. prec. *mano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jūtīr*) *jugatām ājyasya* (TS. TB. Vait. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyam me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Unrelated words but quasi-synonyms.

*divo jyote* (KS. *°tir*) *vivama* (MS. *devajūto vivasann*) . . . MS. KS.: *vivasān adītī devajūti* . . . TS.

§721. The stem *purā*, for *puru* in composition, varies with *puro* for *pura*, in the first variant quoted in §717, q. v., and also in: *tasā sakṛdyāḥ purorucam* (SV. *purū°*) RV. SV.

§722. The *o* is due to a prefixed *ā*, cf. §718 etc.:

*yat kiñ cāṇṭam odima* (TA, *ūdima*) MS. TA.

*yad vācāṇṭam odima* (TB. TA, *ūdima*) MS. TB. TA.

*devatrā havyam ūhiṣe* (RV, *ohiṣe* and *ohire*) RV, SV, TB. A complicated case, on which see *RVRep.* 131 f., VV I p. 237 f.

§723. The rest are miscellaneous:

*amo 'ham asmi sā* (AB. *sa*) *team* AV. KS. AB. ŚB. BṛhU. JUB. AG. ŚG. Kauś. PG. MG.: *amūham asmi sā team* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *sā* (AB. *sa*) *tvam asy amo 'ham* (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. *aham*, ApMB. *amūham*, MG. *asy āpy amo 'ham*) KS. AB. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG. *amo*, for *amas*, stem *amō*; *amūham*, peculiar sandhi connecting some form of stem *amu* (*amū?* *amūs*, *amūs?*) and *aham*; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., p. xxvii.

*aṅghriṇā viṣṇo* (KS. *viṣṇū*, twice; ms. once *viṣṇu*) *mā tvāva* (KS. *vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam* TS. TB. ApŚ. See Von Schroeder on KS. 1. 12 and Keith on TS. 1. 1. 12. 1. *viṣṇo*, voc. sing.; *-viṣṇū* in TS. *devatādeandva*, in KS. elliptic dual (note *cām* in KS.); but note also the phonetic resemblance between *aṅghriṇā* and *agnā* of TS.

*tapūṇṣy* (MS. *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā patanṅān* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

Different case forms of related stems *tapus* and *tapas*.

*tanūpā ye nas taneas tanūjāh* AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāh* AB. Aś. *sa tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārīṇe na pra yaṇsat* RV. SV.

*mā mā yūnarō hāsīt* (JB. *yono vāh hārasīt*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms obscure.

### 8. u: au

§724. Nearly all the few variants recorded here seem to concern the *vriddhi* of secondary derivation as regards their *au* forms; but one or two of them are strange forms. (For the aorist forms *ruk*, *rok*, *rauk*, see §715, *mā bher* etc.)

*suślokyāya* (ApMB. *sau°*) *svastaye* ApMB. AG. PG. MG.

*māham pautram* (KBU. *putryam*) *agham rudam* (AG. *niyām*, read *nigām*, with SMB.\*; SMB. \**nigām*, \**riṣam*) AG. SMB. ApMB. HG. KBU.

*ulūkhālā* (ApMB. *aul°*) *grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata* (MG. *akurvata*) ApMB.

HG. MG.: *aulūkhālāh saṁpravadanti grāvāṇah* SMB.

*udbhinnam* (ApŚ. *audbhidyam*) *rājñah* MS. ApŚ.

*āśr̥ ṇa* (*nū*, *ma*) *ūrjam uta suprajāstvam* (AV. *sau°*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

KŚ. Whitney rightly calls the AV. form 'anomalous'.



*kumbhīnasah* (KSA. *kaun<sup>o</sup>*) *puṣkarasādo lohitaḥis te tvāṣṭrāḥ* TS. KSA.

Here, as in the last, it is hard to account for the *vriiddhi*; the meaning seems to be the same as that of the primary noun.

*vāce krauñcaḥ* (VS. *kruñcaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Again the two forms are apparently synonyms. In this case the form with *vriiddhi* is commoner, at least in the later language. The origin and primary form of the word are unknown.

*dyusamantasya ta ādītyo 'nukhyātā* BDh.: *dyauḥ samā tasyādītya upadruṣṭā* . . . HG. See §833.

*iyam eva sã yã prathamã vyauchat* (ŚG. *vyuchat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB. Augmented and augmentless forms. *vy uchā* (and, *ucho*) *duhitar divaḥ* RV. SV. (both in each). As prec.

#### 9. *ā: au*

§725. Here we find, first, a number of cases concerning *vriiddhi* of secondary derivation:

*†aindrāsūrāḥ śyetalalāmās* (KSA. *†aindrāsaurāḥ †kyāmalalāmās*) *tāparāḥ* TS. KSA.

*pausṇo* (VSK. *pūṣṭ*) *viṣpandamāne* (sc. *mahāvīrah*) VS. VSK.

*svarmārdhnyāya svāhā* KS.: *svarmārdhā caiyāṇāno vyakṣann* . . . MS.

*dhruvāya bhūmāya* (PG. *bhav<sup>o</sup>*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU. PG.

*āsvaiḥ* ŚŚ. Vait.: *aurvaiḥ* LŚ. With both sc. *pitṛbhiḥ*.

§726. There are several variants of the participles *dhūta* and *dhauta*, from roots *dhu*(*dhū*) and *dhāv* 'rinse', which are no doubt related in origin tho they are kept distinct in the history of the language:

*nṛbhīr dhūtaḥ* (SV. *dhautaḥ*) *suto āsvaiḥ* RV. SV.

*nṛbhīr dhūto* (SV. *dhauto*) *vicakṣaṇaḥ* RV. SV.

*apsu dhautasya* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dhū<sup>o</sup>*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*apsu dhūto* (SV. *dhautam*) *nṛbhiḥ sutaḥ* (SV. *sutam*) RV. SV.

§727. In one case the *au* is due to prefixing of the augment:

*praty auhatām* (MS. *āh<sup>o</sup>*) *āśvinā mṛtyum asmat* (AV. *asmat*) AV. TS. VS. MS. KS. TAA.

#### 10. *o: au*

§728. Here again the largest group concerns the *vriiddhi* of secondary derivation:

*dyumnī śloki* (KS. *śukli*) *sa somyaḥ* (TB. *sau<sup>o</sup>*) RV. AV. SV. MS. KS. TB. *namo mauñjyāyormyāya rasuvindāya* . . . GDh.: *namo mauñjyāyaur-myāya* . . . Svidh.

*yat somyasyāndhazo* (ApMB. *sau<sup>o</sup>*) *bubodhati* RV. ApMB.

*iūṣantān somyaṁ* (TB. *sau<sup>o</sup>*) *madhu* VS. MS. TB.

*somaindrā* (KSA. †*saumendrā*) *babhrulalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

*somāpauṣṇāḥ* (KSA. *sau*<sup>o</sup>) *śyāmalalāmās tūparāḥ* TS. KSA.

*yadī somasyāśī rājñāḥ somāt* . . . Kauś.; *yadī saumy aśī somāt* . . . AG.

Rvidh.: *yady aśī saumī somāya* . . . GG.

*caurasyañnam* (TAA. BDh. *cor*<sup>o</sup>) *navāśrāddham* TAA. MahānU. ViDh. BDh.

[*tvam rauhiṇam* (AV. misquoted *roh*<sup>o</sup> in Conc.) *vyāsyah* AV. ŚŚ.]

§729. Several times the two diphthongs interchange in the radical syllable of aorist stems:

*mā* (VS. ŚB. add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma* VS. MS. ŚB.: *māham rāy*<sup>o</sup> *vi yoṣam* TS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

*ihaiva stam mā vi yauṣtam* (ApMB. *yoṣtam*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*mā bher mā* etc., see §715.

§730. Once the *au* form is due to prefixed *ā*, cf. §722 etc.:

*ā no* (VS. ŚB. *mā*) *goṣu viśate ā tanūṣu* (TS. *auṣadhīṣu*; MS. *oṣadhīṣu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§731. A few cases, not all textually certain, concern the elision of *a* before *o* instead of fusion. These are parallel to the similar cases of *e*: *ai*, §709, q. v.:

*upayāmam adharenauṣṭhena* (TS. <sup>o</sup>*noṣṭhena*, KSA. *adharauṣṭhena*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See TPr. 10. 14.

*saha ojaḥ* (VS. *sahaujaḥ*, VSK. *sahojaḥ*) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. Adverb *saha* plus *ojaḥ* in VS. VSK., the latter with irregular sandhi; the other texts *sahas* + *ojaḥ*.

*ya āviveśoṣadhīr* (MS. <sup>o</sup>*śauṣadhīr*) *yo vanaspatīn* AV. MS. There is a v. l. <sup>o</sup>*auṣadhīr* in AV., which Whitney adopts in the text.

[*sukarīrā swaupāśā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *sukarīrā svopaśā* MS. But several mss. and p.p. of MS. *swaup*<sup>o</sup>, which should probably be read in the text. The second part of the cpd. is certainly *opaśa*, and the first probably *swa*, tho it is sometimes assumed to be *su*; doubtless this was Von Schroeder's assumption when he printed *svopaśā* in MS.]

§732. Miscellaneous:

*asthūri nau* (*nau*, *no*, *no*) etc., see §950. Dual and plural pronouns *nau* and *no* (*nas*).

[*ye ke cobhayādātāḥ* (TA. *cau*<sup>o</sup>, Poona ed. correctly *co*<sup>o</sup>) RV. VS. TA.: *ye ca ke cobhayādātāḥ* AV.]

*anupauhvaṇ* (ApMB. *anu po* 'head') *anupahvayet* (ApMB. *anuhvayaḥ*) HG. ApMB. The ApMB. surely means *po* for *ro*; comm. says *p* is 'chāndasa' for *v*; cf. Winternitz, p. xxi. The HG. seems to intend a form containing *upa*, but it is corrupt and obscure.



*devī dvārau* (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samitāplam* TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual verb shows that the plural of Vait. is impossible.

*sūryo rūpaṁ kṛṇute dyor* (MS. *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV. AV. VS. MS. TB.

Only a gen. can be construed here. On *dyauḥ* as abl.-gen. see Wackernagel, III p. 224, *infra*.

*yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti* (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Others, §63.

*mā tva nī kran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MS. °*cittau*) *nikāriṇaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §399.

*imau* (Kauś. *yau*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*ṣā*) *ajaranau patatṛiṇau* (VSK. TS.† KS. °*ṇo*—so all texts, before following sonant) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Nom. dual: gen. sing.

#### 11. 'Samprasāraṇa'; *i(i)*: *ya*, *yī*, and the like

§733. We have already referred in §§656 ff. to the phenomena of so-called samprasāraṇa as they concern *r* in variation with *ra*, *rā*. Similar exchanges occur between *i* and *ya*, but in almost every case they concern morphologically or lexically independent forms. There is hardly a trace among them of the genuine ablaut relations that exist in such roots as *yaj*: *ij*, etc. The phonetic importance of these variants is therefore secondary and contributory. They show that fluctuation occurred between such sounds or sound-groups, and so tend to support the ablaut relations of *i*: *ya* as a live factor in the language. Indeed so live was this factor that it was capable of producing secondary and analogical developments where it did not belong historically, as in the following case, which is the most interesting of all these variants from the phonetic standpoint:

*agne yat te tejas tena tam prati titigdhī* (KS. *tityagdhī*, AV. *tam atejasam kṛṇu*) . . . AV. MS. KS. ApŚ. For the 'adventurous' *tityagdhī*, from root *tij* but apparently influenced in form by thought of *tyaj* or the like, see VV I p. 191.

§734. All our other variants are morphologically or lexically quite independent, except possibly the following:

*prapīnam* (MŚ. v. 1. °*tam*, TS. ApŚ. *prapyātam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salilasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The 'roots' *pī* and *pyā* are ultimately one.

*yatrānte sukṛto yatra te yayuḥ* (AV. *ta īyuḥ*) RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TA. 'Roots' *yā* and *i*; the latter form here metrically poor.

*vikirīda* (KS. °*da*, VS. °*dra*, MS. *vyakṛda*) *vilohita* VS. TS. MS. KS. It is barely possible that the first syllable of this obscure epithet of

Rudra may show a variation which properly belongs here; but nothing is really known of the word.

*agne devānām aya heḍa iyaḥṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS. ApŚ. *iyakṣva* is a desiderative from *yaj*; possibly for metrical reasons, KS. presents a sort of contraction of it, which in VV I p. 123 we have doubtfully classed as a root present.

*dhānāni kakro dhanyah* (AŚ. *dhaniḥ*) *surīdhāḥ* TB. AŚ. The reduction of the commonplace adjective *dhanyah* to the monstrous *dhaniḥ* can only be a phonetic corruption or blunder (or should we read *dhanī*, from *dhanin*?).

§735. Of the lexical variants, several concern monosyllabic forms like *id*, *im*, varying with *yad*, *yam*; or the like:

*apām payasvad it* (KS. *yat*) *payah* RV. KS.: *apām payaso yat payah* AV. TS. TB. MŚ.

*gomān id* (SV. *yad*) *indra te sakha* RV. SV.

*muṣṭār id* (VSK. *\*kā id*, LŚ. *\*kau yad*) *asyā ejataḥ* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. LŚ.

*mitram na yam* (TB. *im*) *śimyā goṣu gavyayah* (TB. *\*cat*) RV. TB.

*samyak* (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.\* MŚ. *sam it*, KS.\* *sarit*, all mss.) *śravantī sarīto* (TAA. *\*tā*, Poona ed. *\*to*) *na dhendh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.\* ŚB. TAA. KŚ. ApŚ.\* MŚ.

*yadī tvam atra* (Vait. *tvam tatra*) *manasā jagantha* VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait.: *yad-yut tvam atra manasānuwettha* LŚ.

*itī cid dhi* (AV. *\*yadī cin nu*) *tvā dhanā jayantām* RV. AV. (both).

§736. In others the variation is accounted for by the presence or absence of the augment or a particle or the preposition *ā* before a verb form or derivative noun, and after a preposition ending in *i*:

*mā dhenur atyāsārīṇī* (HG. *atīśā*?) HG. ApMB. The true reading is manifestly that of ApMB.; HG. has a phonetic reduction (it should mean 'having diarrhea!').

*yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *yajñah pratyasthāt* (v. l. *praty u sthāt*) KS.: *yajñah praty u sthāt sumatau matnām* MŚ.

*toyena jivān tvīśasarja* (TA. text *vya ca sarja*, comm. v. l. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA. MahānU. The only possible reading in TA. is *vyasasarja*, which is itself anomalous enough; see VV I p. 140.

*abhyāṣikṣi rājābhūm* (ApŚ. *\*bhūcam*) MS. ApŚ.: *abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvām* (v. l. *\*bhūcam*) MŚ.

§737. Stems or endings in *i* varying with extensions in *(y)a*:

*agnir grhapastnām* (MS. KS. *gārhapatyānām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sūpasthā aśi vānaspatyah* MŚ.: *sūpasthā devo vānaspatih* TS.

*ye 'gnayah puriṣyah* (*puriṣyah*), and others, see §907.



*antimitraś* (TS. *antyaṃ*°) *dūre-amitraś* (MS. 'mitraś) *ca gaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. Both probably mean 'having near friends'; *anti* and adj. *antya*. Weber and Keith follow the comm. on TS. in dividing *antya-amitraś*, 'with foes within,' which is less plausible.

*agnir havyaḥ* (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā śūdayāti* (AV. *śadayaṭu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*ahāḥ śarīraṇi* (TB. *ahāc char*°) *payasā śameti* (TB. °*tya*) TB. Vait. (also AVPpp.) The correct reading is doubtless the gerund *śametya*; the 3d sing. *śameti* may almost be considered a case of genuine 'Samprasāraṇa'. Cf. VV I p. 164.

*kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyaṃ bhūt* (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV. TS. MS. N. The SV. form is scarcely interpretable (see Benfey's *Glossar* for two suggestions), and is probably a sort of phonetic corruption of the other.

*tāḥ prācyā* (°*yah*, *prācīr*) . . ., see §387. Equivalent case-forms; others will be found in the volume on Noun Inflection.

§738. Remoter lexical variants and corruptions:

*satyaṃ vadanty anu icha* (KS. *anu yacha*) *etat* TS. KS. PG. *anu-iz* 'seek after'; *anu-yam* 'follow'.

*yebhir viśvam* (SV. *vy āsvam*) *airayah* RV. SV. *Vy āsvam* doubtless a corruption, favored by this sort of phonetic shift. Benfey takes *āsva* as a proper name.

*anyām icha pitṛgaṇaṃ vyaktām* (ApMB. *vittām*) RV. ApMB.: *jāmin icha pitṛgaṇaṃ nyaktam* (read °*lām*) AV. *vittām* is certainly secondary. Note that in *jāmin*: *anyām* we also have a kind of samprasāraṇa in the final syllable.

*acittapājā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *agnī* MS. TA. ŚŚ. Also: *acittamaṇā* (TA. *acyuta*°) *upavaktā*, same texts. Here *yu*: *i* vary; cf. the second variant in §736, and next.

*bhūjyah* (MS. *bhuji*) *suparṇo yajñō gandharvah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *yu*: *i*, cf. prec.

*pāhi mā didyoh* (TS. TB. *mādya divaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.

*ayam yō 'xi* (MŚ. *yō asya*) *yasya ta idam śiraḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter certainly secondary.

*vena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *bhūriś carā divam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

12. Samprasāraṇa: *u(ū)*: *ea*, *eā*, and the like.

§739. Here, as in the preceding division, there are very few purely phonetic variants; almost all of them involve lexical or morphological divergences. The most clearly phonetic cases are:

*sva* (KhG. *sur*) *abhivyaḥkhyam* KS. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *sva* *abhivyaḥkhyam* (MS. MŚ. \**hśam*) *jyotir vaibednaram* MS. KS. MŚ. *sva* is certainly for *sva*; cf. the Dhātupāṭha root *sva* 'shine'.

*katī dhāmāni katī ye vivāsāḥ* MŚ.: *ko asya dhāma katidhā vyusṭh* AV. Different ablaut grades of the root *vas* 'shine'.

*agnir havyam* (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The roots *sūd* and *svad* are distinct historically, but no doubt related prehistorically.

*agnir havyāni siśvadati* RV.: *agnir havyā suśudati* RV.

*aya no yajñam rahāsi* KŚ.: *ayasaḥ havyam āhiḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. HG.

And others; see §502. Related roots *vah* and *āh*.

And similarly in suffixal elements:

*vidyullekheva bhāsvarā* (MahānU. *bhāsurā*, v. 1. *bhāsvarā*) TA. MahānU.

Both these stems are familiar adjectives.

*madhūntamānām* (VSK. *madhvant*°, MS. *madughānām*) *tvī patmann ādhūnomi* VS. VSK. ŚB. MS. The VS. form is a kind of superlative to *madhu*, modeled upon *madin-tama*, which occurs in the preceding formula. The VSK. form is a variation on the other, suggested by suffixal forms in *van(t)*.

*sugantuh karma karanaḥ karizyan* JB.: *sugam trah karmah karanaḥ karaḥ karasyuh* IŚ. So the printed ed. of IŚ.; BR. read *sugantvāḥ* 'leicht gangbar'; but no \**gantea* is recorded. The text is evidently very corrupt.

§740. Several times the AV. presents the word *abhiśastipā(h)*, 'protector against imprecation', followed by the particle *u*, while other texts read *abhiśastipdevā*, as nom. of a suffixal form in *-van*; cf. Lanman's note in Whitney on AV. 19. 24. 5, which suggests that AV. is secondary: *bhavaḥ kṛṣṭinām* (AV. *gr*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. \**pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. *abhūr gṛṣṭinām* (AV. \**vaśānām* in text, mss. *v* *āpīnām*; HG. *āpīnām*, ApMB. *āpīnām*) *abhiśastipdevā* (AV. \**pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB.

*ṛṣṭinām putro abhiśastipāvā* (AV. \**pā u*) AV. VS. ŚB.

And similarly, the particles *vā* and *u* interchange once:

*yad vā* (RVKh. *u*) *devā sarasvatī* AV. RVKh.

§741. The prefix *su* exchanges a number of times with the stem *sva* in composition, just as both of them exchange with *sa* (§§364, 612): *ndraś caranti svasica iyānāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *nāvo riyanti svasica na vāṇāḥ* MŚ. KS.

*imam yajñam svadhaya ye yajante* (KS. *dadante*) KS. AŚ.: *imam ca yajñam svadhaya dadante* MS.; *ya imam yajñam svadhaya dadante* (ŚŚ. *bhājante*) VS. TS. ŚŚ.



*suṣā* (TS. ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāḥ sadanā* (TS. N. *sadanam*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛnomi*, KS. Kauś. ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*, KS. *devāḥ sadanedam astu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KS. Kauś. ApŚ. N.

*sunīti swayāśastaram* (SV. *su*<sup>o</sup>) RV. SV.

*avabhṛthaś ca svagākāraś* (KS. *su*<sup>o</sup>) *ca* MS. KS. So the one ms. of KS.; but ed. em. *svagā*<sup>o</sup>, no doubt rightly; cf. *ava*<sup>e</sup> *ca me svagā*<sup>e</sup> *ca me*, in Cone.

*ekayā ca daśabhiś ca svabhūte* (AV. *cā sukūte*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §119.

*priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūṅhi* (Vali. *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṅhi*) TB. Vait. §742. The rest are sporadic lexical variants:

*urudraso viśvarūpo induh* TS. ApŚ.: *purudasmo viśurūpa* (KS. *°das-mavad viśvarūpam*) *induh* VS. KS. ŚB. KS. Other cases of *viśu*: *viśva* in §291.

*dhūmrā babhruṇikāśāḥ piṣṇāś somavatām* VS.: *pitṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhruṇikāśān* ApŚ. *babhru* + *nikāśa* (*anūkāśa*).

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi*<sup>o</sup>) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *svarakṣitaḥ syāni*) *svāhā* AG. PG.: *brahmābhigūrtam svarākṣāṇaḥ* (most mss. *svārākṣāṇaḥ*) MG. For AG. Stenzler says: 'möge ich Lieder ergiessen'.

*asmān* (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā avalā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣu ā*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso °vatā haveṣu* AV.

*svādhyo* (TB. *°dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apso aj*<sup>o</sup>) RV. TB.

*purutrā te manulām* (AV. *vanulām*, com. *vanulām*) *viṣṭhitam jagat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N. Sing.: plur.; see VV I p. 266.

*indrah* (ŚŚ. *°as*) *patih tuviṣṭamo* (AA. ŚŚ. *tanastamo*) *janeṣu ā* (ŚŚ. *janeṣu*) AV. AA. ŚŚ.

*ā yāhi* (and, *ā no yāhi*) *tapasā janeṣu* (ŚŚ. *°ṣv ā*, MS. *janiṣva*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §§693, 826.

§743. A number of times, in lexical or morphological variants, *vi* or *vī* is found varying with *u* or *ū*:

*vidyutām* (PG. MG. *udyutām*) *ivā sūryaḥ* ŚŚ. AG. PG. MG.

*adyā kṛṇuhi vīlaye* (SV. *°hy ālaye*) RV. SV.: *urvat kṛṇuhi vīlaye* (SV. *°hy ālaye*) RV. SV. The variation may also be considered one between *yā* and *vī* (§805).

*achidraṁ pārayiṣṇum* (SMB. *°yīṣṇvīm*) TS. SMB. Fem. acc. of *u* stem. *dṛśāno rukma urvyā* (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy ādyant* (MS. *vī bhātī*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. Cf. §791, and next variant. The form *uruyā* seems to be characteristic of MS.

*cakṣur ma urvyā* (KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vī bhāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. *prec.*

*dhīṣaṇe vīdū* (*vīdvī*) . . ., and others, see §169.

*yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti* (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yasmīnn adhi vitataḥ sūra eti* MS. KS.: *yasyāsau sūro vitato mahitā* AV. See §63.

13. *aya*: *e* and the like.

§744. On this general subject see Bloomfield, *AJP* 5. 27 ff.; Wackernagel I p. 53 f. It is clearly Prakritic in character. The variants are few, and mostly capable of different lexical or morphological explanations. Perhaps the only purely phonetic variant is the following; the MS. form is not otherwise recorded and is reasonably supposed to be merely a dialectic form of the other:

*namah kīṅkīlāya ca kṣayaṇāya* (MS. *kṣeṇāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Epithet of land.

§745. In several verb forms we find the same variation, where the *aya* forms may (with more or less forcing) be explained as causatives, or as 1st class presents, the alternative forms being derived from the non-causative, or from root-class presents; but undoubtedly the phonetic tendency in question is involved in them:

*arejātān* (TB. *arejayātām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV. TB. Cf. VV I p. 154; a sort of hyper-Sanskritism in TB., which spoils the meter.

*uttamaṁ nākam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohamam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*yainam*; TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

See VV I p. 152. The contracted form of TA. is unmetrical.

*sed u rājā kṣayati* (TB. *kṣeti*) *carṣaṇīnām* RV. MS. TB. The contracted form is again unmetrical. Cf. VV I p. 123.

*agnir* (also: *vāyur*, *prajāpatir* etc.) *dikṣitaḥ* . . . *dīkṣayatu* (JB. *dikṣeta*) JB. ApŚ. See VV I §160.

§746. Otherwise we find a few miscellaneous cases, concerning noun inflection or particles:

*pibāt somaṁ mamadaḥ* (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*mam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. See VV I p. 88.

*tasyed* (AV. *tasya yad*) *āhuḥ pippalaṁ svādv agre* RV. AV. The AV. expansion is hypermetric; according to Whitney, Ppp. agrees with RV.

§747. As showing analogous tendencies, we append a miscellaneous group of cases of variation between *e(ai)* and *avi*, *ayi*, *iye*, *iya*, *ā-ya*. For *e*: *ya*, *yā*, see §803:

*saṁśrāvabhāgā* (VS. ŚB. *saṁśrava*°; MS. °*gāh*, KS. Kauś. °*gās*) *stheṣā* (Kauś. *taviṣā*) *bḥantaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. See §96.



TS. p.p. *stha*, *iṣāḥ*; and accordingly Keith, 'well-nourished'; but this is implausible. The original doubtless means *stha iṣā* 'ye are great by food'; Kauś., 'by strength'.

*tebhya gṛhṭasya kulyaitu* (TA. *dhārayitum*) AV. TA. The AV. form intends *kulyā-etu*; TA. suggests *dhāraitu* (*dhārā-etu*) as an intermediate stage between AV. and its secondary reading.

*āruroha tve sacā* (KS. *trayy apī*) KS. TB. AŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.

*revatī predhā yajñapatiṁ ā viśa* MS. KS.; *revatī yajamāne priyaḥ dhā ā viśa* VS. ŚB.; *revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata* TS. ApŚ. The old adverb *predhā* (doubtless original), 'kindly', becomes *priyadhā* in TS., and this is further broken up into *priyam dhāḥ*, 'establish the pleasant', in VS.

*vi dhūmam agne aruṣaṁ miyedhya* (MS. *medhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA. *miyedha* and *medha*, both RV., are synonyms; it is a disputed question whether there is any ultimate relation between them.

*agnir devebhyah suvidatriebhyah* (TA. *suvidatrebhyah*) RV. AV. TA. N.

In the original form °*datriebhyah* stands for °*datryebhyah* (suffix *ya*). *pratiravebhyah* (TA. *pratirebhyah*) *svāhā* MS. TA. The correct reading is certainly that of MS.; *pratirava* in the soma ritual means the

'echo-hole', otherwise called *uparava*. TA. comm. *pratirebhyo* 'bhivṛddhihetubhyah prāṇadevebhyah' (as if *pra-fira* 'extending' [life]). *ā yāta* (SMB. GG. ViDh. *eta*) *pitarah somyāsaḥ* (HG. *somyah*) AV. SMB. GG. HG. ViDh. *ā-yā* and *ā-t*, synonyms.

Compare the interesting case *agnim* (SV. *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhasociṣam* RV. SV.; see §843.

#### 14. *ava*: *o* and the like

§748. See the references quoted in §744. The variants are even fewer than those concerning *aya* and *ē*. The most clearly phonetic instance shows the peculiar pronominal genitive form *to* (Wackernagel p. 54):

*to-to* (MS. KS. MŚ. *tava-tava*, TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

§749. Other stray cases which involve the same phonetic tendency: *yatra yanti srotyaḥ* (KS. *śravatyas*) *taj jītaḥ te* AV. TS. MS. KS. The fuller form of KS. improves the meter. RV. knows the stems *srotyā* (found here) and *śravanī* = KS. *śravatī*, both meaning 'stream'. But note that several mss. of KS. read *śravatyās*, which points to a hyper-Sanskritic form based on *srotyaḥ*.

*sā naḥ priyā supratūrtir maghonī* TS.; *sā naḥ supratūrtiḥ priyā naḥ*

*suhār nah priyusanir maghavanir antā ehi* MS. In TS. the regular fem. of *maghavan*, based on the weak stem *maghon-*; in MS. an *i*-extension of the strong stem.

*svāhā tvā subhava* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. °*vaḥ*, KS. *subho*) *sūryāya* VS. VSK. TS, MS, KS. KB. ŚB. ApŚ. The KS. probably has really a phonetic contraction, but may be understood as from stem *su-bhu* (-*bhū*), parallel to -*bhava*(s).

*anābho mṛḍa dhūrte* (read °*ta* with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ.; *anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. Cf. p. w. 5 Nachträge, s. v. Possibly here also forms of root *bhū* may be involved, as in the last; but the readings are very obscure. Epithets of Rudra. KS. ms. reads *anānbhava*; KapŚ. *anār*°.

§750. We append a stray lexical variant of *ava* and *ū*;

*avamais ta ūrvais te kāyais te pītṛbhīr . . . bhakṣayāmi* PB. LŚ.: *ūmaih pītṛbhīr . . . bhakṣayāmi* AB, ŚŚ. Vait. It is possible that the latter form intends *avama* 'nether', instead of *ūma* 'helper', which does not fit *pītṛbhīh* so well. We should then have a sort of Prakritic reduction. Caland does not translate the word in Vait.

For *o*: *va*, *vā*, see §804.



## CHAPTER XVI. INSERTION OR EXPULSION OF VOWELS

### 1. EPENTHESIS OF VOWEL BETWEEN TWO CONSONANTS

§751. In this chapter we shall consider mainly two kinds of variation. One, the more extensive, is the writing of *iy* for *y* and *uv* for *v*; it is, as we shall see, primarily a matter of orthography, since it occurs almost exclusively where *y* and *r* have vocalic function. The other, which we shall take up first, is epenthesis of a vowel (usually *i*) between two consonants. It is dealt with in Wackernagel I §§49-53; also, in so far as it concerns aorist verb forms containing *-rṣ-* or *-riṣ-*, in VV I pp. 189-191. As Wackernagel says (p. 57), this epenthesis is clearly related to the Prakritic tendency to avoid a succession of dissimilar consonants by a similar epenthesis.

§752. In the variants it is almost always a matter of genuine epenthesis, that is insertion of a vowel which was originally absent. The older form of the variant is regularly that which lacks the vowel; and moreover in most cases the history of the word justifies the assumption that the original form of the word lacked it.

§753. Perhaps the only two cases in which beyond any question an original vowel is expelled in one form of the variant are the following, on which see VV I pp. 190-1, and Wackernagel I p. 60. As Wackernagel observes, the forms without the vowels are hyper-Sanskritic. They show a straining to avoid what is felt as dialectic and incorrect, carried to the point of dropping vowels which properly belong in the words: *pra ṇa* (MS. *nā*, SV. PB. *na*) *āyūñṣi tārīṣat* (VS.\*TS.\*KS.\*ŚŚ. N.\* *tārīṣah*, Kauś. *tārīṣat*) RV. AV. SV. VS.\*TS.\*MS. KS.\*PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N.\* The Kauś. form is bad metrically. *āchettā te* (TB. ApŚ.\* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (KS. *riṣat*, MS. and all mss. of MŚ. *mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Since the root is *riṣ*, the Maitr. form (to be read also in MŚ.) is formally impossible, except as a purely phonetic (hyper-Sanskritic) variant for *mā riṣam*.

§754. In the next group of variants, aorists of the root *car*, both forms with and without *i* are otherwise known, but at least in two of the three cases the older forms of these particular variants show forms without *i*, so that they may also be counted as hyper-Sanskritisms:

*apo* (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyānv* (TS. TB. JB. ApŚ. *anv*, AV. *diryā*) *acārīṣam* (JB.† *acārṣam*, AV. *acāyīṣam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

JB. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. MG. Add to VV I §286a, p. 190. Note that JB. is unmetrical.  
*agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam* (MS. MŚ. v. l. *acārṣam*), VS. TS. MS. KS.† ŚB. ŚŚ. ApS. MŚ. HG.  
*vratānām vratapate* (Kauś. °*palayo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS. TA. Kauś.

§755. The original form of *paraśu* or *parśu* is uncertain; Wackernagel §51 believes that it was *parśu*, but *paraśu* seems commoner and is apparently supported by Greek *παλας*. In the variant which follows the meter is indeterminate (reading *suastih*, the form *parśur* can be made to fit metrically); but note that in TS. both forms of the word occur in the same pāda, which makes *parśu* suspicious:

*paraśur* (TS. *parśur*) *vedīḥ paraśur nah swasti* (TS. °*tiḥ*) AV. TS.

§756. There are other cases in which double forms, with and without the vowel, are more or less familiar in the language generally. But it appears that in most if not all the other variants, these particular formulas originally contained the form without the vowel, so that the form with epenthesis may be regarded as secondary at least in the context considered.

§757. The vowel inserted is regularly *i*, seldom *a* or *u*. It is found commonly before or after a liquid, generally *r*, and most frequently of all between *r* and a sibilant or *h*. In addition there are a number of cases in which the epenthetic vowel *i* seems to be inserted before a labial consonant, especially *v*; this principle is not recognized in Wackernagel, nor, so far as we know, elsewhere. The insertion is as a rule injurious to the meter; to make the text metrical it has to be omitted.

§758. First, between *r* and sibilants: the only certain cases except that mentioned in §755 are aorist forms. We have mentioned above those in which the vowel *i* is certainly or probably original. Those in which it is secondary are (see on them all VV I, l. c.):

*yad rātriyā* (MahānU. TA. v. l. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akāriṣam*) TA. MahānU.

*dīteḥ putrāṣām aditer akārṣam* (MS. *akāriṣam*) AV. MS.

*tan nah parṣad* (MS. *pariṣad*) *ati dviṣaḥ* TS. MS.

*dakṣaṁ te bhadram ābhārṣam* (AV. *ta ugram ā bhāriṣam*) RV. AV.

§759. The only other case is probably no genuine variant, since the Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. reads *dhūrṣadam*. It is therefore probably to be deleted in Wackernagel I p. 56; likewise delete there the form *dhūruṣaḥ*-, which is supported by only one ms. in TS. 1. 2. 8. 2; the other mss. all read *dhūrṣaḥ*-.



*ghrtapratikam va* (TB. *ca*) *ṛasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. Bibl. Ind. *dhūruṣadam*)  
RV. TB. ApŚ.

§760. There is one variant vowel between *l* and a sibilant; most mss. of MS. (in three occurrences) and of MŚ. (in two) read with epenthesis *-valiśā*, which should no doubt be read in all the Maitr. passages, altho Von Schroeder, for no apparent reason, reads twice *-valśā* and only once *-valiśā*:

*śahasravalśā* (MS.\* MŚ. v. l. *°valiśā*) *vi vyaṁ ruhema* RV. VS. TS. MS.\*  
KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The epenthetic *i* is bad metrically.

§761. Between *r* and *h*, there are two instances of the same word. The variation is really lexical (*spārha*: *svāruha*), but is certainly helped along by the tendency we are considering:

*spārha* (TB. *svāruha*) *yasya śriyo dr̥ṣe* RV. KS. TB.  
*spārho* (TB. *svāruho*) *deva nīyuteatā* RV. SV. VS. TB.

§762. A single instance between *l* and *h*:  
*dad brahmann upa vālhāmāsi* (AŚ. *apa°*; LŚ. *upabalihāmāsi*) *tā* VS. AŚ.  
ŚŚ. LŚ.

§763. Likewise one between *h* and *r*:  
*dahrah* (v. l. *daharam*) *vipāpmavaraveṣmabhūtam* (TA. Poona ed. *vipāpm* [v. l. *vipāpma*] *vara°*; MahānU. *vipāpman varan* [v. l. *varo-*] *veśma°*) TA. MahānU. Both *dahara* and *dahra* are known; the latter is required by the meter here.

§764. Before labial consonants, generally *r*:  
*puru tvā dāśvān* (SV. *dāśivān*) *voce* RV. SV. The inserted *i* in SV. is doubtless meant to improve the meter. In RV. *dāśvān* was trisyllabic (probably *dāśuān*, Oldenberg).  
*sutah sudakṣa dhanva* (SV. *dhanivā*) RV. SV. Read *dhanua* in RV.; the *i* of SV. is to be explained as in the prec.

*aśvinā gharman pātān hārdvānam* (TA. *hārddivānam*, read with Poona ed. *hārdi°*) VS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. And others; see §267.

*varṣmā* (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, MS. *drāghmā*, KS. *drāghvā*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. The *i*-forms of VS. are exceptional. Interesting is the TS. form, which suggests a middle stage *\*drāghivā* (blend of KS. *drāghvā* and VS. *drāghimā*), which has suffered metathesis of vowel and semi-vowel (*iv*: *uy*).

Here we may also mention the common forms *pr̥thivī* and *pr̥thivī*. In the one variant noted, the meter requires the shorter form. It is a disputed question which is the original; Wackernagel thinks *pr̥thivī* (I p. 58), but there is something to be said on the other side (cf. e.g. Avestan *parōthwī*):

*prthivī* (VaradotU. *prthivī*) *suvarā yuvatiḥ sajoṣāḥ* TB. VaradotU.

§765. Finally, an isolated corruption:

*yad asyā anhubhedyāḥ* (LŚ. *anubhedyāḥ*) AV. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

Vait. LŚ. The LŚ. form is an uninterpretable corruption. The word *anu* doubtless floated before the mind of whoever first spoke or wrote it.

## 2. WRITING OF *iy* FOR *y* AND *uv* FOR *v*

§766. The fullest previous account of this subject is found in Wackernagel I §181a, note; a briefer statement in Whitney 129d. The Prātiśākhya seem to take no note of it, not even the TPr., altho the resolution is peculiarly characteristic of TS, and other Tait. texts. In the commentary on TPr. 2. 25 Whitney believed he detected a reference to it in the term *sphurita*, but the passage is by no means clear.

§767. The arbitrary and capricious nature of the Vedic tradition comes out nowhere more clearly than here. Certain broad general tendencies appear; the most striking is the tendency just mentioned of all Taittiriya texts to prefer the spellings *iy* and *uv*. Yet even this is cut across by counter-currents in individual cases. The participle of the root *kṣi*, which in all non-Tait. texts beginning with RV. itself is regularly spelled *kṣiyant* with resolution, in Tait. texts alone keeps or rather restores the historically 'regular' spelling *kṣyant*, in defiance of meter which shows that even there it must have been pronounced *kṣiyant* (§795). In some other cases where resolution is regular, Tait. texts perversely show the unresolved form, thus going counter to their general practice. For instance, in two variant formulas (§797) they read *prorṇvāthām* (this time with VSK.) against *prorṇu*<sup>o</sup> of all other texts, which is the regular form in the present of the fifth class when the present-sign *nu* is preceded by a consonant (Whitney 697a). Again, the word which in most texts is written *kvala* seems to have in the Tait. school the definitely established form *kvāla* (§782); nor can this be explained as due to metrical considerations, since it is found in prose Brāhmaṇa passages. Similarly the adverb *urviyā* (so RV. always) is spelled *urvyā* in TS. (also in VS., §791); and *kvayi* or <sup>o</sup>*ya* of MS. KS is written *kvayi* in TS. and VS. A Tait. text (TA.) even contains one of the three cases (*nyemur*, for *nī-yemur*) in which the final vowel (*i* or *u*) of a preposition is suppressed before the related semi-vowel (*y* or *v*) which follows it, thus leaning over backward to avoid even the semblance of the resolution of which the Tait. school is otherwise so fond (§770).

§768. Nor is the Tait. school the only one which displays this capri-



cious character. KS. in general does not favor *iy* for *y* or *uw* for *v*. Yet in the case of the single word which all other texts write *triyavi*, KS. in three different variants shows the invariable spelling *triyavi* (§776). The RV. itself is guilty of one strange anomaly: the pres. mid. participle of the root *au* 'press', is always written *surāna*, despite the fact that, as the meter shows, it was always pronounced *svāna*; the SV. in the case of this word writes always *svāna*, in accord with the actual pronunciation (§794).

§769. Generally speaking, this matter is one which concerns orthographic convention alone, not phonetics in a proper sense. This is proved by the fact that in practically all metrical passages the *y* or *v* was syllabic. Thus the writing *iy* or *uw* represents the actual pronunciation of all texts better than the other writing. Nevertheless it is almost invariably secondary. In nearly every case the older version writes *y* or *v*, and a secondary text (generally of the Tait. school) substitutes *iy* or *uw*.

§770. To such an extent was *y* or *v* felt as a proper way of writing the actual sounds *iy* or *uw* that in three variant texts we find an original *i* or *u*, as final vowel of a preposition, suppressed in certain texts before a following initial *y* or *v*. Cf. Wackernagel I p. 59. These three cases are curious enough to be worth special mention. They are:

*mā teā ke cin ni* (AV. *ke cid tvi*) *yamun viñ* (SV. *ke cin ni yemur in*; TA. *ke cin nyemur in*) *na pāśinah* RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. The TA. form, which defies meter as well as etymology, can only be interpreted as standing for *ni yemur*; so the comm. There is, to be sure, a v. l. *ni yemur*, but *nyemur* is well attested and appears to have been the actual reading of TA.

*grāha viśvajānina niyantar* (KS. *nyantar*) . . . MS. KS. This and the next passage are prose. KS. can only intend *ni-nyantar*.

*anvāsi* PB.: *anvāsi* . . . TS. KS. (not GB. Vait., see §255): *anuvāya* . . . MS. Here PB. can only have in mind *anu-vā*.

§771. In a handful of cases this resolution is attended by false divisions which lead to real lexical variations in secondary texts, as when *apsv ā* is resolved to *apsuv ā* which is then read *apsu vā* in TS. (§778), or when an original *nyañ* (from *nyañe*) is broken up into *ni yan* (thru the middle stage *niyañ*) in a secondary reading of AV. (§778). Again the adjective *apyā* is made into the two words *api yā* in SV. (§785), and the RV. *abhvam* (two syllables, not \**abhvam*) is revamped by TB. into *ab-bhuvam*, thinking of *ap* 'water' (§790). Other variants which have lexical bearings are *svāñ*: *svān(a)*, §778; *uv* for *uv* varying

with *uv* for *anu* (wrongly printed *nuv* in TB. Bibl. Ind. ed., §778); and the few cases in which suffixal forms in *īya(n)*, with *ī*, vary with forms in *ya(n)*, the *ī* proving that we are not dealing with mere resolution of *y* to *iy* (§786). With these exceptions, all the cases listed here are purely phonetic, or rather orthographic.

§772. The variants fall into five clearly defined groups. First, *i* or *u* final (either absolutely or in the seam of compounds), written *iy* or *uv* as well as *y* or *v* before an initial vowel; most commonly after more than one consonant. Second, non-final *y* and *v* in radical (initial) syllables; chiefly the one word *svar* (*suar*) and its compounds, plus several words beginning in *k-* (in which the *iy* or *uv* form seems to be more primary). Third, the suffix *ya* pronounced *īya*, and written so in secondary texts; in practically all cases after more than one consonant. Fourth, the stem-final of noun stems in long or short *i* or *u*, before inflectional endings beginning with a vowel; again the *y* or *v*, even when not written *iy* or *uv*, is regularly pronounced syllabically, but written so only in secondary texts. Fifth, a few miscellaneous verb-forms, either finite verbs or participles.

§773. In all of these groups except the last, the writing *iy* or *uv* is secondary to *y* or *v*, but accords with the actual pronunciation as shown by the almost unvarying testimony of the meter. Again in all except the last, it is regularly Tait. texts which show this secondary writing. Typical is their treatment of the word *svar*, which they practically always write *suar*; the few exceptions are mostly instances in which ancillary texts of the Tait. school have borrowed formulas from other, non-Tait. texts (such as KS., from which ApŚ. frequently quotes), and have retained the characteristic spelling of those other texts. It would not be unreasonable to see in the writing of *iy* and *uv* an attempt to represent the actual pronunciation. The same tendency may be noted occasionally in other schools, and in the reverse change, as when SV. always writes *svāna*, in accord with the meter, for the unmetrical RV. *swāna* (§794). Yet, as we saw above, changes in both directions are sometimes introduced in defiance of meter.

#### A. *uv* and *iy* for *v* (*u*) and *y* final before vowels

§774. Most of the variants are metrical, and of course the *y* or *v* is always syllabic. We begin with the particle *u*, which in the RV. etc. is always written not *v* but *u* before a following vowel when it is preceded by a word ending in a vowel (or in *y* for final *i*), but *v* when preceded by a consonant (Wackernagel I §270a):



*ghṛte śrīto ghṛtam v* (TA. *uv*) *asya dhāma* RV. VS. TA. AŚ. MŚ.  
*praty u* (TB. *uv*) *adarśy* (TB. *†adṛśy*) *āyati* RV. SV. TB. ŚŚ. AŚ.  
*na vā u* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *uv*) *etan mriyase na riṣyasi* RV. VS. TS. KSA.  
 ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*sa u* (TS. *uv*) *ekaviṃśavartaniḥ* TS. MS. Prose.

§775. The spelling *uv* was regular from RV. times in the word *svita* (*svita*). It is therefore not surprising to find it not limited to Tait. texts: *śarad dhemantaḥ svite dadhāta* (MŚ. °tu) KS. MŚ.: *śarad varṣāḥ svite* (TS. SMB. *svitam*) *no dadhāta* (TS. SMB. *astu*) AV. TS. SMB. The meter requires *uv*, but even with that is poor in TS. SMB. because of their change to *astu*.

*svite mā dhāḥ* TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ. ŚG. N.: *svite* etc. VS. GB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. Prose.

§776. The word *tryavi*, so spelled in nearly all texts, is thrice spelled *triyavi* in KS., altho this text rarely resolves *y* to *iy*, and altho Tait. texts write this word *tryavi* (!). Two of the variants are prose; the other requires syllabic *y* or *iy*:

*tryavir* (KS. *triyavir*) *gaur vayo dadhuḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*tryavir* (KS. *triyā*°) *vajrah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Prose.

*tryaviś* (KS. *triyā*°) *ca me tryavi* (KS. *triyā*°) *ca me* (MS. MŚ. omī *me* twice) VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. Prose.

§777. The rest are sporadic:

*kutudrī stomaṁ zacatā paruṣṇy* (TA. °ṇiy) *ā* RV. TA. Mahānū. N. In a jagatī stanza; RV. certainly pronounced °ṇiy-ā.

*asikny* (TB. °niy) *asy oṣadhe* AV. TB.

*dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojasah* (TB. *dhṛṣṇuvo*°) RV. AB. KB. TB.

§778. False divisions resulting in lexical variations or corruptions are found in the following:

*yad oṣadhīḥ apso ā* (TS. *apsu vā*) *yajatra* RV. VS. TS. ŚB. *apsu vā* clearly based upon the intermediate stage *apsur ā*. As a matter of fact, this may be what TS. really intends; but p.p. divides *apsu vā*, and so Weber and Keith.

*nyañ* (AV. *nī yan*) *nī yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °tim) RV. AV. KS. The AV. has a corruption based upon *niyañ* for *nyañ*.

*svāna bhrāja*° . . . VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *svān nabhrād* . . . KS.: *svāna bhrāḥ* . . . TA.: *svāñ nabhrād* . . . MŚ. MŚ. In the latter *sv-vāk* (*vāk*) is meant.

[*ato no rudrā uta vā tvaṁ asya* RV.: *tato no rudrā uta vā nuv* (but Poona ed. °nu, and comm. *anu*) *asya* TB. We assume that the Poona ed. is right, so that the variant does not belong here.]

We have listed above (§770) the three variants in which just the reverse tendency occurs, namely, a final *i* or *u* is suppressed before an initial *y* or *v*.

B. Non-final *y* (*v*), in radical (initial) syllables

§779. These mostly concern the one word *svar* and its compounds. Numerous variant pādas begin with this word itself. They can be got so easily from the Concordance, and show so little interest individually, that we have not taken the space to copy them out here. It will be seen that the form *svar* is practically limited to Tait. texts, but that in them it is nearly universal. The rare cases in which Tait. texts write *svar* are generally due to quotations (in such texts as ApŚ.) from non-Tait. sources, retaining the non-Tait. spelling. We note that in the variant *s(u)varge loke samprorṇvāthām* TS. KSA. TB., the true reading of KSA. is *ṣvarge loke ṣamprorṇvāthām*; correct Conc.

§780. In addition to formulas beginning with *svar* we find for example (the list is far from complete):

*pari lokān pari diśaḥ pari svah* (TA. MahānU. *svah*) VS. TA. MahānU. *divi mūrdhānam dadhiṣe svarṣām* (TS. TB. *svu*°) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

*hiranyavāśīr iṣirah svarṣāḥ* (TB. *svu*°) RV. TB.—The compound stem *svarṣā* occurs also once initially, viz.:

*svarṣām* (TB. *svu*°) *apsām* (TB. Poona ed. twice *ṣapsām*, text and comm.) *vrjanasya gopām* RV. VS. MS. TB.

§781. There is, finally, at least one variant in which a Tait. text (TB.) reads *svar* contrary to metrical requirements; if it was quoted from some other text, that text has not been discovered. The later texts of the same Tait. school, TA. and MahānU., write *suvar*:

*tapasvarṣayuh* (MahānU. *ṣṛṣayuh*) *suvar* (TB. *svar*) *anuvāṇdan* TB. TA. MahānU.

§782. Next we come to three words, all etymologically obscure, in which an apparently older or more regular form in *iy* or *uv* (always preceded by *k*; is this accidental?), is replaced by *y* or *v* alone. Most curious of all, in each case a Tait. text has the secondary reading with *y* or *v* alone; and in the first of the three this form seems to be known only in the Tait. school and to be regularly used there in this particular word—despite the obvious inconsistency with the usual Tait. tendency. Meter evidently has nothing to do with any of these variations.

*pakṣmāṇi godhūmaiḥ kvalair* (TB. *kvalair*) *utāni* VS. MS. KS. TB.

Here, to be sure, the form *kvalair* makes better meter. But this



cannot account for the change, since the word seems regularly to appear as *kudla* in the Tait. school, and is so written e.g. in a prose Brāhmaṇa passage, TS. 2. 5. 3. 5.—The same word in:

*ajo dhūmro na godhūmaiḥ kuvalair* (TB. *kvalair*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. *kiyāmbv atra rohatu* RV.: *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA. *jāyatām*) AV. TA.

Here the later texts go counter to the meter by expelling *i*.

*kuwayaḥ* (KSA. and p.p. of MS. °*yih*) . . . MS. KSA.: *kuayih* . . . VS. TS.

§783. Of the remaining cases under this heading one concerns the somewhat doubtful participle *saṁdhvānā*, which TS. substitutes (in defiance of meter) for *saṁdhvānā* of other texts. We take it to be merely a phonetic or orthographic variant for *saṁdhvānā*, differing from Whitney, *Roots*, who quotes it under root *dhu* (*dhā*):

*saṁdhvānā* (TS. °*dhvānā*) *vātā abhi no gr̥ṇantu* TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

The other presents a lexical variation involving false word division, see §832; the word *bhiyaḥ* 'from fear', is evolved out of the case-ending -*bhiyaḥ* (KS., or -*bhiḥ* AV.):

*viśvā amivāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhiyaḥ*) AV. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS.: *vy amivāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām* MS.

#### C. Suffixal *y* in noun formations, pronounced and sometimes written *iy*

§784. Here we include chiefly nouns and adjectives in suffixal *ya*, but also a few forms in (i)*yañc*, (i)*yac*, where the *y* is treated in the same way. In all genuine instances of this variation, the *y* follows two consonants, and was pronounced as a vowel in all texts (the cases listed §786 are different in character). In practically every case the writing *iya*, tho in accord with metrical requirements, is obviously secondary. It occurs almost exclusively in Tait. texts. The following are the metrical pādas concerned, beginning with the few (i)*yañc* stems:

*asmadryak* (TS. °*driyak*) *sam mimihī śradhāi* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*asmadryag* (TS. TB. °*driyag*) *vārdhe vīryāya* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB.

*te pāyavaḥ sadhryaṇco* (TS. *sadhriyaṇco*) *niṣadya* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*mā te mano viśvadryag* (TS. °*driyag*) *vī cārīt* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*vī macyadhrvam aghnyā* (TA. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) *devayānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*vājam arvatsu payo aghnyāsu* (TS. *aghniyāsu*) TS. KS.

*payo gr̥heṣu payo aghnyāyām* (TB. ApŚ. *aghniyāsu*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*yud āpo aghnyā* (TS. TB. *aghniyā*) *iti* (omitted in TS. TB. MS. KS. LŚ.)

- AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.: *yad āhur aghnyā iti* VS. ŚB.  
*nī vīram* (TS. *vīravād*) *gavyam aśvayam* (TS. *aśviyam*) *ca rādhaḥ* RV. TS.  
 MS. KS. Several mss. of MS. *aśviyam*.  
*sugavyam no vāji svaśnyam* (TS. *°viyam*) RV. VS. TS. KSA. AŚ.  
*parā duṣvapnyam* (TB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. *°niyam*) *suva* RV. SV. TB.  
 TA. ApŚ. Kauś. MahānU.  
*achā devān ūciṣe dhignyā* (TS. *dhigñiyā*) *ye* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*sa budhnyā* (TS. TB. TA. *budhniyā*) *upamā asya viṣṭhāḥ* AV. SV. VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. TA.  
*pra budhnyā* (TS. *°niyā*) *va īrate* (TS. *īrate vo*) *mahānsi* RV. TS. MS. KS.  
 AŚ. ŚŚ.  
*ahim budhnyam* (TS. *°niyam*) *anu rīyamānāḥ* (MS. KS. *anv iyamānāḥ*,  
 TS. *anu samcarantīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*svāyām tanū* (ApMB.†MG.†*tanūḥ*) *rtviye* (RV.† *rtviye*) *nādhāmānām*  
 (ApMB. *nātha°*, MG. *bādha°*) RV. ApMB. MG.  
*sa yo vr̥ṣā vr̥ṣṇyebhiḥ* (TB. *°ṇiyebhiḥ*) *samokāḥ* RV. AB. KB. TB.  
*taṁ sadhr̥ic̥r ūlayo vr̥ṣṇyāni* (TB. *vr̥ṣṇiyāni*) RV. MS. KS. TB.  
*bṛhat sāma kṣatrabh̥rd vṛddhavṛṣṇyam* (MS. *°nam*, see §315; TS. *°ṇiyam*)  
 TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

§785. There is one case of a false division resulting in a lexical variant (cf. §771):

*ya usriyā apyā* (SV. *api yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV. *°ni*) RV. SV. The adjective *apyā*, pronounced *apiyā*, is falsely divided in SV.

§786. In several variants suffixal *y*, of various kinds, varies with *īy*; that is, the epenthetic vowel is long. The forms concern secondary noun formations in (ī)*ya* sometimes; the rest are either comparatives in *yaḥs*: *īyaḥs*, or denominative participles. In some cases the form in *īy* is shown by the meter as well as by text history to be original, that in plain *y* secondary; note that, most curiously, one of these secondary forms without *i* occurs in TS.!

*apō vr̥ṇānah pavate kavīyan* (SV.† *°yān*, TS. *kavyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

In SV. nom. of a comparative stem; in the others, of denominative participles.

*turiyāditya* (VSK. *turyā°*) *savanam* (RV. *hav°*) *ta indriyam* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

But in others the longer form is secondary, at times even unmetrical, and is twice found in Tait. texts alone:

*taṁ teā gr̥ṇāmi tavasam atavyān* (TS. *°vīyān*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. N.

Comparatives.



*saninā gāyatrāṁ navyāṁsam* (TA. *navīyāṁsam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. Comparatives. In the next case the meter is ambiguous:

*devā devebhyo adhvaryanto* (KS. *adhvarīyanto*) *asthau* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *sviṣṭīm* (°*ṣm*) *no abhi* ('*bhi*) *vasyo* (TS. KŚ. *vasīyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KS.

KŚ. MŚ. Here the meter shows that *y* was vocalic, tho the spelling *vasyo* seems older.

*yathā no vasyasas* (TS. °*śah*, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*unnetar vasiyo* (KS. *vasyo*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. Prose.

*namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya* (MS. *dundubhaye cāhananīyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. Prose.

*pāra ikṣavo* 'vāryebhyaḥ (KSA.† 'vāriye°) *pakṣmabhyaḥ svāhā* TS. KSA.: *avāra ikṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ* (KSA. *pāriye*°) TS. KSA. Prose.

§787. The following are the prose variants of *ya* and (short) *iya*: *etāni te aghniye* (PB. 'ghnye) *nāmāni* TS. PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the latter form quasi-meter.

*ā pyāyadhvam aghnyā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *aghniyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yāsyā apuṭṛyā* (ŚG. °*triyā*) *tanūs* . . . ŚG. SMB.

*ahir asi budhnyah* (TS. ApŚ. *budhniyah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *ahirbudhnya mantram me pāhi* MŚ.: *ahē budhniya mantram me gopāya* TB. ApŚ.

*ahir budhnyo* (TS. °*niyo*) *devatā* TS. MS. KS.

*namo joghanyāya ca budhnyāya* (TS. °*niyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. MS.: *namo budhnyāya ca joghanyāya ca* KS.

*namo agriyāya* (VS. KS. 'gryāya, MS. 'grīyāya) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namo vālyāya ca reṣmyāya* (TS. °*miyāya*) *ca* VS. TS. KS.

*namo vidhryāya* (MS. °*riyāya*, p.p. °*ryāya*; TS. *nama idhriyāya*) *cāta-pyāya ca* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*namaḥ śighryāya* (TS. °*riyāya*) *ca śibhyāya ca* VS. TS.: *namaḥ śibhāya ca śighrāya ca* MS. KS.

*sumitrā* (VS. ŚB. MahānU. ŚŚ. KŚ. °*triyā*, AŚ. LŚ. *sumitryā*) . . . VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

And similarly *durmitrās* etc., see §315.

*aśvibhyāṁ tiroahniyānām* (MŚ. *tirohnyānām*) . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

*tiroahniyān* (MŚ. *aśvibhyāṁ tirohnyān*) *somān* . . . ApŚ. MŚ.

D. Stem-final of nouns in *i* or *u*, long or short

§788. Here again the meter shows that the *y* or *v* was in nearly every case pronounced as a vowel, so that the resolution to *iy* or *uw* is in

accord with the pronunciation. Yet it is always secondary and is practically limited to Tait. texts. The variants fall naturally into four groups. First, monosyllabic (radical) *i* and *u* stems. In these we expect regularly *iy* and *uv* before vocalic endings in the uncompounded stems, and in compounds after two consonants (Wackernagel III §§91a, 100a); consequently there is opportunity for this variation only in compounds after a single consonant, where the regular forms show *y*, *v*, but Tait. texts (and rarely others) show *iy*, *uv*. Second, derivative *i* stems of the *devī* type, and very rarely *ū* stems in forms that imitate the *devī* declension (see Wackernagel III §97d; only one such variant has been noted). Here the only cases that occur show the variation after two consonants. Third, genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems (see §792). Fourth, *ū* stems of the *vr̥kīś* type; the variants are practically limited to the one word *tanū*.

§789. Monosyllabic (radical) stems in *i*, *ū*. Most of the variants are metrical; we call attention specifically to the prose ones. They nearly all concern compounds of the stems *dhi*, *bhū*, and *pū*.

*svādhyam* (TS. °*dhiyam*) *janayat sūdayac ca* RV. VS. TS. MS.

*svādhyo* (TB. °*dhiyo*) *manasā devayantaḥ* RV. MS. KS. AB. TB. PG.

*svādhyo* (TB. °*dhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB. *apsv ajī*°) RV. TB.

*tan̐ tvā vayam sudhyo* (TB. *sudhiyo*) *navyam agne* RV. MS. KS. TB.

*pāhi mām yajñanyam* (TS. TB. °*niyam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

*vaneṣu citraṁ vibhvaṁ* (TS. *vibhuvam*) *viṣe viṣe* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vibhuve* (MS. *vibhve*, KS.† *vibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

*abhibhve* (MS. *abhibhve*, KS. *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

Prose.

*kalam yasya subhvaḥ* (SV. *subhuvah*) *sākam īrate* RV. SV.

*mahīṣaṁ naḥ subhvaṁ* (AVPpp. ms. *subhavas*, Barret JAOS. 35. 46 *subhuvās*) *tasthivāṁsam* AVPpp. MS.: *samudraṁ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na subhuvās tasthivāṁsam* AV. Others, see §119.

*ghṛtena no* (MS. KS. *mā*) *ghṛtapvaḥ* (TS. °*pvaḥ*) *punantu* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. According to Roth, AVPpp. also °*pvaḥ*.

*devas tvā savitā punātu vasoḥ pavitreṇa . . . supvā* (ApŚ. *supvā*) VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *devas tvā savitotpunātu . . . supvotpunāmi* Kauś. Prose.

§790. A peculiar case which may involve lexical reinterpretation of the variant word is the following:

*arhann idam dayase viśvam abhvaṁ* (TA. *abbhuvam*) RV. TA. The *pāda* occurs in a triṣṭubh verse, and *abhvaṁ* was undoubtedly a dissyllable in RV. In TA. it is reinterpreted as *ab-bh(u)vaṁ* 'originating in water', according to the comm.; see §392.



§791. Derivative *i* and *ū* stems of the *devī* type. The stem-final is here always preceded by two consonants, and the *y* or *v* has vocalic function in nearly all metrical cases. The first is the only case of an *ū* stem:

*samrājāi śvaśrodm* (ApMB. <sup>o</sup>*ruvdm*) *bhava* RV. SMB. ApMB. On this form cf. Wackernagel III p. 189, l. 1.

*asiknyā* (TA. <sup>o</sup>*niyā*) *marudvṛdhē vīstāyā* RV. TA. MahānU. N. *sūro rathasya nāptyah* (ArS. *nāptryah*, TB. <sup>o</sup>*triyah*) RV. AV. ArS. KS. TB.

*ubhayor ārtnyor* (TS. <sup>o</sup>*niyor*) *jyām* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*devyo vamyō* (VSK. *vamriyo*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. Prose.

*drśāno rukma urvyā* (RV. KS. *urviyā*, MS. *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi bhāti*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. This adverb is always spelled *urviyā* in RV.; the spelling *uruyā* (§743) seems to be peculiar to MS.; cf. next.

*calṅar mā urvyā* (MS. *uruyā*; KS. *urviyā*) *vi bhāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose. Cf. prec.

*apīparo mā rātriyā* (MŚ. *rātryā*) *ahno mā pāhi* TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *apī<sup>o</sup> māhno rātriyai (rātryai)* etc., same texts.

*yād rātriyā* (MahānU. and v. l. of TA. *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA. v. l. *akārṣam*) TA. MahānU.: *yād rātriyāt kurute pāpam* TAA. Here by exception the meter favors the unresolved form.

*rātryai* (TB. <sup>o</sup>*triyai*) *kṛṣṇaḥ piṅgākṣam* VS. TB.

*rātryai* (TS. *rātriyai*) *tvā* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

*rātryai* (TA. ApŚ. *rātriyai*) *mā pāhi* TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*rātryai* (TS. TB. *rātriyai*) *śāhā* TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB.

*viśvapanyā* (TS. <sup>o</sup>*psniyā*) *viśvatas pari* SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kauś.

Here, by exception, the meter favors the unresolved form.

*samvetsāyopaveśāya gāyatryai* (TS. ApŚ. <sup>o</sup>*triyās*) . . . TS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

*sa gāyatryā* (TS. TB. <sup>o</sup>*triyā*) *triṣṭubhā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. Kauś.

*gāyatryai* (TS. <sup>o</sup>*triyai*, MS. KS. <sup>o</sup>*tryā*) *gāyatram* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mano gāyatryai* (TB. ApŚ. <sup>o</sup>*triyai*) VSK. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

§791a. The following case is peculiar:

*vīlipī yā* (*vīlipīyā*) *bṛhaspate* AV. (both). In two nearly adjoining stanzas, 12. 4. 44 and 46, which except for this change are practically identical. Whitney would emend *vīlipīyā* to *vīlipī yā*; but this is unnecessary; *vīlipīyās* would be a correct genitive form, depending on *aśniyāt* of pāda c: 'of the *vīlipī* (cow) the non-brahman shall not eat'.

§792. Genitive-locative duals of short *i* and *u* stems. On these cf. Wackernagel III §22b, which is not quite accurate in stating that all texts write *-yoh* and *-voh* (rather than *-iyoh* and *-uvoh*) 'durchweg'; the occurrence of the Tait. spellings in the following variants, at least, seems to have been overlooked. As Wackernagel observes, the *y* and *v* in these forms is regularly vocalic in RV.:

*indrāgnyor* (TS. ApŚ. °*gni*yor) . . . (prose formulas, see Conc.) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ayād agnir indrāgnyoś* . . . TB.: *ayād indrāgnyoś* . . . MS.

*bāhvor balam* TS. TAA.: *bahu bāhvor balam* AV.: *bāhvor balam* Vait. MŚ. PG.

*bāhvos* (TS. *bāhuvos*) *tava hetayaḥ* VS. TS.: *hetayas tava bāhvoḥ* MS. KS. *patāti didyur naryasya bāhvoḥ* (TS. *bāhuvoḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

*ūrvoor* (TS. TAA. *ūruvoor*) *ojaḥ* AV. TS. TAA. Vait. MŚ. PG.

§793. The stem *tanū* and its type. The only form from another stem than *tanū* itself is the fem. accus. sing. *sudrvam* (from \**sudrā*, fem. to *su-dru*), which is of course pronounced *sudruvam* and is so written in SV.—The very numerous cases in which *uv* for *v* is written in forms of *tanū* in Tait. texts alone are not listed in full.

*nemim taṣṭeva sudrvam* (SV. *sudruvam*) RV. SV.

*yasyai bahvī tanuvo vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* TB.: *yasyā bahvyas tanvo vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* MS.

*na dhvasmānas tanvī* (TS. *tanuvī*) *repa ā dhuḥ* RV. TS.

*tanūs tanvā* (TS. TAA. *tanuvā*) *me saha* AV. TS. TAA. PG. Vait.: *tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ. The AV. mss. read °*me sahed antāḥ* or the like; the vulgate presents a violent emendation, abandoned by Whitney in his Transl. Properly speaking this passage is cadenced prose, rather than verse.

*śam lokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonah* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG. Note that PG. has the characteristic spelling of TS. from which it here quotes (there is a v. l. *tanvai*).

*tayā nas tanvā* (TS. ŚvetU. *tanuvā*) *śamīlamayā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU. NīlarU. Here the meter is intended for anuṣṭubh, and the resolution makes it even worse than the original form.

*tanvam* (TS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. *tanuvam*) *me pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. JB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. PG. HG. ApMB. Prose.

#### E. Verbal forms.

§794. The materials here are scattering and miscellaneous. A large group contains the participle *śuvāna*, from *śu* 'press', which is always



written thus in RV. altho pronounced *svāna*; SV. changes the spelling to match the pronunciation:

*pra svānāso* (SV. *svā°*) *brhaddiveṣu* (SV. *°deveṣu*) *harayaḥ* RV. SV.  
*brhat somo vāṛdhe svāna induh* (SV. *svāno adriḥ*) RV. SV.  
*soma u svānaḥ* (SV. PB. *svā°*) *sotrbbhiḥ* RV. SV. PB.  
*mitrāḥ svānā* (SV. *svānā*) *arepasaḥ* RV. SV.  
*indre svānāsa* (SV. *svā°*) *indavaḥ* RV. AV. SV.  
*ā soma svāno* (SV. *svāno*) *adribhiḥ* RV. SV.  
*pari śya svāno akṣāḥ* (to be read *akṣāḥ*, cf. Oldenberg *Noten ad loc.*)

RV.: *pari sya svāno akṣarat* SV.: cf. *pari sya svāno aryaṃyam* RV.  
*pari svānaś* (SV. *svā°*) *cakṣase devamādanah* RV. SV.  
*pari svānāsa* (SV. *svā°*) *indavaḥ* RV. SV.  
*pari svāno* (SV. PB. *svāno*) *giriṣṭhāḥ* (to be read *°ṣṭhāḥ*) RV. SV. PB.  
*svānā* (SV. *svānā*) *devāsa indavaḥ* RV. SV.  
*svāno* (SV. *svāno*) *arṣa pavitra ā* RV. SV.  
*svāno* (SV. *svānair*) *pāti kavikratuh* RV. SV.

§795. We have already referred (§767) to the Tait. spelling *kṣyant* for regular *kṣiyant*, participle of root *kṣi* (*kṣeti*, *kṣiyanti* etc.), in defiance of meter:

*prati kṣiyantaṃ* (TS. *kṣyantaṃ*) *bhuvanāni viśā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
 ŚB.

*ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantaḥ* (TB. *°kṣyantaḥ*) RV. MS. TB.

§796. Conversely to this, but more in accord with the general usage of the school, Tait. texts show *viyantu* for *vyantu* (root *vi*) in numerous variants, conforming to the meter always in those which are metrical.  
*samidho agna ājyasya vyantu* (TB. *viyantu*) MS. KS. TB.

*aktam* (MS. MŚ. *aptubhī*, KS. *\*artham*) *rihānā vyantu* (TS. TB. KhG. *viyantu*) *vayaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo 'ktam* (VSK. *ripto*) *rihānāḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. The comms. on both VS. and TS., followed by Keith, take the verb form from *vi* + root *i*.

*vasuane vasudheyasya vyantu* (TB. *viyantu*) VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *vyantu* (TS. *viyantu*) *devā hariṣo me asya* TS. MS. KS.

*vyantu* (TS. *viyantu*) *devīr ya ṣtur janīnām* RV. AV. TS. MS. N.

*vyantu* (TB. *viyantu*) *ājyasya* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*uto gnā vyantu* (TB. *viyantu*) *devapatnīḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

*pibantu madantu* (MS. *°lām*) *vyantu* (TB. *viyantu somam*) VS. MS. TB.

*prati na tñ surabhīṇi vyantu* (TS. *viyantu*) RV. TS. MS. KS.

*lekah salekah . . . vyantu* TS.: *salilah mligah . . . vyantu* MS. KS.

§797. In two prose variants Tait. texts, with VSK., read *prorṇvādhām* for the more regular *prorṇvāḥ*° (above, §767):

*svargeṇa lokena saṁprorṇuvāthām* Vait.: *svarge loke prorṇuvāthām* (MS. °tām, VSK. *prorṇuvāthām*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *suvarge* (KSA.† *svarge*) *loke saṁprorṇuvāthām* (KSA.† °ṇuvā°) TS. KSA. TB.  
*ghṛteṇa dyāvāpṛthivī prorṇuvāthām* (VSK. TS. ApŚ. *prorṇuvāthām*; MS. MŚ.† *prorṇuvātām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.:  
*vapayā dyāvā° prorṇuvāthām* Kauś.

§798. Finally, we find two cases of forms of the root *hū* (of the 6th, *tud*-class?) with *v* exchanging with *w*. The latter are commoner in most texts:

*manō nu ā huwāmahe* (Vait. °hi; VS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. *hūdāmahe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

See VV 1 §2.

*tam ahve* (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.



## CHAPTER XVII. METATHESIS, HAPLOLOGY, AND DITTOLOGY

### 1. Metathesis

§799. On metathesis in Sanskrit in general see Wackernagel I §239, and references. The cases we have noted are almost entirely lexical, but are not without interest as evidence for the extensive operation in the Vedic tradition of this wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. Even when the metathetized form gives a different sense, the fact that metathesis has taken place in a repeated formula remains unquestionable and has linguistic importance.

§800. We begin with metathesis of consonants, and first with a small group in which a single consonant is moved from one place to another: *pālyāny* (ApMB, *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. Here mss. of both texts present both readings; and the variation between *lp* and *ly* may be considered graphic.

*asmaddātrā devatrā gachata madhumatī* TS.: *asmadrātā* (MS. KS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatī* or °fi) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. The TS. is doubtless secondary: 'having us as givers' means 'given by us' (so Keith translates; this is of course the meaning of the other variant).

*yasyedam ā rajo yujah* AV. ArS.: *yasyedam ā rajah* AA.: *yasyedam aja ārujah* ŚŚ. See §244.

*endram vagnunā vakata* PB.: *vagnunendram hvayata* TB. ApŚ.

§801. Interchange in position between two adjoining consonants occurs a couple of times:

*yad ejati jagati yac ca cēṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*) *bhāgo yaṇ* (TAA. Poona ed. 'yam) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*) *svāhā* TAA. MahānU. In MahānU. v. l. *mānyo* for *nānyo*, and *yaṇ* *nāmne* for *yatnān me*. The comm. understands 'let that (all) be my (*ātmanah*) portion by effort—no other'. TAA. comm. says *nāman* = *paramātman*!

*yatheyaṁ strī paṇtram aghaṁ na rodāt* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpaṇtram aganma rudriyāya* MG. The latter is simply a bad corruption: original, 'that this woman may not weep over harm to her children'.

*adhā jivī* (AV. *atha jivir*, mss. *jivir*; ApMB. *atha jivī*) *vidatham a vaddsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB. See §544.

§802. More frequent is interchange in position between two not adjoining consonants:

*yena turyeṇo brahmaṇā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva* JB.: *yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye †'vapathās tena mahyaṁ pavasva* KS. The original is 'vapathās, as shown by the preceding formula in KS., *trir vasubhyo 'vapathās* etc. (see Conc.). If the JB. reading is correct, it contains metathesis of *p* and *v*, with assimilation to the following *pavasva*.

*mītrāya kulīpayān* (MS. *pulīkayān*) VS. MS. See §149, and next. *nākre makarāḥ kulīpayas* (TS. *kulīkayas*, MS. *pulīkayas*, KSA. *pulī-rayas*) *te 'kūpārasya* (KSA.† *kūvarasya*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. See under *pre*.

*svastī naḥ putrakṛtheṣu* (MG. *pathyākṛteṣu*, v. I. as RV.) *yonīṣu* RV. AB. MG.

*viśvasmai bhūtāyādhevaro* (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. °*dhevaro 'sī*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*abaddhaṁ mano daridrāṁ cakṣuḥ sūryo . . .* TS. KŚ. BDh.: *adabdhāṁ mana iṣirāṁ cakṣuḥ* (MŚ. *adabdhāṁ cakṣur ariṣṭaṁ manaḥ*) *sūryo . . .* MŚ. ŚG.

*gharman locantaḥ* (AŚ. °*ta*, ŚŚ. °*taṁ*) *pravaṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praṇaveṣu*) *bībhṛataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*chandānāmānām* (VSK. *chandamānām*, TS. °*mānām*) *sāmrājyaṁ gacheti* (VSK. *gachatād iti*, MŚ. *gached iti*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ.

*jari cetid* (mss. *cetid*, p.p. *cya iti it*) *abhiśiṣaḥ* MS.: *ya* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad*) *ṛte* (PB. †*yakṣate*) *cīd abhiśiṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. PB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. GG. ApMB. See §193.

*ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva* AV.: *yo no dvesti tanūṁ rabhasva* MŚ.: *yo no dvesṭy anu tān ravasva* ApŚ. Here MŚ. transposes the syllables *nu-ta*.

*apa snehitīr* (SV. *snihitīm*) *nṛmaṇā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmaṇām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stūhi tān nṛmaṇām* (Poona ed. *stūhi tān nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. See §110. The KS. reading looks like a metathesis of *adhad rām*.

*agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi naḥ* (TB. *mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS. TB. The MS. reading may be a metathesis of that of TB., which is secondary to RV.

*tam te hiranyam tam u santv* (ApMB. *sam u śantv*) *āpaḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. See §277.

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāṇi*



(PG. *surakṣitaḥ śyām*, MG. *surākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *surārakṣāṇaḥ*)

AG. PG. MG. Evident corruption in MG.

*divas* (SV. *divaḥ*) *prṣṭham adhi tiṣṭhanti cetasā* (SV. *ṭroḥanti tejasā*)

RV. SV. With change of surd *c* to sonant *j*, cf. §57.

*vājaś ca prasavaś . . . vasaś* (TS. *suvaś*) *ca . . .* TS. KS. The syllables *va-su* exchange position yielding *suvaś* (= *svaṛ*).

§803. When a vowel and an adjoining semivowel are interchanged, the result, if the vowel is *a*, is a diphthong in one of the forms. These cases are related to §§747 and 748ff. above, q.v. The following are instances of *e* (= *ay*, *āy*) varying with *ya*, *yā*:

*arthaś ca mā emaś* (VSK. *me yāmaś*; MS. *ca mā ema*) *ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*vr̥ṣṭidyāvānam* (ApŚ. *vr̥ṣṭīm devānām*) *amṛtam svarvidam* MS. KS. ApŚ. *ahā yad dyāvo* (AV. *devā*) *aminūtim ayan* (AV. *āyan*) RV. AV.

*āyur vaśāna upa vetu* (AV. TA. *yātu*) *śeṣaḥ* (TA. *śeṣam*) RV. AV. TA.

*itidam viśvaṁ bhuvanam sam eti* (AV. *vi yāti*) RV. AV. N. Synonymous and related roots *i* and *yā*.

*ahorātre ūrvaśṣīve* (VS. °*ṣṭhīve*, TS. *ahorātrayor vr̥ṣṭyā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. See §840.

*īyam pitryā* (AB. *vai pitre*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *pitre*) *rāṣṭry ety* (AV. GB. *etv*) *āgre* AV. AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt* (VSK. *ba*°, VS. ŚB. *badhet*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Cf. VV I §175, and next.

*ā mā stutasya stutaṁ gamyāt* (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait.: *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB. See pree.

*vanaspathīnr oṣadhī rāya eṣe* (rāye *āhyāḥ*) RV. (both)

*ghṛtam eva* (BDh. *ghṛtam yavā*) *madhu yavāḥ* BDh. ViDh.

§804. Instances of *o* (= *av*, *āv*) and *va*, *vā*:

*sāmāni cakruḥ tatarāṇy otave* (AV. °*ṇi vātave*) RV. AV.

*vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiṅgīni koṣyābhyām* VS.: *oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikoṣyābhyām* (TA. °*koṣā*°) TS. TA.

*sam eta viśvā* (AV. *ṭviśve*) *vacasā* (SV. *ojasā*) *patim divaḥ* AV. SV. Roth quotes Ppp. as reading *oham ā-*, evidently for *ojasā*. See §52.

*pari ghrāṇsam omanā* (TB. *parighraṇsa vāṁ manā*) *vāṁ vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. Bad corruption in TB.

§804a. A special case of this interchange involves alternative genitive-ablative forms of *u*-stems, such as *madhoḥ*: *madhvaḥ*. While this concerns noun inflection more than phonetics, we quote the following examples here:

*madhvaḥ* (SV. *madhoḥ*) *paranta ūrmayaḥ* RV. SV.

*madhvaḥ* (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV. SV.  
*madhoḥ pibataṁ aśvinā* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. LŚ.: *madhvaḥ* etc. RV. VS.  
 AŚ. ŚŚ.

*madhvaḥ* (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pibanti gauryaḥ* RV. SV. AV. MS.  
*madhoḥ cakānaś cōrur madāya* AV. SV.: *madhvaḥ* etc. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
*vasvaḥ* (TB. TA. MahānU. *vasoḥ*) *kuvid vanāti naḥ* RV. KS. TB. TA.  
 MahānU.

§805. Instances of *vi*, *vī*, and *yu*, *yū*:

*achā ma* (SV. *va*) *indram matayaḥ svaridaḥ* (SV. *svaryuwaḥ*) RV. AV. SV.  
 GB. Vait.

*adyā* (also *ṛvat*) *kṛṇuhi vīlaye* (SV. °*hy ātaye*) RV. SV. Cf. §743.

*avitsi* (MS. *dyukṣi*) *sarvā osadhīḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*nādya śatruṁ nānu* (ŚB. *ḥna nu*) *purā rivitse* (ŚB. *yuyutse*) RV. ŚB.

*vivalam* (MS. KS. *yuvalam*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mā te vyoma* (= *viyoma* or *vioma*; AV. *yuyoma*) *sandṛśi* (AV. °*śaḥ*, LŚ.†  
 °*śaḥ* or °*śe*) AV. AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG.

*yajñam praṇaya* (TS. *pra suvā*) *devāvyam* (TS. MS. *devāyuvam*) VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. ŚB.

*devēbhyas tvā devāyuvam* (KS. *devāvyam*) *prṇacmi* etc. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*devēbhyas tvā devāyam* (VSK. *devāyuvam*) *grhṇāmi* etc. VS. VSK. ŚB.

*prāsmān ava prlanāsu pra vikṣu* (TB. *yutsu*) RV. TB.

*ukthēbhyas tvokthāvyam grhṇāmi* KS.: *ukthyebhyas ukthāyuvam* ApŚ.

*varṣmā* (VS. *varṣimā*) *ca me drāghimā* (TS. *drāghuyā*, MS. *drāghmā*,

KS. *drāghē*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. See §764. TS. apparently  
 has a metathetized form for \**drāghivā*.

§806. With the following interchanges of *ar* and *rā* are to be compared  
 §§656ff. In fact the *ar* forms in the following concern the *r*  
 vowel, either directly (as containing sandhi of *a* + *r*), or as *guṇa* deriva-  
 tives of a root in *r*:

*tena rādhyāsam* VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *tenardhyāsam*  
 KS. SMB. The latter stands for *tena rāh*°; cf. §659.

*agnau samrādhanīm yaje* HG.: *yaje samrādhanīm aham* ŚB. BṛhU.

AŚ. SMB. ApMB.: *yuje* (read *yaje* with most mss., Hillebrandt  
 p. 250) *ṣamardham im aham* ŚŚ.

*ahā avarīm* (AV. *arātim*) *avidat* (AV. °*daḥ*) *syonam* AV. TB. ApMB.

## 2. Haplology

§807. On this general subject see especially Bloomfield, *PAOS* 16.  
 xxxiv, *AJP* 17. 418; Wackernagel I pp. 278ff., where further references  
 may be found; we may add Lanman in Whitney, AV. 4. 5. 5, and other



references below. We shall content ourselves here with merely printing the variant cases, arranging them in three groups: those in which the longer reading seems to be the original, so that we may assume haplogy; those in which it seems to be secondary, involving dittology; and those in which the question of originality is too uncertain to make classification advisable.

§808. The following are the cases which seem to involve haplogy: *prthivi vibhūvari* (ApŚ. *bhūvari*) . . . KS. ApŚ. This is a very clear case.

On the strength of the isolated ApŚ. form Boehtlingk (pw. 6. 304) set up a goddess *Bhūvari*, who is nothing but a ghost, the shade of the adjective *vibhūvari* after *prthivi*.

*vikasyām viśi pravivikāṁsam* (KS. *†pravivikānam*) *īmahe* TS. MS. KS.: *viśo-viśaḥ pravivikāṁsam īmahe* AV. Lanman, in Whitney's Transl., has already suggested that the lack of reduplication is due to haplogy. But it may be noted that it improves the meter, also.

*ya āste yaś ca carati* (AV. *yaś carati*) RV. AV. The haplogy is again noted by Lanman.

*trīṇi padāni* (TA. *MahānU. padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA. *MahānU. guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. *MahānU.* The ms. of Ppp. *padānihatā guhā-*, em. Barret *JAOS* 30. 195 to the AVŚ. reading. Clear haplogy in TA. *MahānU.*

*agne 'dabdhāyo 'śitalano* ('*śitalano*, '*śilama*) *pāhi* . . ., see §353.

*yāni kāni ca cakṛma* (ApŚ. mss. omit *ca*, by haplogy) MS. ApŚ.: cf. *duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma* MS.: *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS. TB. TA. (here not really haplogy; *ca* is needed only after *kāni*).

*ye vā* (MS. omits *vā*) *vanaspatīṇu anu* (MS. *NīlarU. °patīnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *NīlarU.* ApMB. Supposed to be metrical even in MS., which is clearly haplogical. In the same verse:

*ye vāvaṇṣu* (MS.†KS. *ye 'vaṇṣu*) *śerate*, same texts. Here the shorter version can be read metrically by pronouncing *avaṇṣu*, but is nevertheless certainly haplogical.

*tena varidhasva cā ca pyāyasva* (MS. *vardhasva cā pyāyasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA.: cf. *eṣā te agne samit tayā* (MŚ. *tayā teah*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. ApG. HG. The second *ca* is clearly required.

*yad eva kim ca pratijagrahāham* (TA. *°jagrahām*) AV. TA. The TA. form (also found in Poona ed.) is indefensible formally and metrically, and is obviously haplogical.

*nyag vāto 'ra vāti* (AV. *vāto vāti*) RV. AV. Lanman notes the haplogy. *yūyātām ilo rapo apa sridhah* RV.: *yūyātām asmad rapo apa sridhah* TB. ApŚ. The loss of a syllable leaves its trace in the long ā.

*añhomuce pra bhareṃā* (AV. *bhare*) *mañṣām* AV. TS. MS. KS. See VV I p. 253.

*anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anibhṛṣṭā apasyuco vasānāḥ* TS. See Keith on TS.

*chandonāmānām* (VSK. °*mānānām*, TS. °*mānām*) *sāmraṣṭyaṃ gacheti* (with variants) ... VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. 'Lordship of the meters' names' or even of their 'measures' (on VSK. see §802) is better than 'of the Chandomas', a ritualistic slip.

*yad ṭapsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. The latter corrupt.

*guhā hītām nihitām* (KS.† omits *ni*°) *gahvareṣu* KS. MŚ.

*namaḥ śaṃgave* (TS.† *śaṃgāya*, for °*gayāya*?) ... VS. TS. MS. KS. See §250.

*yasyedam ā rajo yujah* AV. ArŚ.: *yasyedam ā rajah* AA. Others, see §244.

*viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (MS. °*nā vi*°) RV. MS. TB.: *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe* AV.

*parīdam vājy ajinam* (PG. °*dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG. *ajinam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. The PG. is not construable.

[*yo no agne niṣṭyo yo 'niṣṭyo* ... KS. ApŚ. Conc. quotes ApŚ. as omitting the second *yo*; a modern haplology!]

§809. The following cases are less certain:

*mama ca nāma tava ca* (KS. once omits *ca*) *jātavedaḥ* KS. (both). The reading with *ca* is prose, the other metrical; this may account for the change, omitting *ca* (before *jā-*).

*puru viśvāni jūrvaṇ* RV.: *puro rakṣāṃśi nijūrvaṇ* AV. (Ppp. *viśvāni-jūrvaṇ*.) Whitney suggests *viśvā nijūrvaṇ* for RV.; Lauman, *viśvāni ni*°, assuming haplology. As Oldenberg (*Noten* on I. 191. 9) points out, this would make poor meter for a second pāda; he would read *jūrvaṇ*.

*svānā nabhrāḍ anghāre bambhāre* ... MS.: *svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre* ... VS. TS. ŚB.: *svāna bhrāḥ, anghārīr bambhārīḥ* TA.: *svān nabhrāḍ anghāre bambhāre* ... KS. See Keith on TS. I. 2. 7. 1; he suggests *svāna nabhrāj* as the original.

### 3. Dittology

§810. The following variants contain the reverse of the preceding, in that the shorter version seems to be the original, and dittological influence has produced the variation:

*kukūnanānām* (KS. *kūtanānām*, MS. *pūtanānām*) *tvā* ... VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *kolanāsu* TS. Note double dittology in VS. ŚB.



*namo babhṛuṣāya vṛādhine* (TS. *viryā°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Either form makes good sense; we assume that the majority have the original. *athem enaṁ pra hīṇulāt pitṛbhyah* (AV. *†pitṛr upa*); and:

*athem enaṁ* (AV. *athemam enaṁ*) *pari dattāt pitṛbhyah* RV. AV. TA.

See Whitney on AV. 18. 2. 4, 5. There is no doubt of the dittology in AV. (note the meter); in 18. 2. 5 it seems textually certain, being read by nearly all mss. and both editions. In 18. 2. 4 there is more variation in the mss., and SPP. reads *athem enaṁ* with the comm.

*devā* (AV. *devā vā*) *etasyām avadanta pūrve* RV. AV. The meter proves AV. secondary, and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 42. 127) also omits *vā(i)*.

*namo giriśāya* (VS. *°śayāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The stems *-śa* and *-śaya* are both unexceptionable; probably the majority indicate the original.

*na sīm adeva āpat* (SV. *āpa tat*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. The RV. has an aorist of *āp*, to be read as a trissyllable. SV. tries to improve the meter; cf. VV I p. 138.

*nīrtim nirjarjalpena* (MS. *nirjalpena*, TS. *nirjālmakena*, KS. *nirjālmāka-*) *śīrṇā* VS. TS. MS. KS. Obscure word; VS. simulates an intensive from *jalp*.

*ye te agna* (MS. *agnā*) *indavo yā u nābhayah* (TA. *urṇunābhayah*, but Poona ed. *u nā°* with v. l. *urṇunā°*) MS. KS. TA. The absurd corruption of some TA. mss. seems to be read by the comm. also; perhaps it was influenced by thought of *ūrṇanābhi* 'spider', but this would be as inappropriate as possible here.

*anhaspatyāya* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *anhasuspalaye*) *tā* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. Stem varying with genitive case form in composition.

*rtur janitrī tasyā apas* (GB. *apasas*) *pari* RV. GB. If GB. is correct it attempts to improve the meter and at the same time furnish a form which can be governed by *pari* (in RV. *apas* is governed by a verb in the next pāda, and *pari* governs *tasyāḥ*). But Gastra reads *apas*, with v. l. *apasas*.

*tanūpāś* (TB. Poona ed. text and comm. *tanūnapāś*) *ca sarasvatī* VS. KS. TB. See §195.

*trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre* (SV. Svidh. *°hrīre*) RV. SV. Svidh. See VV I p. 170.

*vṛṣā pavitre adhī sāno aṛye* (RV.\* *avyaye*) RV. (both) SV. TA. MahānU. N. Both *avya* and *avyaya* (from *avya?* or *avi?*) are well known, and both are metrically possible; they are triṣṭubh and jagatī forms of the same expression. But the latter occurs in a verse

(9. 86. 3) which seems to be a patchwork of older materials (*RVRep.* 453), so that *avye* is probably original.

*ājīm na gīrvāḥo jīgūyur āśvāḥ* SV.: *ājīm na jagmur gīrvāḥo āśvāḥ* RV. For metrical reasons Grassmann considers SV. the original. Against this Oldenberg, *Noten* on 6. 24. 6. The SV. form is unique, the other familiar, and Grassmann's suggestion is unlikely.

§811. Vaguer dittologies seem involved in the following:

*nīdhedhāsi* . . . *puruṣpārham* (so KS. and TB. Poona ed., and p.p. of MS.; MS. text *puruṣaspārham*) *yaśasvat* MS. KS.† TB.†.

*tato vākā* (TS. *tataḥ pāvakā*) *āśiṣo na juṣantām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Holy words and prayers' or 'purifying prayers'; TS. spoils the meter. Dittology with *p* for *v*.

*tena yo 'smat* (TA.\* *tenānyo 'smat*) *saṃr̥chātai* (MS. mss. *saṃr̥tsāldām*) MS. TA. The variation is deliberate and intelligent, and scarcely belongs here. TA. repeats a verse in successive stanzas, with this purposeful change; the first version means 'whoever comes against us therewith', the second 'whoever else' etc.

*indrāpāsya* (v. l. *'yāsya*) *phaligam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya śephām alikam* HG. Kirste, 'read *indra āyāsya*'.

#### 4. Haplology or Dittology

§812. In a smaller group we find either haplology or dittology, but it is not certain which, because the original form of the variants is hard to determine. Several of these contain variations between the accusative personal pronouns *mā* and *mām*:

*āyur bṛhat tad āśiya tan māvatu* (MŚ. *mām avatu*) ApŚ. MŚ.

*tan mām āvīt* TA. TU.: *tan māvīt* MG.

*tan māvatu* PB. TA. TU. ApŚ.: *tan mām avatu* MŚ. AG. MG.

*punar mām aite* (AV. Vait. Kauś. *maite*) *indriyam* AV. ŚB. TA. BṛhU.

ŚŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. GG. HG. MG.

§813. Other, miscellaneous cases:

*vājavītyāyāi* (KS. *'jītyāi*) *tvā* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Stems *jītyā* and *jīti*. While the majority agree on the longer form, this is hardly conclusive. KS. is probably on the whole the most original YV. text; only two other schools differ from it; and *jīti* is a much commoner stem than *jītyā*, which latter seems to be found only in composition with *vāja* and *āji*.

*śiśirāya vikakarān* (KSA. †*vikarān*, ApŚ. *vikirān*, vv. ll. *vikakarān*, *vikikirān*) VS. KS. ApŚ. Original form and precise meaning unknown (seemingly some bird). Cf. the preceding formula, *hemantāya kakarān* (KSA. †*kakarān*).



*aneḥann asya yā iṣavah* (TS. KS. NīlarU. *asyeṣavah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. The presence or absence of the articular relative makes little difference; and the meter is no better in one reading than in the other.

*bharatam uddhareṃ anuṣiṅca* (MŚ. *uddhareṃ anuṣanti*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §236, end. Either haplology in TB. ApŚ., or dittology in MŚ. which is in any case corrupt, with *v* for *m*.

*anu no mārṣu* (VS. TS. ŚB. TA. *anu mārṣu*) *tanvo yad viriṣṭam* (*vili*?) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

## CHAPTER XVIII. FALSE DIVISIONS AND PATCH-WORDS

§814. Except for Sandhi, to be treated in our final chapter, we have now concluded what may be called phonetic variants in the strict sense. In this chapter we shall deal chiefly with variants involving different divisions of words. It may be questionable whether they belong strictly in this volume. Yet they certainly deserve mention, as revealing, perhaps as well as any other groups of variants, the general break-down of sound and sense alike in the Vedic tradition (see §16). There seems no better place than this volume to present these materials, which do not exhaust the subject but illustrate the main types sufficiently.

### 1. A compound word divided, or vice versa, without further change

§815. In a considerable number of cases the difference between the variant words consists solely in this, that what in one form of the variant is a single compound word appears in the other as two separate words. There being no change in the form of either part, we can sometimes tell only by the accents whether one word or two is intended, and sometimes, indeed, we can not tell at all with confidence. At other times other changes in the formulas suggest a reinterpretation.

§816. We begin with cases in which the original and true form of the variant has one word, the separation into two being secondary, and sometimes uninterpretable:

*jagāma sūro adhtano vīmadhyam* (AV. *vī madhyam*) RV. AV. Whitney rightly says that the AV. reading is a corruption of the other.

*oṣiṣṭhahanam śiṅgīnikośyābhyām* (TA. *°kośābhyām*) TS. TA.: *vaṣiṣṭha-hanuḥ śiṅgīni kośyābhyām* VS. The VS. reading is very poor and perhaps should be emended.

*yatheyam śrī pautram agham na rodāt* SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedam śrīpautram aghama rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

*aghoraghoratarebhyaś ca* MS.: *ghora ghoratarebhyaḥ* TA. MahānU. Preceded by *aghorabhyo 'tha ghorebhyah*. The forms of Rudra are meant. The tradition is unstable. One ms. of MS. has two accents; but MS. p.p. takes it as one word, which seems likely to be original. TA. has two accents; yet its comm. understands one word, 'more terrible than the terrible', and Poona ed. prints it so (but with two accents!). Comm. on MahānU., however, takes *ghora* as a separate vocative, addressed to Rudra.



*manasaspata imam deva yajñam* (KS. *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS. KS. ŚB. The variants in AV. 7. 97. 8 and TS. 1. 1. 13. 3, 4. 44. 3, have *devetu yajñam*, which supports KS. in meaning. The separate *deva yajñam* is secondary, if indeed it is really the intention of the texts (so comm. on VS., but the accentless voc. is indistinguishable from *deva-* as part of a cpd.).

*vācuspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāeridham* (ŚŚ. *devā vrdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KS. \**yan*, TA. *erayassa*, ŚŚ. *airayassa*) *svāhā* ŚB. TA. KS. ŚŚ. The ŚŚ. is uninterpretable.

§817. In the rest it seems more likely that the form with two words is original, altho in some of them there is little to choose:

*yajur yuktam* (TA.† *yajuryuktam*) *sāmabhīr ātakham tvā* (MS. *ṛkta-khamtā*) MS. TA. Comm. on TA., 'provided with the *yajus*'.

In MS. two accents: 'the *yajus* is joined' or the like.

*madhu śaspair* (MS. *madhuśaspair*) *na teja indriyam* VS. MS. TB. In either case the word *madhu* is a quasi-adjective, modifying either the preceding *bheṣajam*, or *śaspair*. MS. p.p. divides *madhu śaspair* as two words; Poona ed. of TB. prints it as one, but with two accents! (and against the comm.)

*madhu havir* (MS. *madhuhavir*) *asī* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. So according to the accents of MS. and TA. Probably MŚ. must be read *madhuhavir* like MS.; Knauer separates the words because of the parallel *hutam havir* in MŚ. 4. 3. 34; but MS. also reads *hutam havir* in its version of that passage and follows it immediately with *madhuhavir*, as one word. Cf. prec.

*devabarhiḥ* (KS. *deva barhiḥ*) *śatavalśam vi roha* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.; *atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalśo* (MS. *tvam barhiḥ śatavalśam*) *viroha* VS. MS. ŚB. The latter version suggests taking *deva barhiḥ* as two words, as von Schroeder does in KS. The words are voc., so that the accent proves nothing; TS. p.p. takes it as one word. But Poona ed. of TB. prints it as two.

*avīvarata vo hi kam* (TS. *hikam*; so printed also in KS.†) AV. TS. MS. KS.

Comm. on AV. (as also that on TS.) as a single, compound particle.

*upa prakṣe* (AA. ŚŚ. *upaparakṣe*) *madhumati kṣiyantaḥ* SV. AA. ŚŚ. Svidh. This is hard to interpret, whether as one word or as two. For various guesses that have been made see Keith, AA. Transl., p. 285 n. 7. Keith's text of AA. prints *upa prakṣe* with most mss., but against comm., who understands *upaparakṣe* as a prepositional cpd., 'near the *prakṣa*'. Cf. also the infinitive (?) *upaparakṣe*, RV. 5. 47. 6.

*namas te rudra rūpebhyo namaḥ* MS.: *namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah* TA. MahānU. 'Homage to thee, O Rudra! to (thy) forms homage': 'homage be to thy Rudra-forms (terrible forms)'.

*śivā viśvāha bheṣajī* (TS. °*habheṣajī*, VS. °*hā bhe*°; MS. °*ha* [p.p., °*hā*] *bheṣajā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. There is no difference in the meaning, whether the adverb be taken as compounded with the next word or not.

*devīh* (AV. *daivīh*, KS. *trayīṣ*) *ṣaḍ urvīr* (TS. p.p. *ṣaḍurvīh*; and so Cone. assumes for ApMB. HG.) *uru naḥ* (TS. ApMB. *yaḥ*, KS.† *ṇas*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB. HG. The words are voc. and there are no accents. RV. and AV. p.p. interpret as two words, which seems more natural. No doubt all texts except possibly the Tait. school separate *ṣaḍ urvīr*.

*deva puraścara saḡhyāsaṁ* (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsaṁ*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. See §147, and §838. MS. p.p. divides *deva* from *puraś* (which it reads by error for *puraś*).

*imān su nāvam āruham* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *sunāvam ā ruheyam* VS. (prātika PG.)

*ṁa su* (HG. *sa*, read *su*) *mṛtyuṁ* (SMB. *sumartyaṁ*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB. HG. The reading of ApMB. is original.

*apa* (AV. *ava*) *śveta padā jahi* AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. HG.: *apaḥ śvetapad ā gahi* MG. Read *apa śveta padā* in MG.; there is no good ground for Kanuer's editing of the text. See his note and comm., and our §134.

## 2. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the prior member

§818. Next we come to cases in which the prior part of what is a compound word in one form of the variant appears in the other with somewhat altered form. Again we begin with the variants in which it appears that the original form contained a compound, which is broken up in secondary texts:

*stomatroyastrīṁśe bhuvanasya patnī* TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas troyastrīṁśe bhuvanasya patnī* MS. The latter corruptly turns the vocs. into nouns., apparently making *stomas* subject and *patnī* predicate, despite the divergence in gender.

*vāñmanascaṅkuṣhṛatrajihvāghrāṇaretobuddhyākūṭisaṁkalpā* (TA. TAA. °*ākūṭih* *saṁkalpā*) *me kudhyanām* TA. TAA. MahānU. See §383. *śarīraṁ yajñāśamalan* (MahānU. *yajñāḥ śa*°) *kusīdam tasmin ādatu yo* °*smān dveṣṭi* TS. KSA. TA. MahānU. The latter is clearly second-



ary; comm. makes *śarīraṁ yajñāḥ* a sentence, 'the sacrifice is the body'. On the interpretation of the original, which is troublesome, see Keith on TS.

*gaur dhenubhavyā* (HG. *dhenur bhavyā*) ApMB. HG. The meaning is the same, 'that is to become a milch cow'; but the compound *dhenubhavyā* seems to be the standard expression.

*tām vidyām brahmayonīm svarūpām* (VaradapU. *brahmayonisea*°) NrpU. VaradapU. 'The identical womb of brahman', or 'which is identical with the womb of brahman'; either is possible.

*adhr̥ṣṭam dhr̥ṣṇvojasam* (SV. *dhr̥ṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. 'Of irresistible strength': 'irresistible in strength'.

*mithucarantam* (KS. *mithū*°, TS. *mithus car*°, AV. *mithuyā car*°) *upayāti* (AV. *abhiyāti*) *dūṣayan* AV. TS. MS. KS. There is really no way of deciding the original.

*agner* (TS. *devāndm*) *agneyāny* (KS. *agniyāny*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. One ms. and p.p. of MS. *agner agner yāny asi*. Cf. *agner yāny asi* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §357.

*devajūte vivasvann āditya te no devāḥ* . . . MS.: *vivasvān aditir devajūti te na ādityā* . . . TS.: *divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya te no devā* . . . KS. Both parts of the epd. are changed to different, tho quasi-synonymous, words.

*syond māvisaterammadah* (TS. °*terā madah*) TS. MS. KS. The TS. may be original, as it certainly seems simpler and more natural: 'kindly enter into me as food and drink'. But it is probably a lect. fac. for the other: 'kindly enter into me as Irāmada (Agni, lightning?)'.

*rtaprajātā* (MŚ. *uta pro*°) *bhaga id vah syāma* TS. MŚ. The latter is secondary but intelligible; §641.

*sarvasmād devakilbiṣāt* (IŚ. *eva ki*°, VS. *devakilv*°) RV. VS. MS. IŚ. ApŚ.: *viśvasmād deva*° AV. MS. The IŚ. is secondary but sensible; §402.

[*†aindrāsūrāḥ* (KSA. *†aindrāsaurāḥ*) *śyetalalāmās* (KSA.† *śyāmala*°) *tūparāḥ* TS. KSA. Conc. quotes KSA. as *aindrāḥ saurāḥ*.]

[*anyavratasya* (TA. *anyāddera*°, printed by Conc. as *anyad vro*°; the recent proves that it is a epd., tho the comm. seems to take it as two words) *śācīma* (RV. *śācīre*, TA. *śācīmah*, Poona ed. °*ma*) RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA.]

§319. In the following, on the other hand, it seems more likely that the version with two separate words is the original:

*vāhā yajñam manasuh* (KS. 2. 3 *yajñāmanasah*) VS. MS. KS. †2. 3 and

23. 5, ŚB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. A verb like *ā rabhe* is understood; the accus. *yajñam* is necessary to the sense, and KS. 2. 3 should be so corrected. In 23. 5 KS. has correctly *yajñam ma°* (not noted in Conc.). '(I take) sacrifice from mind.'

*māgadhaḥ puñścali kitavaḥ klībo 'śūdrā abrahmanās* (VSK. *puñścali klīvoḥ kitavo 'śūdrābrahmanās*) *te prājāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK.

*śataḥkṣaraḥ chandasānuṣṭubhena* ApŚ.: *śataḥkṣarachandasā jāgatena* Kauś. In Kauś. v. l. *śataḥkṣaraḥ*. The original reading of ApŚ. (cf. §511) makes the adjective agree with *ayam sriavo* preceding; with change to *śatā°*, having a totally different meaning, it is drawn into composition with *chandasā*.

*dahraṁ* (v. l. *daharash*) *vipāpma-varaveśmabhūtam* (MahānU. *vipāpman varam veśma°*) TA. MahānU. The Poona ed. of TA. reads *vipāpman vara°*, with v. l. *vipāpmavara°*. MahānU. also has v. l. *varaveśma°*. The most plausible original seems to be *dahraṁ vipāpman varaveśmabhūtam*. This is stylistically better than *vipāpmavara°*, an awkward compound.

*dadhad ratnam* (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣam pitrbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dakṣapit°*) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṅṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Doubtless AV. is original. The edition of AŚ. separates *dakṣa* from *pi°*, evidently regarding it as a voc. *indrah pāṣena ṣiktvā vah* (HG. *pāṣena vah ṣiktvā*) ApMB. HG.: *indrapāṣena sūtrā* PG. See note in Oldenberg's Translation of HG. *aśloyā* (AV. comm. *aśro°*) *aṅgair* (TA. *°ṅāṅgair*) *ahrutāḥ* (TA. *ahrūtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. l. *°tā*) *svargē* AV. TA. 'Not lame in their limbs', or 'with not-lame limbs'. AVPpp. agrees with TA., but this is the kind of error that occurs very commonly in Ppp.; meter indicates that the other version is original.

*rudra yat te krayi* (VS. KS. *krivi*, VSK. *kravi*, MS. MŚ. *giri-*) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hutam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

*yasya* (ApMB. *vy asya*) *yonim prati reto* (ŚG. *patireto*) *grhāṇa* (ŚG. *grbhāṇa*) ŚG. ApMB. HG. *patireto* looks like a secondary adaptation, tho a very natural one.

*ṣaḍ id yamā* (TA. *ṣaḍ udyamā*) *ṛṣayo devajā iti* RV. AV. TA. N. Apparently TA. must understand *udyamā* as an adjective.

3. A compound word divided, or vice versa, with change of form in the second member

§820. In other cases the form of the variant containing two separate words shows a change in the form of the second member (sometimes



in the first one too) when compared with the form containing a compound. The second member of the compound, when used as a separate word, has a different inflectional ending, or is otherwise changed in form; sometimes it even appears as a different part of speech (a verb). We begin as before with those variants in which the original form seems to be that containing a compound word:

*vr̥ṣṭidyāvānam* (ApŚ. *vr̥ṣṭīm devānām*) *amṛtaṁ svarīdam* MS. KS. ApŚ.

The original of MS. KS. means 'nectar of the dwellers in the rainy, heaven-finding'; the sacrifice is referred to. In ApŚ. by a lect. fac. the sacrifice is called 'rain, nectar of the gods', etc.

*parā śvapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ* AV.: *paraḥ śvapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ. 'Away the dream-faced pains': 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces (appearances).' But KŚ. may intend a compound.

*indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā* TB.: *indraḥ sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā* AŚ. Comm. on TB. takes *indrā sūrā* as two words (and they are so printed in Poona ed.), interpreting as noms. sing. But they must surely be acc. dual of a *devatā* dvandva, object of *janayan*. The whole verse is pretty low bathos. AŚ. has a lect. fac.

*bhucanam asi sahasrapoṣapuṣi* (ApŚ. *sahasrapoṣam puṣa*) MS. ApŚ. 'Thou art ground prospering with thousand-fold prosperity': 'prosper thou with thousand-fold prosperity'. Verb form introduced secondarily, cf. next.

*agne tadmāmayā* (SV. *tvām kāmaye*) *girā* RV. SV. VS. The original means 'O Agni, with thee-desiring song'. By a lect. fac. SV. introduces a verb form, as in the preceding and next: 'O Agni, I desire thee with song'.

*revatī predhā . . . , revatī yajamāne priyam dhā . . . , revatī yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata*, see §747.

*āre śatrūn* (AV.† *āreśatrum*) *kṛṇuhi sarvasīrah* (AV. °*ram*) AV. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'Make him one whose enemies are remote,' AV., doubtless original: 'make [his] enemies remote,' lect. fac. The AV. comm. stumbles over the form and understands two words.

*ugraṁpaśyā* (MS. *ugrām paśyā'e*; TB. *dūrepaśyā*) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TB. TA.: *ugraṁpaśye ugrajitau tad adya* AV. In this and the next MS. is hopelessly corrupt; note accents.

*ugraṁpaśye* (MS. *ugrām paśyéd*) *rāṣṭrabhṛt kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TA. Cf. *prec.*

*āsanniṣūn hṛtsvaso mayobhūn* RV. AV. TS. MS. KSA. N.: *āsann eṣām apsunāho mayobhūn* SV. The latter misunderstands and simplifies the strange cpd. *āsann-iṣūn* 'having arrows in the mouth'. SV. means: 'carrying water in their mouths'.

*mama padyāya vi rājo* ApMB.: *mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājah* (MG. adds *kalpalām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. PG. The original is *virājah*, gen. of *virāj*.

[*subhagaṃkaraṇī mama* AV.: *subhāgaṃ karaṇam mama* SMB. But Jørgensen properly prints SMB. *subhāgaṃkaraṇam*, as one word.]

§821. In the rest it appears that the form of the variant with two words is the original:

*sarūpa vṛṣann ā gahi* SV. JB.: *sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS. In the latter nom. of stem *sarūpavarṣa* (with sandhi peculiar to MS.). The other texts, most likely original, have two vocatives.

*pari ghraṇsam omanā* (TB. *parighraṇsa vān manā*) *vān vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. Hopeless corruption in TB. See §828.

*agnir hotā prthivy antarikṣam* AŚ. ApŚ.: *agnihotraṃ prthivīm antarikṣam* MŚ. The latter has a careless assimilation to the accusatives of the preceding *pāda*: *ukhām sravantīm agadām akarma*.

*pari doṣād udarpithaḥ* KŚ.: *paritoṣāt tad arpitha* ApŚ. See §63.

*mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ* (TA. *gur vṛdhānaḥ*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhiḡur eadhe nu* (mss. *nuḥ*) MŚ. See §§209, 260; MS. has a gross corruption.

*sahasradhāraṃ vṛṣabham divo duhuḥ* (SV. *divoduham*) RV. SV. Verb form in RV.: 'the thousand-streamed bull of heaven they milked'. SV.: 'the thousand-streamed heaven-milking bull'.

*uror ā no* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *ṣururāno*) *deva riṣas pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. TB. LŚ. See §371a.

4. Last syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§822. In not a few cases the last syllable of a word (not an independent member of a compound) is replaced in a secondary text by a separate word, generally a light word (preposition, particle, or pronoun), which may be called a 'patch-word' ('Flickwort'); or the reverse. The cases recorded here differ from those included in the separate sections (§§841-850) on Patch-Words below only in that the degree of phonetic resemblance is here greater; there is no hard and fast line between them.

§823. Since the change in both directions is quite common, it is at times hard to tell, unless on the ground of general text-chronology, which form of the variant is the more original. In the following cases we do not venture to decide this question:

*apsarasāv anu dattām ṛṇānī* (AV. *ṛṇam nah*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anudattānṛṇānī* MS. (p.p. *anu, dattānī, ṛṇānī*). Either the plur. *ṛṇānī*, or the sing. *ṛṇam* with the pronoun *nah*, is quite satisfactory.



*vratāni* (MS. TB. ApŚ. *vratā nu*) *bībhṛad vratapā adabdhah* (TB. ApŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. *adābhyah*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. In MS. etc. the older or hieratic form *vratā* is patched by the particle *nu*; in the other the alternative form *vratāni* is used.

*mā mā yūnarvā hāsīt* (JB. *yono vām hārasih*) PB. JB. LŚ. Both forms incomprehensible.

§824. In the following the form of the variant with the longer word seems to be the original, being replaced in a secondary version by a shorter word plus a patch-word. Here may be mentioned RV. 4. 20. 9b (also in KS., where there is no evidence as to the division intended), *yayā kṛṇoti muku kā cid ṛvāh*; read *muhukā* with Ludwig and Conc., cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* ad loc.

*jāmīn* (KS. *īcamī*) *mā hīnsīr amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *mā jāmīn moṣīr amuyā śayānām* AV. Acc. to AV. comm. the darbha-grass used in strewing the vedi is addressed; *amuyā* is adverbial. The MŚ. variant makes *śayānā* refer to *jāmīn*, conjectured by Ludwig and Henry to mean the *uttaravedi*, so that in general sense it agrees.

*gaurīr* (AV. *gaur in*, TB. TA. *gaurī*) *mimāya śalilāni takṣati* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

*dhruvāśah* (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. MG.

*ślavāno* (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *avā no*) *devyā kṛpā* (VS. ŚB. *dhiyā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānah* (TA. *gur vṛdhānah*) MS. TA.: *mā no rudrāso adhigur vadhe nu* (mss. *nuh*) MŚ. Altho the MŚ. reading is by all means the most reasonable, it is probably only a lect. fac. TA. accents wrongly *vṛdhā'nah*, and its comm. takes the apparently uninterpretable singular quite calmly as a plural (*vardhamānāḥ*)! Cf. §821.

*yo rayivo* (SV. *rayim vo*) *rayintamah* RV. SV. KB. ŚŚ. ŚG. VHDh. Benfey ignores the uninterpretable *vo* in his translation, taking *rayim* as accus. of specification.

*rṣiṇām putra abhiśastipāvā* (TB. °*pā ayam*, AV. °*pā u*) AV. VS. ŚB. TB. See §740.

*bhavaḥ kṛṣiṇām* (AV. *gr°*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. PG. ApMB. HG. See prec.

*abhūr grṣiṇām* (ApMB. *āpīnām*, HG. *āpīṇām*, AV. mss. \**v āpīnām*, em. wrongly *raśānām*) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV. °*pā u*) AV. HG. ApMB. See prec. but one.

*ya usriyā apyā* (SV. *api yā*) *antar asmanah* (SV. °nī) RV. SV. See §785.

SV. misunderstands and misdivides the epithet *apyā* 'of the waters'.  
*achāyam eti* (KS. °*yam yanti*) *śarasā ghr̥tena* (AV. *ghr̥tā cit*, KS. *ghr̥tācīh*)  
 AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The AV. reading looks secondary to that  
 of KS., which has an adjective agreeing with *śrucah*, the subject of  
*yanti*; *ghr̥tā* can only be construed as an accus. of goal after *eti*,  
 whose subject is Agni.

*divas cid antād* (RV. *antān*) *upamām* (RV. °*mām*; TA. *upa mām*, so AV.  
 v. I. adopted by Whitney, and comm.) *ud ānaḥ* RV. SV. AV. TA.  
 While RV. is of course original, the AV. TA. reading is not bad:  
 'even from the end of heaven he has attained unto me'. This  
 should doubtless be read in SV.

*te brahmalokeṣu* (TA. °*loke tu*) *pārāntakāle* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.  
 KaivU.

*viprasya dhārayā kavīh* RV.: *viprah sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. See §189.  
*somah sutasya madhvaḥ* RV.: *somah sutaḥ sa madhumān* SV. See §189.  
*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*; others all *śvetasyā-*)  
 AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. Secondary but intelligible reading in  
 AG.; see §188.

*ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB.: *aya(h)sthūṇam*  
 (°*nā*) *uditā* (°*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. See §188.

*ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman* RV. KS.: *urvīm gavyām pariśadant*  
 no *akran* AV.

*aganma yatra pratiranta* (MG. *prataram na*) *āyuh* RV. AV. MG.

*sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan* JB.: *sugam tauḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ*  
*karaḥ karasyuḥ* LŚ. See §739.

*apa snehītir* (SV. *snīhitīm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS. *†nṛma-*  
*nām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.: *upa stuhi tam nṛmṇām athadrām*  
 (Poona ed. varies) TA.

*saṁ takṣā hanti cakrī vah* (HG. *cakṛiṇaḥ*) ApMB. HG. Very obscure  
 passage; HG. seems to approach closer to a sensible reading.

*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛte* 'va') *sthūṇām* (°*nār*, °*nā*) *adhi roha vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśaḥ*)  
 AV. AG. ApMB. HG. MG. Kauś. Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā*  
*iva*'; yet that would seem to give better sense than *ṛte aua*. In any  
 case MG. is secondary.

*svarevaj* (AV. *svaṛ yaj*) *jyotir abhayaṁ svasti* RV. AV.

*grāmyamañkīradāsakau* ApŚ.: *grāmyam mañgīradāsakau* MS.: *vyāgh-*  
*raṁ mañgīradāsa gauḥ* Vait. See §49.

§825. In verbal endings (cf. §827):

*svastī rāye maruto dadhātana* (MG. *dadhātu naḥ*) RV. KS. AB. MG.  
 See VV I p. 281.



*pra su* (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyam* (SMB. *sumartyam*, MG. *prathamam artim*)  
*yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu nah*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.  
*viśvam tu tvāhutayaḥ sarvā* . . . PrāñāgU.: *viśvantu tvām āhutayaḥ ca* . .  
 MU. Read *viśantu*; see §371.

*kriyanta* (TB. *priyā tu*, so divide) *ā barhiḥ sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.  
*daivya* (AV. °vā) *hotāro* (TS. °rā, AV. °rah) *vanuṣanta* (TS. *vani*°, KS.  
*ṣvanīṣan na*, AV. *sanīṣan na*) *pūrve* (AV. KS. *etat*) RV. AV. TS. KS.  
*vasūnī cārur* (cārye, cāryo, cāyyo) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhrjāsi*, HG. *bhajā sa*)  
*jīvan* AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. Cf. VV I p. 96.  
*jātavedo nayā hy* (read *nayāsy*?) *enam suktām yatra lokah* JB.: *jātavedo*  
*vahemaṁ* (ŚŚ. *vahasvainam*) *suktām* . . . TA. ŚŚ.

§826. In the rest it seems that the form containing two words is the older; a secondary version joins a short word on to the preceding word, usually with some further change:

*samudreṇa* (and °dre *na*) *sindhavo yādamaṇāḥ* RV. (both). Read  
*samudre na* in both; Bloomfield, *JAOS* 27, 77 ff., *RVRep.* 197;  
 Oldenberg, *Noten* on 3. 36. 7.

*tvīṣim indre-na* (MS. *indreṇa*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. Bathos in either  
 case; but MS. p.p. *indre, na*. VS. comm. says that *na* means *ca*!  
*spardhante dhiyaḥ* (dīyaḥ) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*)  
*viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA. Change to instr. in TS. KSA. because this  
 is the case naturally construed with *spardh-*.

*neva mānse na pībasi* AV.: *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG.: *na mānseṇa na*  
*snāvasu* ApMB. Perhaps PG. should be divided *mānse na*; at  
 least this is the original reading.

*samśraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇeṇa* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *samśraṣṭāsu*  
*yutse indro gaṇeṇu* MS. 'This Indra the joiner of battle': 'Indra  
 in the joined battles'.

*trīṇi padāni* (*padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA.  
 MahānU. Pronoun *asya* replaced by loc. ending -*su*.

*māteva putram bibhrā sv* (VS. ŚB. °lāpsv) *enat* (TS. KS. *enam*) VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. ŚB. The verse is addressed to waters; hence the secondary  
 reading *apeu*.

*idam aham rakṣo 'bhi* (MS. \**rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam āhāmi* (TS. *sah dahāmi*)  
 TS. MS. (bis) KS. MŚ. See §383.

*āvat tam* (TA. Conc. *prāvartam*, comm. and Poona ed. text *āvartam*)  
*indrah bacyā āhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA. The sole ms. of KS.  
 also reads *āvartam* (ed. emends). TA. comm. interprets as a gerund  
 (*āvṛtya*).

*samid dīśām āśayā nah* (MS. *āśayānah*) *svarvit* (TS. *svav*°) TS. MS.

KS. AŚ. ApŚ. Both accent and sense show that no pres. mid. pple. (mase.) can be intended, altho MS. p.p. does not divide the word.

*yajā no* (MS. *yājāno*) *devo* (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *devān*) *ajarah suvīrah* MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *bhavā no dūto ajarah suvīrah* ŚŚ. ŚG. Again (cf. prec.) the accent shows that MS. p.p. is wrong in not dividing the word, tho this time the participle would be interpretable.

*vi ca naśan na iṣo arātayah* RV.: *vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayah* SV. Benfey renders SV. 'devoured' (root *aś* 'eat', middle pple. in passive sense). It is a Verballhornung; the orig. itself is rather obscure; *vi-naś* is peculiarly used.

*yato bhayaṁ abhayaṁ tan* (KS. 35. 1c *†abhayateam*) *no astu* (AV. ed. *asti*, misprint) AV. KS.\* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ me* (TB. *kṣatriyāṇām*) AV. TB. Kauś. *viṣṇūvaruṇā* (TB. *°ṇān*) *abhisastipāvā* (TB. *°pā vām*) MS. TB. Followed by *devā yajanta haviṣā gṛtēna*. 'O V. and V., let the 'gods' (TB. comm. *ṛtvijah*) sacrifice to you two as protectors from imprecation' etc. The variant form must be dual, and as MS. can be so interpreted only by understanding it in a bizarre way (stem *°pāva*, or irregularly from *°pāvan*), we assume that TB. is orig.

*bṛhaspataye* (MŚ. *°pate*) *mahiṣa* (TS. *mahi ṣad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS. MŚ. Comm. on AV. agrees with TS., which has the correct reading; see §392.

*dātuh cec chikṣān sa svarga eva* AV.: *dātuh cec chaknūśānsāḥ* (so, with double accent, Calc. ed.) *svarga eṣām* TA. For the latter read *chaknūśān* (or better *°vān*) *sā* with Poona ed.; see VV I p. 165.

*purastāt* (AB. *purastā*) *sarve kurmahe* AB. ŚŚ. See §365.

*sumitraḥ soma no* (Kauś. *sumano*) *bhava* RV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś.

*stomo yajñas ca* (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. *°taḥ*) RV. TB. See §188.

*arepasah* (ApŚ. adds *samokasah*) . . . *cite goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApŚ. *cidākoḥ*) SV. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. See §47.

*turaś cid viśvam ṛjāvat tapasvān* AV.: *duraś ca vikṣā avṛṇod apa svāḥ* RV.

*tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it* RV.: *tām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*anupūrvān yatamānā yati śtha* (AV. *stha*, TA. *yatiṣṭha*) RV. AV. TA. See §86.

*agne vitatam antar ā* (LŚ. *antarom*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ. VHDh. Assimilation in LŚ. to *vitalam*.



*ā no yāhi* (also, *ā yāhi*) *tapasā jāneṣu* (MS. *jāniṣeā*, ŚŚ. *janeṣu ā*) MS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The accent proves MS. wrong; it seems to presuppose *janeṣu ā*.

*yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādatah* AV.: *yad †apsaradrūr uparasya* (ApŚ. *apsararūparasya*) *khādati* KS. ApŚ. In AV. complementary sing. after elliptic dual (Edgerton, KZ. 43. 110 ff.). See VV I p. 270 f.

§827. Verbal endings are concerned in the following (cf. §825): *srucā juhuta no* (ŚŚ. *juhutanā*) *haviḥ* TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛṇotu naḥ* (TB. *śṛṇotana*) RV. TB. N. Assimilation of form to the preceding *bharatā* in TB.

*yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yathedaṁ strīpautram aganma rudriyāya* MG. See §801.

*āpr̥ṇo 'si sampr̥ṇah* (ApŚ. *āpr̥ṇoṣi sampr̥ṇa*) . . . ŚŚ. ApŚ. The latter inferior.

*ramadhvam mā bibhīta mat* (Kauś. *bibhīlana*) AV. Kauś.

*pratno hi* (TA. *pratnoṣi*) *kam idyo adhvareṣu* RV. AV. TA. See §299.

5. First syllable of a word, not a compound, replaced by a patch-word, or vice versa

§828. Fairly numerous also are the cases in which a light word replaces the initial, instead of final, syllable of a longer word, or vice versa. In the list now following the form with one word is original, the 'patched' form secondary:

*śūra nṛṣātā śavasaś* (SV. MS. *śra*?) *cakānaḥ* (SV. *ca †kāme*) RV. SV. TS. MS. Assimilation in SV. to the preceding loc. *nṛṣātā*: 'hero in men-winning and in desire for glory'.

*vasavaś cālīṣhan vasudhātaraś ca* AV.: *vasuś cetiṣho vasudhātamaś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. The bad meter and feeble sense of AV. show that it is a corruption of the other; moreover Ppp. agrees with the other texts (Barret, JAOS 42. 108).

*śukrām vayanīy asurāya nīrṇijam* RV.: *kukrā vī yanti asurāya nīrṇije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the Asura'. *nadayor vivratayoh śūra indrah* RV.: *na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indrah* SV. The 'uncontrolled bulls' of RV. seem to be Indra's horses; lect. fac. in SV.

*asūrte* (MS. KS. *°tā*) *śūrte rajasi nīṣatte* (MS. *°tā*; KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *asūrtā śūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. Here *na* seems to be the comparative particle; it is of course secondary.

*aryo naśanta* (SV. *naḥ santu*) *sanīṣanta* (SV. *†°tu*) *no dhiyaḥ* RV. SV.

Again a lect. fac. in SV. (*santu* taken with preceding, 'devoured . . . be our foes').

*ūrjam bibhrad vasuaniḥ* (VS. LŚ. ŚG. ApŚ. \**vaḥ sumanāḥ*, ApŚ. \**vaḥ suvaniḥ*, ApŚ. \**vasumanāḥ*) *sumedhāḥ* AV. VS. KS. LŚ. ApŚ. (thrice) ŚG. HG. See §227.

*ailabrdā* (MS. °*mṛdā*, KS. *aiḍamṛdā*) *yayyudhah* (VS. *āyuryudhah*, MS. *vo yudhah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. See §241.

*pari ghrāṁsam omanā* (TB. *parighraṁsa vām manā*) *vām vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV. MS. TB. N. The original: 'he shall go thru the heat by your aid unto strength'. Corruption in TB.

*dame-dame suṣṭutya* (TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*, AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tīr*) *vāerḍhānā* (AV. °*nau*, AŚ. ŚŚ. *vām iyānā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §236.

*amanmahīd anāśavaḥ* (PB. °*hī tad āśavaḥ*) RV. AV. PB.

*brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanuñātā* (MahānU. *hy anu*°) TA. MahānU.

*taṁ ahve* (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.

*tīvilā* (misprinted *tīvalā*) *stām irāvatīm* AG.: *tīvilā sthājirāvati* ŚG.: *tīvalā sthīrāvati* MG.: *tīvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB. A desperate passage; all forms corrupt. Oldenberg (on ŚG., p. 144) suggests something like *sthāvarāvati* for the original. In ApMB. a mistaken rationalization; a third person verb is out of place here, since there is a direct address.

[*pra yah satrācā* (TB. Conc. *sa vācā*) *manasā yajāte* (TB. °*taī*) RV. TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *satrācā*.]

§829. In the rest the form with two words seems to be the original: *adyā mamāra sa hyaḥ samāna* (MS. *sahyaḥ samānaḥ*; p.p. *sah, hyaḥ, sam, āna*) RV. AV. SV. MS. TA. N. The MS. makes no sense, and its p.p. gives the true reading.

*yaś tā vijānāt* (TA.\* MahānU. *yaś tad veda*, AV.\* VS. *yaś tāni veda*) *sa pituḥ* (VS. MahānU. *pituḥ*, TA. *savituh*) *pitōsat* RV. AV. VS. TA. MahānU. N. See §198.

*sa dahan* (GB. *śadunān*) *pradahan nv* (GB. *v*) *agāḥ* GB. Vait. One ms. of Vait. has the same absurd reading as GB.

*sā prasūr* (ŚG. *suprasūr*) *dhenukā* (HG. °*gā*) *bhava* AV. ŚG. ApMB. HG. *garbhe* (MS. °*bhaḥ*) *sañ* (VS. ŚB. *san*, KS. MS. *sañ*°) *jāyase punaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. But it is likely that MS. KS. really intend *san* (so MS. p.p.).

*sa eva jātaḥ* (TA. MahānU. *sa vijāyamānaḥ*) *sa janīṣyamānaḥ* VS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. ŚirasU.

*svasāra āpo abhi gā ulāśaran* (SV. *udā*°) RV. SV. See §60.

*agne yāhi dūtyaṁ mā riṣanyaḥ* (TB. °*yañ vāriṣenyaḥ*) RV. MS. TB. AŚ. See §225.



*tan mā jinva* TS. MS.: *tan mārjita* KS. See §354. KS. probably secondary.

*amun mā iṣāṇa*, and: *sarvalokaṁ mā iṣāṇa* VS.: *amun māniṣāṇa*, and: *sarvaṁ māniṣāṇa* TA. The form *iṣāṇa* can properly only mean 'send', but is doubtless felt confusedly as meaning 'wish', as if from *icchatī*: 'send (as if, 'wish') me that (world)',... 'every world'. TA. has a monstrous quasi-imperative middle (with ending *āna*!), as if from the aorist of root *man*; comm. *prayaccha*.

*ā samudrā* (KS. *ā sīm ugrā*, TS. ApŚ. *āminn ugrā*) *azucyavuh* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Obscure and difficult with any reading, but MS. seems clearly secondary.

*apān na yanty* (SV. *apo nayanta*) *ūrmayah* RV. SV. 'Like streams of water go (the somas)': '(the somas) lead on the waters'.

*upākṛtaṁ kaśamānam yud asthāt* (MŚ. *sadhashāt*, v. l. *sad asthāt*) AV. TS. MŚ. MŚ. If *sadhashāt* is right (see Knauer's note), it must depend on *upākṛtaṁ*.

*pariṣṭaḥ kṛṣyasi* ApMB.: *pariṣṭaḥ kṛṣyasi* HG. The true reading is *kva iṣyasi*, or more properly *ṣyasi*, 'whither wilt thou go?' The HG. has foolishly attempted to rationalize the reading by connecting it with the quasi-root *kliṣ* (thinking of *kliṣ*).

#### 6. Dissyllabic words broken up into two 'light words', and vice versa

§830. Next comes a group which may be said to belong to both the two preceding classes at once. That is, a dissyllabic word is broken up into two light words, or vice versa; often with further changes. We begin as before with cases in which the dissyllabic word seems to be the original:

*tad vipro abravīt udak* (ŚŚ. *u tat*) AV. ŚŚ. See §65.

*ava* (RV. *abhi*, MS. *ā vah* [text *vah* preceded by *haviṣā*], VS. ŚB. *ācā*) *somaṁ nayāmasi* (RV. *mṛkāmāsi*, VS. ŚB. *avanayāmi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sanvan* (KŚ. *sa tvaṁ*) *sanīm zavimucā vimuñca* KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. The secondary KŚ. reading may be graphic.

*yamasya dātāḥ kṛpād vidhāvasi* TA.: *yamasya dātāḥ ca vāg vidhāvoti* MS. See §145.

*satyaṁ* (SV. ApŚ. *sa tvaṁ*) *vṛṣan vṛṣed aśi* RV. SV. ApŚ.

*irām u ha* (AV. *aha*) *praśaṁsati* AV. ŚŚ. ŚG.

*pra na* (SV. *na*) *indo maha tane* (SV. *tu naḥ*) RV. SV.

*samyak* (TS. MS. TAA. ApŚ.\* MŚ. *sam it*, KS.\* *sarit*) *śravanti sarito*

(TAA. Conc. °iā, Poona ed. text and comm. °lo) *na dhenāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.\* ŚB. TAA. KS. ApŚ.\* MŚ. The second reading of KS., *sarīt*, tho given by all mss., is evidently a mistake for *sam it*, which is secondary to *samyak*.

*nyañ* (AV. *nī yan*) *nī yanty uparasya niṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tim*) RV. AV. KS. *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *sa im* (TS. ī) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*, MS. *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS. TS. MS.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. As all commentators realize, the passage is hopelessly corrupt; but *sa īā* (ī) looks like a secondary lect. fac. for some single word (as in AV. KS.).

§831. In the following the version with two light words seems to be original:

*idañ ta ekam para ū ta* (TB. ApŚ., but not KS., *uta*) *ekam* RV. AV. SV. KS.† TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm. on TB. *uta, api ca*; but the text leaves the word accentless, which, as well as the bad sandhi (*uta ekam*, with hiatus), indicates that the true reading was *u ta* (*te*).

*sā tū* (SV. *sato*) *dhanam kārīṇe na pra yañsat* RV. SV. 'He verily shall give wealth to the singer': 'he shall give wealth to the virtuous, to the singer'. The genitive, followed by a dative in the same construction, is an indication of the badness of SV.

*kavir yaḥ putrah sa im ā* (TA. Conc. *sā imāḥ*, Poona ed. text and comm. *sa imā*) *ciketa* RV. AV. TA. N. Comm. on TA. *imā, etāni dr̥ṣya-mānāni sarvāṇi bhūtāni*.

*vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ, *uta*) *vidmasi* AB. ŚŚ.

*ā yañ* (MS. MŚ. *āyan*) *narah sudānawo dadākuḥ* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. MŚ. The corruption of MS. is indicated by the fact that the verb *decyarūḥ* in the next pāda still has the accent, tho it is no longer in a relative clause, and there is no other reason for the accent.

*ku ṣṭhaḥ ko vām aśvinā* SV.: *kūṣṭho devār aśvinā* RV. It is universally recognized that RV. must be read *kū ṣṭho*.

*utem* (SV. *ūtīm*) *ar̥bhe havāmahe* RV. AV. SV. MS. *uta-īm: ūtīm, 'aid'*. *mahā no vātī iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.: *mīham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV. *ā tvā* (AV. *emām*, ŚG. *enam*) *parisrutah* (AG. °*krītaḥ*, MG. °*ṣṛtaḥ*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. †*kumbhāḥ*, ŚG. *kumbhya*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.

*tre ā* (SV. *teyā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. Note resolution of *ε* to *ay*. *svaḥpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV.: *svarpalīm yad īm vṛdhe* RV. AV.

*sarvaḥ sarvā vi caratu prajānan* MS.: *sa vaḥ sarvāḥ sam carati prajānan* AV. The MS. p.p. *saḥ, sarvāḥ*; in the sañhitā text stupid assimilation to the following word.



*yatrāsprkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanuwaṁ yatra vāsaḥ*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuwaṁ yatra vāsaḥ* HG. Probably *yac ca* of AV. is original and *yatra* due to assimilation to the preceding *yatrā*.

[*ā tvam* (GB. *ātman*, but Gaastra correctly *ā tvam*; LŚ. *ā svam*) *indrāya pyāyasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.]

[*name tad upadambhiṣar . . .* MS. MŚ.: *na ma idam upadambhiṣag . . .* ApŚ. We must read *nā me* in MS. MŚ.; there is no p.p. here, and *name* is simply bad editing.]

[*vi gā indra vicaran spāśayasva* TA. ApŚ. In TA. text printed *viḡā*, but both syllables accented; clearly *vi gā(h)* is intended; so comm.]

7. Longer words, not compounds, broken up into two or more shorter words, and vice versa

§832. We come next to a group of variants in which a word of more than two syllables, generally at least four, is split up into two or more shorter words; or vice versa. Excluded are divisions of compounds into parts, which have been treated above. First come cases in which the longer word is original:

*balim icchanto vitudasya* (AG. *vi tu tasya*, v. l. *vidurasya*) *preṣyāḥ* (MahānU. AG. *preṣ(hāḥ)*) TAA. MahānU. AG. See §65.

*upānasah śaparyan* RV.: *upo nu sa śaparyan* SV. Indra is meant; SV. has obvious earmarks of secondariness.

*yad indra citra mehanā* (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. As in the preceding, a rather obscure word (*mehanā*, adv.) is broken up into a series of harmless particles in SV.

*na me* (so read, §831) *tad upadambhiṣar . . .* MS. MŚ.: *na ma idam upadambhiṣag* (once erroneously *udam bhiṣag*) . . . ApŚ. A simple and obvious blunder, possibly only a misprint.

*mā* (AG. MG. *ā*) *tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ* (MG. *adyāyavaḥ*) AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG. See §868.

*akṣāṇām vagnum* (AV. em. *gaṇam*, true reading probably *gatnum* with SPP., see Whitney's note; MS. *fvagnum*) *upajighnamānah* (AV. *upalīpsamānāḥ*, MS. *arajighram āpah*) AV. MS. TB. TA. The MS. is corrupt; its p.p., yet worse: *akṣāṇā, avagmam ity ava-gmam, arajighram ity ava-jighram, āpah*. But the original is obscure enough.

*vīśā amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. *\*ṣebhyah*) AV. KS.: *vīśā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah* VS. TS.: *vy amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām* MS. Evidently VS. TS. are secondary, tho interpretable; cf. §783.

*yasya te viśvamānuṣaḥ* (SV. *viśvam ānuṣaḥ*) RV. AV. SV. It is surprising to find the simple and commonplace RV. reading distorted in SV. into one that is much more recondite, and hard to interpret. See Benfey's note in Translation, p. 259.

*anvādīdyāthām iha naḥ sakhāyā* TB. TA.: *manmā dīdhyānā utā naḥ sakhāyā* MS. The latter seems clearly corrupt; p.p. *dīdhyānām*, the nasal perhaps preserving a trace of the original, which means: 'make us shine here, O ye two friends (Mitra and Varuṇa)'.

*yebhyo madhu pradhāvatī* (AV. *pradhāv adhi*) RV. AV. TA. The AV. comm., followed by SPP. and Whitney's Transl., reads *pradhāvatī*, correctly.

*tvam no devatātaye* (AV. *deva dātave*) RV. AV. SV. See §61.

*prathamāya januṣe bhūmanesṭhāḥ* (AV. *bhuvane*°, ŚŚ. *bhūma nesṭhāḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. If ŚŚ. intends this division, it would seem to mean 'that thou shalt lead the world'. Obscure.

*yajñāḥ pratyasṭhāt* (v. 1. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajñāḥ praty u ṣṭhāt* (v. 1. *pratyasṭhāt*) . . . MS.: *yajña pratīṣṭha* . . . TB. ApS.

*apāmityam* (AŚ. *apām iltham*) *iva sambhara* MS. KS. AŚ. A graphic error in AŚ.

*ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV. *ubhe asya*) *pratyataḥ* RV. AV. Cf. next.

*ubhe id asyobhayasya* (AV. *asyobhe asya*) *rājataḥ* RV. AV. In same verse as pree.; here Whitney adopts the RV. reading. See §911.

§833. Next cases in which the reading with one long word is secondary:

*ava tara* (TS. *avattaram*) *nadiṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadīnām* AV. *ava tara* 'descend in the rivers' is original; in TS. AV. there is no verb, and one must be awkwardly supplied. The double *t* is suspicious (cf. §401); BR. take it, following the Indian tradition, as from the participle of root *av*, which is not at all likely to lead to the original sense (however it may have been felt in TS. AV.). Keith rejects the comm. and connects with *ava*, while Whitney follows the tradition. MS. p.p. *avattaram*.

*prāntar ṛṣaya sthāvīrīr* (SV. *prāntarikṣāt sthāvīrīs te*) *aṣṭkṣola* RV. SV. *pra dhārā yantu madhunah* AB.: *pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya* AG. (corrupt; abandoned by Stenzler for the other reading).

*dyusamantasya ta ādityo* 'nukhyātā BDh.: *dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadrasṭā* . . . HG. The BDh. reading seems like a secondary adaptation of HG., which is typical stylistically.—The next two variants are in the same passage.

*antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur upaśrotā* BDh.: *antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upadrasṭā* . . . HG. As pree.



*prthivīsamantasya te 'gnir upadragṣā* BDh.: *prthivī samā tasyāgnir upadragṣā* . . . HG. See pree. two.

*sutarasi tarase* (MahānU. *sutarasiddhatarase*) *namaḥ* RVKh. TA. MahānU. The latter has a v. l. like the others, but its comm. reads the recorded version, which is obviously a secondary attempt to make the meaning simpler. *Sutarasi* is voc. sing. fem., and *tarase* an infinitive.

*līle vāte punann ivā* (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. *punarnivā*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Doubtless a graphic corruption; but its wide spread is curious.

*antarā dyāvāprthivī apaḥ suvaḥ* TB. ApMB. HG.: *antarā dyāvāprthivyor apasyuḥ* MG. Is *apasyuḥ* understood as *apa-syuḥ*, from *apa-as* 'be away'? It is hard to construe a nom.-sing. of *apasyu*. In any case it is secondary.

*anupauhvad anupahvayet* HG.: *anu po 'head anuhvayaḥ* ApMB. See §732.

*yajñapataye* (ŚŚ. adds *vasu*; TA. *yajamānāya*) *vāryam ā swas kaḥ* (TA. *ā swas kar asmai*, ŚŚ. *āsamskarase*) MS. TA. ŚŚ. The latter secondary.

*tanūpā ye nas tanvas tanūjāḥ* AV.: *tanūpāvānas tanvas tapojāḥ* AB. AŚ. The AV. is probably original. See §254.

*ayan sahasram ānavo dr̥ṣaḥ kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ. °mā) SV. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ayan sahasram ā no dr̥ṣe . . . vidharmanī* AV. Benfey is forced to interpret the corrupt SV. reading *sahasramānavo* as one compound word, against the accents: 'der tausendbewachende'. Probably AV. is original, tho it too is not very sensible.

*agnir hotreṇedaṁ* (*hotreṇa*, *agnihotreṇedaṁ*) *haviṣ* . . ., see §354.

*vande dāruṁ vandamāno vivakmī* RV.: *vandadvārā vandamānā vivazṣu* SV. On this troublesome and disputed passage see references quoted in VV I p. 218.

#### 8. Different divisions of two or more independent words

§834. Finally we come to a large class in which two or more independent words are involved in both forms of the differently divided variant. They fall into three subdivisions. Perhaps the simplest (a) are those which concern different resolutions of a final or initial vowel between the two words, so that in one form of the variant the vowel belongs exclusively to either the preceding or the following word, while in the other it (not necessarily the same vowel) contains a fusion of the final of one word with the initial vowel of the next. Secondly, (b)

there are cases in which a final consonant is detached from one word and affixed to the next. And thirdly, (c) cases with more extensive alterations, at least one entire syllable being detached from one word and attached to another; sometimes a whole series of words is affected, resulting in complete revision of the passage.

(a) Different resolution of final-initial vowels

§835. We begin with the cases concerning final-initial vowels. In one form of these variants a vowel at the end of one word or at the beginning of the next belongs exclusively to the one word, while in the other it (not always the same vowel) contains a fusion of a final with an initial vowel. Either form may be the older; we begin with those in which sandhi, combination of two vowels, seems to be the original reading, which is much more frequently the case:

*avakrakṣiṇam vṛṣabham yathājuram* (SV. *yathā juvam*) RV. AV. SV. *ajuram* 'ageless'; *juvam* 'swift'.

*na māṁsam asi nodalam* (HG. *no dalam*) ApMB. HG. If the division is so intended, HG. must mean 'thou art not flesh, nor a fragment'.

The comm. on ApMB. (Winternitz, Introduction, p. xxiv) takes *nóddalam* for *ná-udáram*, 'nor a (part of the) belly'.

*ya ājagma* (N. °*muh*) *savanemā* (TS. KS. *savanedam*, N. *savanam idam*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ya ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣāṇāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Conc. suggests *savanemā* (*savanā-imā*) for AV., and Whitney notes that the AV. text (p.p. *sávane*, *mā*) is a corruption of this, tho he translates 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation'.

*samidhyamānaḥ prathamānu dharmā* (TB. ApŚ. *prathamō nu dharmah*) RV. TB. ApŚ. The later texts stumble over the antiquated forms *prathamā* . . . *dharmā* (neut. plur.) of RV. 'According to ancient ordinances'; 'as the very first law'.

*prasthāyendrāgnibhyāṁ somam vocatopo* (KB. *vocato yo*) *asmān brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇā hwayadhvam* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. As Keith says in his Transl., KB. must be read *vocatopo*. A graphic corruption.

*jihvā pavitram akvīnāsan* (TB. °*nā sam*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. KS. TB. The original, of which TB. is an uncomprehending corruption, contains *āsan* 'in his mouth'.

*viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāsaṁ juhomi* TS. GB. Vait. ApŚ.: *viśloka viśvadāvyē tvā samjuhomi svāhā* MŚ. Precisely like the prec., except that here the secondary reading is verbally intelligible.

*gāva upāvatāvalam* (SV. *upa vadāva(e)*) RV. SV. See §60.



*yatrāsr̥kṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV. ApMB.; *yatrā sr̥kṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG. The latter corrupt; see §198.

*rdhag* (RV. AV. *dhruvam*) *ayā* (AV. *ayo*, TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *rdhag* (RV. AV. *dhruvam*) *utāsamisṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. *\*ṣṭa*, AV. *utā śaviṣṭha*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See §234.

*yat tvemahe* (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. Original has *tvā-imahe*. SMB. comm. alternatively takes *mahe* as a verb, *pūjayāmi*, or as a noun, *utsava*, supplying *pūjādikaṁ karma* with *yat*. All mss. agree on it.

*āśuṁ tvājau* (ApŚ. *ākhuṁ tvā ye*) *dadhire devayantaḥ* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *hariśmaśruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcim* SV.: *hiriśmaśruṁ nārvaṇam dhanarcam* RV.

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramo samdṛk* (KS. *paramo na samdṛk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. Graphic change in KS., §871. *hotā viṣṭimena* (ŚŚ. *viṣṭi me*) *jaritar* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. See §367. *tenemām upa siñcatam* RV. AV. TA. N.: *lena mām abhiṣiñcatam* ŚŚ. SMB. Different contexts; *imām* or *mām*.

*tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam* AV.: *tenāgne tvam ula vardhayemam* (MS. *\*yā mām*) TS. MS. KS. *imam* or *mām*.

*pileva putraṁ jarase nayemam* (MS. *ma emam*) MS. KS. ApMB. HG. The corruption of MS. is indicated by its p.p.: *jarasena*, *ā*, *imam*, pointing to the other reading.

*yaded* (KS. *ād id*) *antā adadṛhanta* (TS. *adadṛnh*°) *pūrve* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*yenākṣā* (SMB. *\*kṣān*, PG. *\*kṣyār*, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyāṣicyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyāṣiñcatam*, PG. *\*tām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG. For the original 'dice' ŚŚ. lamely substitutes 'earth'.

[*teayāvasena* (ŚG. text *tvayā jvasena*) *saṁ aśīmaḥ tvā* TS. KS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. ŚG. SMB. PG. The ŚG. seems to be a misprint.]

§836. We come now to the much fewer cases in which the original reading assigns the vowel exclusively to one of the two variant words, the form with vocalic sandhi being secondary:

*yadārāghaṭi* (read *yadā rā*°) *varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.: *yad adyārādhyam vadantaḥ* MŚ. See §70.

*praty eva* (ŚŚ. *pra teva*, i.e. *tvā-iva*) *gṛbhāyata* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. *grāvāradīd* (ApŚ. *grāva vaded*) *abhi somasyāṅsum* (ApŚ. *\*sunā*) KS. ApŚ.

But KS. ed. prints the ApŚ. reading, with v. l. *\*vādīd*.  
*śrutakakṣo aram* (SV. *\*kakṣāram*) *gave* RV. SV. Nom.: voc.

*vīhi svām āhutīm juṣāṇo manasā* AV.: *vīhi svāhāhutīm juṣānaḥ* TS. TB.  
The ritualistic exclamation *svāhā* is always allowable, but is here secondary.

*viśvasmai bhūtāyādhuvaro* (KS. MŚ. *bhūtāya dhruvo*) *astu devāḥ* (TS. °*dhvaro* 'si) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *adhvara: dhruva*; it is not certain that the latter is more original.

*mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaiḥ* MS.: *mā naḥ param adharan mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. †*param adhanam mā rajo naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. The MS. is corrupt, and its p.p. is worse: *mā, anat, ā, unaiḥ!* Cf. VV I p. 93.

*ā mākiṣo* (or *ām ākiṣo*, so MS. understands) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS.: *emā agmann ākiṣo dohakāmāḥ* TS. ApŚ. It is possible that KS. also intends *ām* (interjection) *ākiṣo*. It seems that TS. ApŚ. (*ā-imās*) have a lect. fac.

[*ātmāṣy ātmann ātmānam* (GB. *ātmanātmānam*, but Gastra as the others) *me mā hīnsiḥ* GB. Vait. Kauś.]

(b) Final-initial consonant transferred from one word to another

§837. Next there are a few cases in which a consonant is mobile between words, being attached to the preceding word in one form of the variant, to the following word in another. This process may be illustrated within the RV. itself, in the pāda traditionally recorded as *agner avena marutām na bhojyā*, 1. 128. 5b. Here we must surely read *agne ravena*; see Conc. and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* I. 127. This is commonly recognized, altho Oldenberg, *Noten*, has some slight doubts. Similarly, it is commonly recognized that for *nrbhir yad yukto vive rapāṇsi*, RV. 1. 69. 8, we must read *viver apāṇsi*; and for *muṣāyuk cakram arive rapāṇsi*, RV. 6. 31. 3, *aviver apāṇsi*. Also in AV. 6. 116. 1a, *yad yāman cakrur nikhananto agre*, read probably *yady āman*; see Bloomfield, *AJP* 17. 428, *SBE* 42. 457, and Whitney *ad loc.*

*āsann ā* (SV. PB. *āsan naḥ*) *pātram janayanta* (KS. °*tu*) *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

*madhu reto* (TS. *madhor ato*, KS. †*madhur ato*, AŚ. text printed *madhu-reto*) *mādhavaḥ pāte asmān* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Keith on TS. thinks the KS. reading is correct. He calls the MS. 'nonsense', which is a little strong considering that we are dealing with a yajus formula; *madhu* and *reto* might be taken as coordinate with either subject or object. But the MS. p.p. reads *madhuh, amtaḥ*, pointing towards the KS. reading.

*revatī ramadhvam, revatīr amedhyam*, see §255.



- d māṣiṣo* (MS. text *ām dāṣiṣo*) *dohakāmāḥ* MS. KS. And others; see §836. MS. and KS. may intend the same reading.
- agor arir ā ciketa* RV.: *nāgo rayir ā ciketa* SV. Benfey understands *na-ago(s)*, from *agu* 'nicht preisend' = 'böse'. Doubtful; the SV. is hardly interpretable.
- ubhayor ārtnyor* (TS. *ārtniyor*, NilarU. *ubhayo rājñor*) *jyām* VS. TS. MS. KS. NilarU. An absurd corruption in the last; it can only refer to the two ends of the bow, and so the comm. calmly takes it.
- satyād ā* (ApŚ. *satya tā*) *dharmāṇas patī* (ŚŚ. *dharmāṇā*, and so mss. of MS.; Vait. MS. *pari*, ŚŚ. omits *patī*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MS.
- purovāto varṣaṇ jinvā ārt svāhā* TS. ApŚ.: *purovāta* (KS. °to) *jinvā rāvaṭ* (KS. °vaṭ) *svāhā* MS. KS. And other formulas in same passage; see §168. TS. is secondary.
- yam āśvinā namucer āsurād adhi* (ŚŚ. *†namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Followed by: *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya*. Some verb, probably a form of *su*, is understood: 'which (soma) the Aśvins pressed out (Caland on Vait. *entnahmen*) from the asuric N.' ŚŚ. is secondary and poor; *dadhi* 'sour milk' conceals *adhi*, to which is affixed the *d* of the abl. which preceded in the original form. For the myth in question see Bloomfield, JAOS 15. 144-63.

(c) More extensive false divisions between separate words

- §838. In the rest the alteration involved in the false division is more extensive: at least one syllable is detached from one word and attached to another. Sometimes a whole series of words is affected, as in:
- śatāpāṣṭhādya* (read with Poona ed. of both °*ṭhā gha*) *viṣā pari ṇo vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ* MS. (corrupt).
- pītā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā* TA.: *pītābhā syāt tanūpamā* MahānU. In MahānU. a v. l. agrees with TA. but for *anūp*°; but the comm. keeps to the text as printed. He explains *pītābhā* by *pīṭavarṇā*, and *tanūpamā* by *sūkṣmeṇopamīyate kuṇḍalinīti yām naigamā āhuḥ*. The TA. makes *pītā bhāsvatī* = *pīṭavarṇā*, and *aṇūpamā* is explained by *laukikānām tanūnām sūkṣmarastūnām upamā bhavitum योग्या*.
- acikradat svapā iha bhuvat* AV.: *adidyutat sv apāko vibhāvā* RV. MS. Whitney says the AV. has 'an adaptation, or corruption, or both' of the other reading. Ppp. *bhavat* for *bhuvat* (§802).
- deva puraścara saghyāsam* (MS. *devapuraś carasa rāhyāsam*) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. The MS. is corrupt: p.p. *deva*, *punar iti punaḥ*, *carase*. See §817.

*dr̥iṣas taradhyā* (ApŚ. \*yai) *ṛṇayā na īyase* (SV. *trase*) RV. SV. KS. AB.

ApŚ.: *dr̥iṣas tad adhy ar̥ṇaveṇeyase* AV. 'A simple corruption' (Whitney) in AV.

*ṛtaspartena mām ula* (TA. *ita*) TB. TA.: *ṛtasya te enam ā'mūtaḥ* MS.

(p.p. *tū, enam, mā'm, ullān ma*, in part pointing to the TB. reading).

MS. is corrupt; in TB. supply *muñcata* from preceding *pāda*.

*graha viśvajānīna niyantar viprāyāma te* (MS. p.p. *viprūya, 'mate'*; KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṛsatī*) MS. KS.

§839. In several instances the prefix *su* exchanges with *su* as locative ending:

*made suśipram* (SV. *madeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV.

*tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *sa īn* (TS. *ī*) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (MS. \**sā* *starīman*, TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*) VS. TS. MS.: *stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS.

*maṇḍūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV.: *maṇḍūkyā su sam ṛgamaḥ* (TA. *gamaya*) RV. TA. The familiar association of the frog with waters leads to the secondary reading of AV.

§840. The rest hardly need classification:

*yas te soma prajvat so 'bhi so aham* MahānU.: *yās te soma prajā vatso 'bhi so aham* TA. Both are obscure, and the far-fetched interpretations of the comms. give little help. For instance, the TA. comm. explains *soma* as *sa + uma*, from *umā* = *brahmanidyā*, so that *soma* = *paramātman*!

*viśvakarman bhauvana mām didāsiṭha* (ŚB. *manda āsiṭha*) AB. ŚB. ŚŚ. *didāsiṭha* is taken as a desiderative from *dā*. 'O V. Bh., thou didst seek to give me (the earth) away': '... thou wast slow of wit (so comm., *mandamatih*)'. Either meaning is possible.

*bhrātāntarikṣam abhiṣastyā naḥ* (TA. *abhiṣasta enaḥ*) AV. TA. Comm. on TA.: *yad ena 'smābhikṣ kṛtaḥ tad abhiṣastāḥ kṛtrasthānīyam*! It would be better to understand *abhiṣaste*, 'upon the accursed one (may) the sin (light)'. Whitney understands a verb 'save' in AV. *samudrād udajāni vah* (ApŚ. *udacann iwa*) *srucā* MS. ApŚ. The ApŚ. reading seems better.

*yā sanjayantam adhi yāsu vardhase* KS.: *āsūn jayantam anu yāsu vardhase* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.

*mānasya patnī śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. See §189.

*jyēsthānya dharmaṁ dyukṣor anīke* SV.: *jyēsthānya vā dharmayā kṣor anīke* RV. The bad form *dyukṣor* is taken by Benfey as for *dyukṣayor*, from *dyukṣa*.



*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhiḡṛtaḥ*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *svarakṣitaḥ syām*, MG. *svarakṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svārā-rakṣāṇaḥ*) *svāhā* AG. PG. MG. The original is probably AG., see §742. PG. has a simple lect. fac.; MG. is corrupt.

*yena bhūyaś ca rātryām* (ApMB. *carāty ayam*, MG. *caraty ayam*, PG. *bhūriś carā diśam*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. See §61.

*sarasvatyaī vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. Corruption in VSK.

*āyuhpati rathanītarām* (MŚ. *āyuh pratiratham*°) *tad aśīya* . . . ApŚ. MŚ. Caland would read °*pati* (nom.) in ApŚ., and observes that MŚ. is yet more corrupt.

*ud vanśam iva yemire* RV. SV. TS. KB. N.: *ūrdhvam kham iva menire* Mbh.

*kratvā varigṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare śthemany āmurim uta* SV.

*ruead dhokṣā* (TB. *nrvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. See §684.

*prathamachad* (KS. *parama*°) *avarān* (TS. *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Keith takes *paramachado* as a gen. depending on *vara* (vare). The result is close to nonsense.

*ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan* (TS. MS. *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV. VS. TS. MS.

*tena saṁharu kṛṇmasi* AV.: *tena sanna anugṛhṇāsi* HG. See §47.

*pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS. °*mad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB. Either makes good sense.

*ahorātre ūrvaśīve* (VS. °*śhlve*, TS. *ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā*) *bṛhadrathanītare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS. †*kalpantām*) VS. TS. MS. Cf. §803; TS. secondary.

*pumānsam vārdhatām mayi* ŚG.: *pumān saṁvartatām mayi* PG.: *pumān garbhas tarodare* SMB. See §97. Despite the Conc., ŚG. is quite correct, and may well be the original reading.

*jāmim itvā mā viriṣe lokān* TA.: *jāmim pteā māva patsi lokāt* AV. See §198.

*hiranyavād annavād dhehi* (ApŚ. *annam adhyehi*, read *annamad dhehi*) *mahyam* KS. ApŚ.

*utem ananīnamuḥ* (KB. ŚB. ŚŚ. KS. *uteva nam*°) TS. MS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*athem ava sya vara ā prthivyāḥ* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *athemam asyā vara ā prthivyāḥ* AV. See §236.

*ulānyo asmad yajate vi cāvah* (TB. *vicāyah*) RV. MS. TB. N. See §254.

- anūdā yadi jñjanad* (SV. *yad ajñjanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV. SV.
- pra su* (HG. *sa*) *mṛtyum* (SMB. *pra sumartyam*, MG. *prathamam artim*) *yuyotana* (MG. *yuyotu nah*) SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. The last is secondary.
- yaśasendrābhraspatī* (ArS. *yaśo mendrā*<sup>o</sup>) ArS. PG. MG. Graphic change.
- dyumattamā supratīkasya sūnoḥ* (AV. *\*tīkaḥ sasūnuḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §189.
- dhiyā martah śaśamate* (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV. SV. See §189.
- yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*, most mss. *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. See §189.
- yunajmī tiero vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* (MŚ. *viṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save*, or *savaḥ*) TS. ApŚ. MŚ. See §189.
- pragāyāmasy agrataḥ* PG. ApMB.: *pragāyāmy asyāgrataḥ* MG.: †*prajāyāmasy agrataḥ* HG. *asya* in MG. is to be taken in a cosmic sense; it is of course secondary.
- yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat* (TA. *āya*, MS. *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS. TA. Whitney describes the MS. as a 'corrupt guess'.
- māyādevā avataran* HG.: *adevā devavattaram* ApMB. See §401.
- ā gharṇo agnīm ṛtayanū asādi* (TA. *asādī*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṇo agnir amṛto nā sādī* MS. The latter is of course secondary.
- adha syāma surabhayo* (ApŚ. *syām asur ubhayor*) *grheṣu* AV. KS. ApŚ.: *athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu* MS. The ApŚ. is worthless; Caland tacitly adopts the other reading.
- [*iṣur nāvīrastāram* ŚŚ.: *iṣum na vīro astā* AV. RWh. by emendation; but mss. as ŚŚ. except for *iṣum*.]
- [*pātaṁ mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś. text *aghān nah*) TS. ApŚ. Kauś. Read *adyāhnaḥ* in Kauś.; cf. critical note, p. 295, n. 4 of ed. In the reading quoted for ms. Bū *hna* should be read for *dna*.]

### 9. Patch-words

§841. In the earlier parts of this chapter, and especially in §§822-31, we have met many cases of variation between a longer word and a shorter word 'patched' by a light word. We shall now add a group of variants involving such light words—'patch-words', Flickworte, Lückenbüsser—to which 'false division' in the strict sense seems not to apply, because the phonetic resemblance between the variant words is insufficiently close. There is no hard and fast line between the two groups, however, and we are far from regarding the separation we have



made as absolute. Doubtless many of the variants which follow might with justice have been classed above. At least they all belong in the same chapter.

§842. For instance, in a pāda like

*syonam patye* (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇusva* (AV. *kṛṇu twam*) RV.  
AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N.,

it is clear that AV. has substituted an active imperative form for a middle, filling out the meter with the pronoun *twam*. There is still a certain resemblance in sound between the syllables *twam* and *-sua*. This resemblance approaches the vanishing point in

*nī no rayīm subhojasam yuvava* (TS. *yuvaha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS., where TS. likewise uses an active for a middle imperative, patching the pāda with the adverb *īha*. And in a pāda like

*āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā* (MG. *te sadā*) MG. YDh.,

it would obviously be impossible to speak of 'false division', since *sarvadā*, if it is the original reading, cannot be thought of as divided into *te sadā*; rather, the synonym *sadā* is substituted, and the line is then patched by inserting the light word *te*. If, as we suspect, the original form of this pāda was that of MG., the order of change is reversed, but the principle is the same.

§843. Prevailing these variants are concerned with metrical requirements, as is clearly suggested by the above examples. The use of a patch word is designed to fill out a metrical unit which would otherwise be defective. This comes out very interestingly in a small group of cases where the original reading had or seemed to have defective meter, and in a secondary text this is corrected by inserting a patch word:

*agnīm* (SV. *agnim u*) *śreṣṭhacociṣam* RV. SV. In RV. *śreṣṭha-* constituted three syllables (Wackernagel I p. 51). The SV. has lost consciousness of this fact, feels that a syllable is lacking, and inserts the harmless *u*.

*viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ* (*aprāg api*) AV. (both). The shorter form (with ending read as two syllables?) was probably the original.

*yataḥ sūrya udeti* AV.; *yataś codeti sūryaḥ* ŚB. BṛhU. KaṭhaU. †4. 9a.

*āsūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS. MS. KS.: *āsūn iṣa suyamān ahva ūtaye* AV. Here the longer form of AV. may be original; at least it is better not only metrically but in sense.

§844. There are, however, a few cases in which the addition of a patch word spoils, or at least injures, the meter. In one of these the form without the patch word is probably historically secondary, and due to an attempt to improve the meter by omitting (instead of adding) a light word:

*tasmāi no* (AV. *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteha* (AV. PG. °*dhatteha*, KS. MŚ. °*dhatta*) *sarve* (MŚ. *viśve*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh.

Even the KS. MŚ. form, lacking *iha*, is not really good in meter.

§845. But in most cases of this sort the light word appears to have been added secondarily, to the detriment of the meter:

*śatena pāśair varuṇābhi dhehi* KS.: *śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varuṇainam* AV. The reading of Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 37. 298) is that of KS., and this is doubtless original.

*am aham punar ādade* KŚ. PG.: *imam tam punar ādade 'yam* (read 'ham, as Kirste suggests) HG.

*tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛyuta praśastam* (AV. *kṛyuhī supraśastam*) RV. AV. The superfluous *su* is ignored by AV. Anukramanī and omitted in Ppp. (Barret, JAOS 41. 266).

§846. Once SV. omits a pronoun from a good and simple pāda of RV., thereby spoiling the meter; the change was possibly conditioned by the use of the hieratic case form *sutāsaḥ* (straining for archaic effect), which made the pāda too long, altho the omission of *ime* leaves is too short:

*tubhyaṁ somāḥ sutā ime* RV.: *tubhyaṁ sutāsaḥ somāḥ* SV.

§847. Change of meter makes both forms passably metrical in the following:

*anumate 'nu idam manyasva* AV.: *anumate 'nu* (KapS. *fanu*) *manyasva na idam* KS. Cf. *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.

*apām napātām aśvinā huve dhiyā* (TS. *ṭhayantam*) AV. TS. The mss. of AV. read *aśvinā* (accented) and *dhiyaḥ*. Neither text makes sense as presented in the mss., but both are metrically correct. See Whitney's and Keith's notes.

§848. In the next AV. by a later resolution gets two syllables out of one of RV., and to save the meter omits the light word *u*:

*agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā* (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §996.

§849. In the remainder the variants with and without patch word are metrically equivalent. We shall begin with those in which the form with patch word is probably secondary; they are, as we should expect, far the more numerous group:

*imam* (AV. \**lam u*) *me agadam kṛta* (AV. *kṛdhī*) RV. AV.\* VS. TS.

*anu manyasva nyajā yajāma* (MŚ. *yaje hi*, most mss. *yajeha*) TS. MŚ.

*tam manyeta* (ViDh. *tam vai manyet*) *pitarām mātaram ca* SaṁhitopaniṣadB. ViDh. ViDh.

*asmān* (AV. *sā nah*) *sīte payasābhyāvartsva* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.



*upa yajñam asthita* (MŚ. *astu no*) *vaiśvadevī* RVKh. AV. ApŚ. MŚ. *apasedhan* (SV.† °*dhan*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV. SV. See VV I §194. In RV. *r* in *mṛdaya* is long; in SV. it was pronounced short, and the change with insertion of *no* is intended to improve the meter.

*maruṭān pītas tad ahaṁ grṇāmi* (MS. *grṇe te*) TS. MS.: *maruṭān pītar uta tad grṇāmaḥ* KS.

*tasya doham akīmahi* (KS. *aśīya*, AŚ. *aśīya te*) VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. In KS. prose.

*tvaṣṭā sudatro* (TA. *no atra*) *vi dadhātu rāyaḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. N.

*sa naḥ pīto madhumān ā vīśha* (Kauś. *vīśha*) KS. Kauś.: *sa no mayobhūḥ pītar* (TS. TB. *pīto*, MŚ. *pītur*, SMB. Jørgensen *pītar*) *āviśasva* (AŚ. *āviśha*, MŚ. *āviśha*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.

*aṅgirobhīr ā gahi yajñīyebhīḥ* RV. TS. MS.: *aṅgirobhīr yajñīyair āgahīha* AV.

*dadhad ratnāni* (RV. once *ratnā vi*) *dāśuḥ* RV. (thrice) SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *dhattam ratnāni dāśuḥ* RV.: *dadhad ratnā dāśuḥ vāry-ṇi* RV. VS.

*tvīṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu* AV.: *tvīṣir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu* TB. The Ppp. agrees with TB. (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 204).

*anāgā devāḥ kakuno grṇeṣu* (AV. *grṇam naḥ*) RV. AV. MG. The Ppp. according to Roth agrees with RV.; and the AV. text makes poor sense as Whitney observes.

*abhūn mama* (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau vīśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG.

*ahnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam* (AŚ. *asti kimcit*; ŚŚ. *enaḥ cakṛmeḥa kimcit*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

*edaṁ barhīr nī ṣṭidatā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṣṭida naḥ*) RV. VS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Change of context in AŚ. ŚŚ. requires a singular verb, and the pāda is neatly patched with *naḥ*.

*devēbhyo havyam* (MS. MŚ. MG. *havyā*) *vahatu* (TB.\* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *vaha naḥ*, Kauś. \**vaha*) *prajānan* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.\* AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.\* MG. In one form Kauś. is unmetrical, lacking *naḥ*.

*pra tad voced amṛtasya* (VS. *amṛtam nu*, TA. MahānU. *voce amṛtam nu*) *vidēn* AV. VS. TA. MahānU.

*vīryebhīr* (MS. *vīrebhīr*, AV. *yau vīryair*) *vīratamā kavīṣṭha* (TB. *śaci*°, Poona ed. *śavi*°) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*punantu vīśā bhūtāni* (MS. *bhūtā mā*) AV. VS. MS. KS. Is the MS. reading a reminiscence of *vīśve devāḥ punita mā*, which is the RV. form of this pāda?

*katam pavitrā vitalā hy* (MS. *vitatāny*) *asu* MS. ApŚ. ApMB. Undoubtedly MS. is original; form assimilation to *pavitrā* in the others. *hwayāmi* (AV. SV. TS. MS. *huve nu*) *śakram puruhūtam indram* RV. AV. SV. MS. VS. TS. KS. MahānU.

*apriye* (AV. \**apriyaḥ*) *prati muñcatām* (Kauś.† °*lam*, AV. \**muñca tat*) AV. (bis) Kauś.

*sarvān agnīn* (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuśado huve vah* (MS. omits *vah*; AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS. MS. TB. See VV I p. 253.

§850. The much fewer cases in which the form with a light word seems to be the older are:

*ṛṣiṇām ca stutir* (SV. *susṭutir*) *upa* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*agnim indram* (TB. *agnī indrā*) *vṛtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB. *vām*; MS. °*hanam hurema*) AV. MS. TB.

*yā antarikṣyā* (TB. ApŚ. °*kṣa*) *utā pārthivāsah* (TB. ApŚ. AG. *pārthivir yāḥ*) KS. AG. TB. ApŚ. Since the adjectives are feminine (agreeing with *āpah*), the KS. form is less regular (Wackernagel III §62); but it may nevertheless be the original.

*yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata* (AV. *yās ca tatnire*) AV. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG. Discussed in VV I §§46, 218.

*jarām gachāsi* (PG. *gacha*, AV. *su gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV. PG. ApMB. HG. Only the relative antiquity of AV. favors greater originality of its reading; and perhaps this is not conclusive.



## CHAPTER XIX. RIME WORDS

§851. A large majority of all the variant words treated in this volume are rime words, in so far as they are not different forms of identical words. But in addition to these, there are found not a few other variants which rime with each other and tend to be associated, at least partly on that account. It seems worth while to present some examples of such variants; the list includes, of course, only words which do not seem to be explicable by any of the phonetic changes treated above, nor yet by graphic confusion. Even so restricted, the list could no doubt be extended. We hope, however, that we have included at least all cases of the repeated occurrence of such rime words in variation. They are sufficiently numerous to illustrate the phenomenon as a whole. It is to be noted that the words are as a rule fairly close to one another in sense as well as sound; that is, they are mostly quasi-synonyms.

§852. We begin with the roots *jīva* and *pinv*, closely associated from early times, and semi-synonyms: 'inspire' and 'make to prosper'. The ease with which they interchange is illustrated well by the first two formulas, which follow one another in the *Sarāhitās*; both verbs are found in all texts that have both *pādas*, but the two are exchanged in different texts:

*mano me jīva* (MS. KS. *pinva*, Vait. *mano jīva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Vait.

Followed by:

*vācaṃ me pinva* (MS. KS. ŚŚ. *jīva*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.

*tad indrāgnī jīvatam* (MŚ. † *pinvatām*) *sūryāvat* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*jīva* (AŚ. † *pīvam*, read *pinva*) *gā jīvārvataḥ* TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Cf. *pinvatam gā jīvatam arvato naḥ* RV. KS.

§853. Other verb forms are:

*ūrjā prthivīm gachata* (MS. *yachata*) TS. MS. KS. TB.

*paramaṃ padam aya bhāti* (VS. ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS. *bhūreḥ*) RV. VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The comm. on VS. calmly says: *avabhāri avabhāti, takāsthāne chāndaso rephaḥ!* BR. derive from root *bhṛ*, as aor. pass. 'wurde eingedrückt', which is at least possible.

*trikadrakebhīḥ patati* (AV. *pavate*) RV. AV. KS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. 500.

*pratilāmīti* (AŚ. °*nīti*, TS. KSA. TB. *pra sulāmīti*) *te pītā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Derived by the comms. from roots *tī* and *sul*, both with obscene meanings, and both unknown otherwise.

- saṁ bāhubyāñi dhamati* (AV. *bharati*, TS. TA. *namati*, KS. *namate*, MS. *\*bhyām adhamatī*) *saṁ patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajatraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU. *saṁ-dham* and *saṁ-nam* practically synonyms here, 'weld together'. Note also the noun forms *patatra*: *yajatra* (graphic change).
- aśadan* (TS. *asanan*) *mālarām purah* (TS. *punah*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Practically synonyms: 'has scated himself': 'has reached'.
- yābhyāñi svar ajanann* (TB. *suvar ajayann*) *agra eva* MS. TB. MŚ.: *yābhyām ajayan svar agra eva* AV. 'By which they created (won) light in the beginning.'
- sañ grāvabhir nasate* (SV. *vasate*) *vile adhware* RV. SV. Both 'unite with'; SV. lect. fac. (*sañ-nas* was obsolete).
- rasena saṁ asṛkṣmahi* (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *aprkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. *saṁ-erj* and *saṁ-prc* practically synonyms. Cf. *sañ-prc* and *saṁ-sprś*, §375.
- aṅgād-aṅgāt sañbhavasi* (SMB. *\*sañśravasi*) ŚB. BrhU. KBU. AG. SMB.\* GG. ApMB. HG. MG. N. Mahābh. In SMB, a synonym is introduced in one occurrence for the sake of variety: 'thou flowest together' for 'thou ariseest'. The pāda is immediately repeated with the reading of the other texts. In both cases some mss. of SMB. have the alternative reading.
- pra ketunā brhātā yāty* (AV. TA. *bhāty*) *agnih* RV. AV. SV. TA. 'Agni goes (shines) forth with mighty beam.' Perhaps graphic?
- śocasva* (VS.\* *rocassa*) *devavittamah* (KS. *\*vittamah*) RV. RVKh. VS.\* TS. MS. KS. TA. Synonyms.
- tataś* (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV. *\*the*, MS. KS. *cakrāthe*) *aditiṁ ditiṁ ca* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Root *cakṣ*: perfect of *kṛ*.
- adhi śkanda vīrayasva* AV.: *abhi kranda vīlayasva* ŚG. Quasi-synonyms. AVPpp. also reads *kranda*, which therefore may be original, tho *śkanda* seems more appropriate ('mount', of sexual approach).
- mā chellhā* (v. l. *bhetthā*) *mā vyathigṛhāḥ* KBU.
- [*varṣmā rathasya ni jihīṣate* (ŚŚ. *jihīlate*) *divaḥ* AV. ŚŚ. So RWh.; but the mss. of AV. read *jihīdate*, which should be kept.]
- §354. Riming participles occur in the following:
- pratyag enaṁ śapathā yantu tṛṣṭāḥ* (AV. *ṣṛṣṭāḥ*) RV. AV. Comm. and one ms. of AV. *tṛṣṭāḥ*, for which *ṣṛṣṭāḥ* may be called a lect. fac.: 'Let the curses go back upon him, the harsh ones', or 'those emitted (by him)'.



*yā dabhrāḥ parisaśruṣiḥ* ŚG.: *yā tāddroghnīḥ pari tathuṣiḥ* ApMB.  
Pples. of roots *eru* and *athā*.

*āyurdā deva* (AV. *agne*) *jarasam vṛṇānaḥ* (ApMB, ApG, HG. *grṇ°*)  
AV. MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. ApG. HG.: *āyurdā* (VS. ŚB. *āyurṣmān*)  
*agne haviṣo juṣānaḥ* (VS. ŚB. ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB.  
TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. The ApMB. etc. readings are an interest-  
ing blend of those which contain *vṛṇānaḥ* and *juṣānaḥ*. Perhaps  
*grṇānaḥ* was felt as meaning 'praising' rather than 'devouring';  
even this would be none too sensible in the context. Oldenberg  
adopts *vṛṇānaḥ* for HG. Still a different version ('thriving by the  
oblation') is adopted in VS. etc.; this is an easy lect. fac. in a  
passage relating to Agni.

*ā sutrāṇe* (MS. KS. *bhūyīṣṭhadāne*) *sumatim dṛvṇānaḥ* AV. MS. KS.:  
*oṣiṣṭhuddāne sumatim grṇānāḥ* TS. 'Choosing to myself (praising)  
his kindness.'

§855. Among riming nouns and adjectives, the pair *dhāman*: *nāman*  
stands out. In the mystical religious language of the Veda they are  
easily interchangeable; the 'name' and the 'station' of anything both  
mean its mystic essence. In some cases the change from one to the  
other is due to the influence of adjoining words, as in:

*yat te 'nādhrīṣṭam nāma yajñīyam* (KS. *nāmānādhrīṣyam*, MS. *dhāmānā-  
dhrīṣyam*) *tena tvādadhē* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The change in MS.  
was suggested by *ādadhē*.

*sedaṁ priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sada tāsīda* (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma priye  
sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Also:

*priyeṇa dhāmnā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyam sada āsīda*  
(VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ. \* *priye sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB.  
KŚ. ApŚ. In this and the prec. (which are variants of each other)  
only the VS. texts have *dhāman*, and it is reasonable to suppose  
that it was substituted there for *nāman* because it is a synonym  
of *sadas*.

*vidmā te nāma* (AV. *vidma te dhāma*; Ppp. *gandharvo nāma*) *paramaṁ  
guhā yat* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.: *gandharvo dhāma  
paramaṁ guhā yat* (VS. *vibhrīṣṭam guhā sat*) AV. VS.: *gandharvo  
nāma nihītaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU. Here two different pādas  
have become confused; one began originally with *vidmā te nāma*,  
the other with *gandharvo dhāma*. The AVPpp. reading (not in  
Conc.) occurs in the verse where AV. has *vidma te dhāma*.

*puruṣatasya dhāmabhiḥ* (MS. *nā°*) RV. AV. MS. Vait.

§856. Twice the RV. phrase *pratnena manmanā* 'by ancient hymn'

is changed in SV. to *pratnena janmanā* 'by ancient generation (birth)', much to the detriment of the sense. In one case TB. follows SV.: *ahan̄ pratnena manmanā* (SV. *jan°*) RV. SV. AV.

*agnih̄ pratnena manmanā* (SV. TB. *jan°*) RV. ŚV. MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. MŚ.

§857. Other nouns and adjectives:

*aktam̄* (MS. MŚ. *aptubh̄i*, KS. \**artham̄*) *rihāṇā vyantu* (TS. TB. *viyantu*) *vayah̄* TS. MS. KS. \* TB. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *vyantu vayo* 'ktam̄ *rihāṇāh̄* VS. A very obscure passage; the isolated *artham̄* may possibly be due to graphic confusion.

*karīram̄ me vicakṣaṇam̄* (RVKh. *vicakṣaṇam̄*) RVKh. TA. TU.: *pratikaṁ me vicakṣaṇam̄* PG. 'My body (face) be active (glorious)'. Schef-telowitz on RVKh. reads *vicakṣaṇa*, but it seems that °*ṇam* must be the true reading.

*paktā* (KSA. *panthā*) *sasyam* TS. KSA. The latter is called 'ludicrous' by Keith. On *paktā* see Wackernagel III p. 204; he takes it as a masculine form used as neuter, rendering 'die Saat pflegt reif zu werden'; cf. Oertel, *Syntax of Cases* I p. 171.

*kuhūm aham̄* (AV. Vait. *kuhūm devīm̄*) *svartam̄* (AV. MS. KS. *suktam̄*, TS. *subhagām̄*) *vidmanāpasam̄* AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. Quasi-synonyms.

*dyumnā sukṣatra manhaya* RV.: *dyumnān̄ sudatra manhaya* SV.

*ghanan̄jayaṁ dharuṇam̄ dhārayiṣṣu* RVKh.: *bhūmidṛṇham̄ acyutaṁ pārāyṣṣu* AV.: *bhūmidṛṇho* 'cyutaś *cyārayiṣṣuḥ* AV. The evidently secondary *cyāw°* is suggested by 'cyutaś: 'unshaken (but) shaking (others)'.  
*aśloṇo* 'piśācadhītaḥ ApMB.: *anandho* 'śloṇo 'piśācadhīraḥ HG. The latter is a strange corruption; the original means 'not-sucked by demons'.

*adroghavācam̄ matibkih̄ śaviṣṭham̄* (RV. \* °*bhīr yavi°*) RV. \* AV. See RVRep. 275 f.

*abhi dyumnān̄* (RV. VS. *sumnān̄*) *devabhaktam̄ yaviṣṭha* (MS. KS. *devahitam̄ yaviṣṭhya*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. Quasi-synonyms.

*nagnahur̄ dhīras* (KS. *vīraś*) *tasaram̄ na vema* VS. MS. KS. TB. Synonyms.

*pāhī no agna enase* (ŚG. *edhase*) *svāhā* TA. MahānU. ŚG. *edhase* is certainly right: 'protect us unto prosperity'. TA. comm. quotes the text as *enaso*, tho both editions print *enase*. The corruption is due to recollection of other phrases in which *enasah̄* or the like is



associated with the root *pā* in the sense of 'protect from evil' or 'sin'.

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °*nītir*, KS. °*dhītam* and †°*nītha* [so 38. 12b], MS. °*dhīte*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.\* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The form with *n* is apparently original; in MS. KS. it is contaminated from such forms as *vasudhā*, *vasudhiti*. *kuvin no asya sumatir navīyasī* (SV. *bhavīyasī*) RV. SV. 'His very fresh (abundant) favor'.

*sthīrā cin namayīṣṇavaḥ* RV.: *dpdḥā cid yamayīṣṇavaḥ* SV. Practically synonyms, 'bending': 'subduing'.

*añdhi kham vartayā pañim* (SV. *parim*) RV. SV. Benfey and Grassmann would read *parim* in RV. The emendation is exceptionally tempting, but one must be cautious about it; cf. Oldenberg's judicious remarks (*Noten ad loc.*). It is easy to see how *parim* could be substituted for an original *pañim* under the influence of *kham*; a reason for the reverse change in the tradition is not so apparent.

*tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena* (TB. *mahasā svena*) AV. TB. The English words 'mind' and 'might' substantially reproduce the rime, and are derived from the same roots. Cf. next.

*ut satvanām māmakānām manānsi* (TS. *mahānsi*) RV. SV. VS. TS. Cf. prec.

*drīṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG. *pāpam*) SMB. ApMB. HG.

The two words are near-synonyms; *pāśam* is clearly original.

*upa śreṣṭhā na āśīṣaḥ* (MS. *āśīraḥ*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

*panasyuwaḥ sañvasaneṣu* (SV. °*varaneṣu*) *akramuḥ* RV. SV. Quasi-synonyms; 'at the dwelling-places (enclosures, sanctuaries?)'.

*asya* (AŚ. *mama*) *enuṣā śvaśurasya prakīṣṭim* (AŚ. *praviṣṭau*) TB. AŚ.

Complete change of meaning as well as syntax.

*svāhā tvā sūryasya* (MS. *vādyā sūr°*) . . . *vr̥ṣṭivanaye* (MS.° *sanaye*) . . . MS. TA. ApŚ.

## CHAPTER XX. GRAPHIC VARIANTS

§858. There are not a few variants in which it seems at least possible that graphic confusion between letters written similarly may have been a contributing cause. Some of them, such as variations between *b* and *v*, *th* and *dth*, *ṭ* and *ṭh*, *p* and *v*, have been treated above, as having also phonetic aspects. Those which follow in this chapter would appear to be purely graphic. We have no doubt that the list could be considerably extended, especially with the help of experts in Indian paleography, a title to which we lay no claim. We have merely noted down such variations as have struck our attention between certain letters which resemble one another in well-known modern Indian alphabets. Even so limited, the collection seems to us important enough to suggest that graphic confusion must have played a considerable part in the variants of the Vedic tradition. It will be seen that different manuscripts and even different editions of the same work not infrequently vary regarding words of this group, which confirms that conclusion; it may be fairly assumed that in many other instances, where no manuscript variants are recorded, we nevertheless may be dealing with phenomena of the same sort. At the same time we would emphasize the fact that we do not mean to assert that all the variations here collected are due solely or even chiefly to graphic confusion. For, of course, there are many cases where neither phonetic nor graphic matters can be concerned. We mean only that this is one feature of the Vedic variants which cannot be ignored.

§859. The largest number of variants here collected concerns the letters *n* and *r*. Fairly numerous, also, are shifts between *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *gh* and *dy*, *d* and *v*, *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*. The rest are more sporadic. We shall present the cases in the approximate order of their frequency.

### *n* and *r*

§860. The variation between *n* and *r* is fairly common, and may certainly be due to graphic confusion. The signs for these two letters when not combined with other consonants are not very dissimilar in the principal Indian alphabets. They are still more similar in Devanāgarī, for instance, when they follow other consonants in combined characters. When in such consonant combinations they precede other consonants,



the Devanāgarī, to be sure, clearly distinguishes between *n* and *r*, so that a misreading would be unthinkable. But this is by no means true of all Indian alphabets. Notably in Śāradā *n* and *r* before other consonants are written almost alike, and confusion is very easy and frequent.

§861. We present first cases of *n* and *r* not combined with other consonants:

*indhāna enaṁ jarate* (MS. KS. *janate*, but MS. p.p. *jarate*, KS. v. 1. *jarite*) *svādhīh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. N. One ms. of KS. reads *jarite*, and the p.p. of MS. *jarate*; this is clearly the proper reading.

*ṁṛtike hana* (MahānU. *hara*) *me pāpam* TA. MahānU. Here the change is facilitated by the nearly equivalent meanings of the roots *han* and *hr* in such a context ('destroy' and 'take away').

*asadan* (TS. *asanan*) *mātaram purah* (TS. *punah*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*avimuktacakra* (v. 1. °rā) *āsiran* PG.: *vivṛṭlacakrā āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB. *tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu* AV.: *slantī mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS. Others, §830.

*tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahaneṣṭhā* MS.: *mahāntam gahvareṣṭhām* SV.

*nirṛtho* (MS. °to) *yak ca nisvanah* (AV. °rah) AV. MS. TA.

*niḡalgalīti dhārakā* VS. ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KS.† *jalgalūti*, mss., em. °līti) *dhānikā* TS. KSA.

*deva puraścara saghyāsam* (MS. *devapuraś carasa ṛdhyāsam*; p.p. *deva, punar itī punah, carase*, etc.) *tvā* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. The text of MS. is corrupt in both readings.

*mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaiḥ* MS.: *mā nah param adharam* (MŚ. *param adhanam*) *mā rajo 'naiḥ* (MŚ. *naiḥ*) TA. MŚ. Two cases; *adhanam*: *adharam*, and *mā rajo*; *mānado-* (corrupt).

*ruvad dhokṣā* (TB. *ṛvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB. KB. TB. But *r* may be regarded as a phonetic substitute for *ru*; §684.

§862. Next, *n* and *r* before other consonants; note one case in RV. itself:

*vīśāny anyo* (RV.\*KS. *aryo*) *bhuvanā jajāna* RV. (both) MS. KS. TB. In different contexts.

*balivardāya* (KSA. °vandāya) *svāhā* KSA. TB. ApŚ. Apparently *balivardāya* is intended.

*iluvardāya* (KSA. *alivardāya*) *svāhā* KSA. TB. ApŚ. Follows the prec. *gaurīr* (TB. TA. *gaurī*, AV. *gaur in*) *mimāya salilāni lakṣaṇi* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

*vidyur* (ApMB. *vidyun*) *me asya devāḥ* RV. AV. KS. ApMB. See Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xxiv. *vidyun* is doubtless a corruption due to unintelligent thought of *vidyut*; it is read by all mss. and confirmed by the comm., who says that *t* for visarga is *chāndasa*! *vidyur* is 3d plural verb form.

*śīle vāte punann iva* (AŚ. LŚ., mss. of Vait., most mss. of ŚŚ., and v. l. of KSA. *punarniva*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.

The persistence in the mss. of the impossible *punarniva* is striking. *nī nivartana varlayendra nardabuda* (KS. *nandabala*) TS. KS. ApMB.

See §273.

*adyā tvā vanvan* (KS. *vardhan*) *surekṇāḥ* RV. KS. TB.

*ukhām śravantīm agādām aganma* (MŚ. *akarma*) KŚ. MŚ.

*anārbhava mṛḍa* KS. ApŚ. The ms. of KS. reads *anārbhava*, em. v. Schroeder; see p. w. 5, Nachträge. Cf. *anābho mṛḍa dhūrte* (read *dhūrta* with some mss. of MS. and all of MŚ.) MS. MŚ. See §749.

§863. As to *n* and *r* after other consonants, most of the variants contain forms of the stems *agnī* and *agra*. A special historic, and as it were romantic, interest attaches to this variation on account of the famous falsification of RV. 10. 18. 7d, *ā rohanu janayo yonim agre*, into which by substituting *agneḥ* for *agre* there was introduced a justification for widow-burning: 'Let the women mount upon the (proper) place in the beginning' was made to mean 'Let the women mount into the seat of fire'. In the Vedic occurrences of this pāda, which is found also in AV. and TA., there is no authority for this change. There are, however, a number of other Vedic passages where a like change occurs, always, with one exception, between the locative *agre* and the vocative *agne*. It is noteworthy that in most instances the stem *agra* is evidently original, and the stem *agnī* secondary. The explanation is that the context is regularly one that concerns the god Agni, whose name is secondarily introduced by a natural confusion.

§864. The list is as follows; the first is the only variant which does not concern the forms *agre* and *agne*:

*dhvāntam vātāgram anuśamcarantam* (PB. *abhisam*°) TS. PB. TB. PG.

ApMB.: *dhvānta vātā agnim* (mss. of both *vātāgnim*) *abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ. MG. Clearly *agnim* is secondary.

*agre vikṣu pradīdayat* RV.: *agne vikṣu pratīdayat* TB. (Poona ed. *agre* without v. l., but comm. *he agne*.)

*tubhyam agre* (MG. *agne*) *pary avāhan* RV. AV. PG. ApMB. MG.

*agre* (MS.\*KS.\*MŚ. *agne*) *brhann uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt* RV. VS. TS. MS.\*KS.\*ŚB. ApŚ., and *Pratīkas* AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Rvidh. BrhD.



*tenemam agra* (TB. *agna*) *iha varcasā tsamañgdhi* KS. TB. Here, by exception, *agna* (= *agne*) may be the original reading; one accented ms. of KS. leaves *agra* unaccented, suggesting that a vocative (which could only be *agna*) was intended.

*tavāham nāma bibharāṇy agne* (AŚ. *agre*) TS. AŚ.: *tavāham agne bibharāṇi nāma* MŚ. Here it seems even more probable that *agne* is the older reading.

[*agre* (TB. *agne*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *agre*) *yajñasya śocataḥ* (KS. TB. *cetataḥ*) RV. KS. TB.]

[*agne* (AV. *agre*) *samidham āhārṣam* AV. Kauś. *agre* is only an emendation in the Berlin ed., which is rightly withdrawn by Whitney in his Translation.]

§865. Aside from variants of these two stems, we have noted only the following:

*akṣāṇāḥ vagnum* (MS. *ṭvagnum*) *upajighnamānaḥ* (MS. *avajighram āpaḥ*) MS. TB. TA. The MS. is certainly wrong, TB. comm. *upahataḥ kurvan*.

*gīrā ca* (AV. *virājāḥ*) *śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Whitney on AV. adopts *śruṣṭiḥ* with most mss.; Ppp. *sunigṣas*. See §57.

*ūrdhvacitaḥ* (MS. KS. °*śritaḥ*) *śrayadhvam* (VS.† *śna*°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Doubtless corruption, if not misprint; see §195.

#### c and v

§866. Under this heading we find first a few cases of shift between the roots *vi-crt* and *vi-vrt*, in all of which the sense is more favorable to *vi-crt*, 'unloose'; also a few, the majority being of very doubtful authenticity, between the synonymous bases *śac* and *śav*. The others are sporadic.

*agnīḥ hotāram antarā viṣṛtāḥ* AŚ.: *hotāram agnīm antarā vicṛtāḥ* ApŚ.

'Bonds' are referred to, which are 'loosened' by this stanza, so that *vicṛtāḥ* is very natural, but it may for that reason be regarded as a secondary lect. fac. It is not necessary to the sense, as the following pāda declares that the bonds shall 'bind the fool, but the wise shall go past them'.

*ṛtasya tantum vitataḥ viṣṛtya* (VS. *vicṛtya*, AV. *dr̥śe kam*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. The true reading is probably *vicṛtya*. So Poona ed. of TB. text and comm., tho with v. l. *viṣṛtya*; comm. gloss *guruśāstra-mukhān nīścītya*, which looks as if he had read *viṣṛtya* and taken it from *vi-vṛ* 'elucidate', a meaning which can hardly be right in any

case. MahānU. reads *vīrtya* without recorded variant; comm. gloss *vṛtī sandīpena sandīpiya*, which is obscure to us.

[*vi pāṣaṁ madhyamaṁ cṛta* (TB. and MŚ. v. 1, *vṛta*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ. So Conc., seemingly erroneously; MŚ. has *cṛta* without recorded variant, and Poona ed. of TB. likewise *cṛta* text and comm. with no v. 1.]

*śabali prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam* (ApŚ. *śaviṣṭhā vrajam*) *anugeṣaṁ svāhā* PB. ApŚ.

[*vīryebhir* (MS. *vīrebhir*, AV. *yaṁ vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci*°) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. But Poona ed. of TB. *śaviṣṭhā* in text and comm. without v. 1.]

[*devānām devatamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci*°) MS. TB. Again Poona ed. of TB. *śam*° without v. 1.]

*viciṭi* (or *viviṭi*) *svāhā* MahānU.: *viviṣṭyai svāhā* TA. TAA. There is also a v. 1. *civiṭi* in MahānU. The word is meaningless. Comm. *viciṭi*, which he does not explain; he quotes also a v. 1. *vidhiṣṭā*. Poona ed. of both TA. and TAA. *viviṣṭyai*, explained by comm. as for *viviṣṭyai* by Vedic license.

*śakratuṇḍāya* (TAA. *cakra*°) *dhīmahi* TA. TAA.† MahānU.

*sam areanto raghudruvaḥ* (VSK. °*drucaḥ*) RV. SV. VS. VSK. MS. Meaningless corruption in VSK.

*ghṛtapratikam va* (TB. *ca*) *ṛtasya dhūrṣadam* (TB. *dhūrṣ*°, Poona ed. *dhūrṣ*°) RV. TB. ApŚ. The sandhi shows that TB. is secondary and poor.

*yatra cābhīmṛśāmasi* (HG. *vābhi*°) ApMB. HG.

#### *p* and *y*

§867. A miscellaneous but fairly numerous group:

*indrāpāsya* (two mss. *indrāyāsya*) *phaliḡam* ApMB.: *indrāyayāsya* (corrupt; Kirate suggests *indra āyāsya*) *śephām alikam* . . . HG.

*hriyai śalyakāḥ* (VS. *śalpakāḥ*) VS. MS. The *p* is a false reading; VS. comm. *śvāvit*.

*bṛhaspataye śitpuṭaḥ* (KSA.† *śimyuṭaḥ*) TS. KSA. An otherwise unknown word; said to be a kind of cat.

*prasthāyendragṇibhyām somam vocatopo* (KB. *vocatopo*) *asmān* . . . KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Read in KB. as the others (Keith).

*sam bāhubyām dhamatī* (etc., §853) *sam patatraiḥ* (KS. *yajetraiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānU. ŚvetU.

*prapuneanta upa spr̥ṣata prapunevadbhya svāhā* ApMB.: *prayuneanta upaspr̥ṣata prayunevadbhyaḥ svāhā* HG. Both anomalous forms and scarcely interpretable.



- śusasyāḥ* (VSK. °pāḥ) *kṛṣṣ kṛdhi* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ.: *kṛṣṣyai tvā susas-*  
*yāyai* (KS. *śsumanasyāyai*, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. With the VSK.  
 reading cf. *śaṣpa*.
- pūlyāny* (ApMB. *kulpāny*) *āvapantikā* AV. ApMB. The mss. of both  
 texts vary between *lp* and *ly*.
- anadevāns tapyate vahan* (MŚ. *talpate vahn*) ApŚ. MŚ. If MŚ. is correct  
 (it occurs in an unedited part of the text), it is a mere corruption.
- tvam hi rādhaspata* (text °yata, wrongly) *eka īśiṣe* ŚŚ.
- ubhe ca no* (etc.) . . . *anhasaḥ* (°sas) *pālām* (TB. Conc. *syālām*, Poona ed.  
*anhasaḥ spālām*, AŚ. text *tanhasa syālām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
 The true reading can only be *anhasaḥ* (or °sas) *pālām*.
- [*tanūpā* (TB. °yā, Poona ed. °pā) *bhiṣajā sute* VS. MS. KS. TB.]
- [*vahiṣṭhebbhir viharan yāsi* (TB. Conc. *pāhi*, comm. and Poona ed. text  
*yāsi*) *tantum* RV. TB. KS. AŚ. ApŚ.]
- [*tvayā turīpo* (TB. *turiyo*, Poona ed. text and comm. °po) *adbhutaḥ* VS.  
 MS. KS. TB.]
- [*āpataye* (GB. *āya*°, Gaastra *āpa*°) *tvā gṛhṇāmi* VSK. TS. MS. GB.  
 Vait. ApŚ. MŚ.]
- [*varuṇeti śapāmahe* (MS.† °hai, LŚ. †*śayāmahe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
 TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. Probably a double misprint in LŚ.]
- [*viśvatoḥasta uta viśvataspāi* (TA. °taḥ *syāt*, but Poona ed. correctly  
 °*taspat*) TS. MS. KS. TA.]

#### gh and dy

- §868. The variants are again miscellaneous, tho fairly frequent:
- mā* (AG. MG. ā) *tvā prāpann aghāyavaḥ* (MG. *adyāyavaḥ*) AG. ŚG.  
 ApMB. MG. The correct reading is *mā* . . . *aghāyavaḥ* 'Let not  
 the malicious ones reach thee'. It is strange that apparently all  
 mss. of AG. MG. read ā at the beginning, preceded by anusvāra  
 at the end of the preceding pāda. (Stenzler assumes *mā*.) The  
 further corruption in MG. seems an attempt to patch up a bad  
 job; it implies *adya-āyavaḥ* 'may lives today reach thee.'
- magham* (MS., but not KS.†, *madyam*) *indrāya jabhrire* VS. MS. KS. TB.  
 'Brought a gift (liquor) unto Indra.' Indra's well-known bibulous  
 habits are responsible for the secondary change in MS., involving the  
 misreading of *gh* as *dy*. Cf. next.
- sa bibheda balan* (VS. and Poona ed. TB. *valan*) *magham* (MS. *madyam*)  
 VS. MS. KS. TB. Cf. prec.
- śatāpāṣṭhādya viṣā* (read with Poona ed. of both °*ṣṭhā gha viṣā*) *pari*  
*na vṛṇaktu* TB. TA.: *śarā vāṣṭad dhaviṣā vāṛṇaḥ* MS. (Poona ed. of

TB. records v. l. 'dya, and comm. v. l. adya.) The MS. is hopelessly corrupt but has another graphic corruption, *ddh* for *gh*, cf. §875; see also §838.

*pātaṁ mā dyāvāpṛthivī adyāhnaḥ* (Kauś. *aghān naḥ*, read *adyāhnaḥ*)

TS. ApŚ. Kauś. See §840.

[*kevalāgho* (TB. *kevalādyo*, but Poona ed. text and comm. *\*lāgho*) *bhavati kevalādī* RV. TB. N. Gloss in TB. comm.: *pāpam eva saṁpādayati na tu kiṁcid api puṇyam.*]

[*sa ghā* (TB. *sadyā*, read with Poona ed. text and comm. *sa ghā*) *no devaḥ savilā sahāvā* (TB. *savāya*) RV. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.]

[*yad vā ghā* (TA. *vādyā*, but Poona ed. *vā ghā*, and comm. *vā gha*) *satyam uta yan na vidma* RV. TS. MS. KS. TA. There is a v. l. *vādyā* in TA. Poona ed., but gloss in comm. (*yad eva kiṁcid*) proves that he read *vā ghā*.]

#### *d* and *v*

§869. Under this head we find principally a group of variants between the stems *diś* and *viś*; both stems always appear in the plural number, cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 48, foot. These are of course rime words. In every case except the first mentioned the original form seems to contain *viś*. There are, in addition, a couple of other miscellaneous variants between *d* and *v*.

*devānām patnīr* (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśaḥ* (MS. KSA. †*viśaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'wives of the gods' must apparently be the 'directions', not 'tribes'. This is the only case of original *diś*, and even it is perhaps not certain.

*ye vā nūnam surjānāsu vikṣu* (AV. *dikṣu*) RV. AV. A v. l. *vikṣu* occurs in AV., and so Ppp. reads.

*śakvaḥ viśaḥ* (TB. *diśaḥ*) *savitur daivyaśya* RV. TB. The change in TB. was perhaps due to assimilation in meaning to the parallel *bhuvanāni* in the next pāda.

*viśām* (TB. *diśām*) *patir abhavaḥ vājinīvān* MS. TB. Indra is referred to, and the original is doubtless *viśām*.

*viśo* (SV. *diśo*) *vikvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Agni is meant.

*hṛtsu kratuḥ varuṇo* (MS. *varuṇaḥ*) *vikṣe* (RV. *apṣe*, MS. *dikṣe*) *agnīm* RV. VS.† TS.† MS. KS. ŚB.†

*upa durhārdiśo jahī* Kauś. (read *durhārdiśo*, Cone.)

*ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ* (TS. TA. ApMB. *śuśmeṇa*, MS. *dhāmnā*, KS. *vṛṣṭyā*, PG. *dṛṣṭyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.



*dhātā vidhātā* (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramota saṁhṛk* (KS. *paramo na saṁhṛk*) RV. VS. TS. KS. MS. N. *saṁhṛk* perhaps 'seizer'; certainly inferior.

*arasphūrjan vidyud* (TS. *didyud*) *varṣan* . . . TS. MS. KS.

*bhūmir iti tvābhipramanvate janāḥ* AV.: *yān tvā jano bhūmir iti praman-date* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The latter secondary and poor; Mahīdhara, *stauti*, which the verb can hardly mean.

#### *s* and *m*

§870. Here the variants are quite miscellaneous:

*kṛṣṇai tṣa susasyāyai* (KS. *ṡsumanasyāyai*, bis) TS. KS. ApŚ. Others, see §867. The original is clearly *susasyāyai*.

*agne yān devān ayāḍ . . . tān sasanuṣīm* (KS. ms. *tān samanoṣīn*, ed. em. *samanaiṣīn*) *hotrām* . . . MS. KS. TB. The corrupt ms. reading of KS. seems to point towards the reading of MS. TB., rather than towards Von Schroeder's emendation, which should probably be replaced by the other version.

*prkṣasya* (ArS. *prak*<sup>o</sup>) *vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ* (ArS. *mahaḥ*) RV. ArS. AB. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Svidh. Synonyms.

*athā jivah* (KS. *adhā viṣilah*, VS. ŚB. *athailam*, AV. *adomadam*) *pītum* (AV. *annam*) *addhi prasūtaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *pramuktaḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*graha vikvajanīna niyantar viprāyāma te* (MS. p.p. *viprāya*, *mate*; KS. *nyantar vipra ā ṡsati*) MS. KS.

*yośasendrābṛhaspati* (ArS. *yaśo mendrā*<sup>o</sup>) ArS. PG. MG.

*mā brāhmaṇasya* (3c *sā br*<sup>o</sup>) *rājanya* AV. 5. 18. 1c, 3c. In the Berlin ed. *mā* is misprinted for *sā* in 3c, hence this is not recorded in Conc. But it is a deliberate variant with change of meaning, not a graphic error.

*mahas te sato mahimā panasyate* (SV. *panīṡtama*) RV. AV. SV. VS.: *mahāne te mahato mahimā* AV. The related words in the context have, of course, helped in the secondary change to *mahato*.

*vahāsi mā* (KS. *ṡvahānsi sā*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS. *lokaḥ*) KS. TB. Certainly KS. is secondary and inferior, but *sā* may refer to the *juhū*.

*tvāṡṡa devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* MG.: *tvāṡṡar devebhis sahasāma indra* ApMB.

*nīlagalasālā* AV.: *nīlagalamālāḥ śivah paśya* NīlarU. See §512. Some copyist tried to correct the reading in NīlarU., thinking of *nīla-gala* and *mālā*.

## l and n

§871. The variants we have noted are less numerous than might have been expected from the frequency of the sounds and the similarity of the forms of the letters. Our list may be incomplete:

*sa tvam* (ŚŚ. ApŚ. *sanvan*) *sanīm* *suvinucā* *vinuśica* KŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. See §830.

*tan mā jinva* (KS. *mārjiteā*) TS. MS. KS. See §§354, 829.

*dhātā vidhātā* (MS. *dhartā vidhartā*) *paramola samdrk* (KS. *paramo na samvrk*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. See §835.

*yad ejati jagati yac ca ceṣṭati nāmno* (MahānU. *nānyo*, v. l. *mānyo*) *bhāgo yan* (TAA. Poona ed. *'yam*) *nāmne* (MahānU. *yatnān me*, v. l. *yan nāmne*) *evāhā* TAA. MahānU.

*upa stuhi* (Poona ed. *snuhi*) *tañ nṛmām* (Poona ed. *nṛmaṇām*) *athadrām* TA. (Other forms, see §110.) The mss. of the comm. vary between *stuhi* and *snuhi*; gloss *bhūmau prasāraya*, pointing to *snuhi*.

*yām apitā upatīṣṭhanā āpaḥ* LŚ.: *yām āpīnām upasīdantya āpaḥ* AV.

*prapīnam* (MŚ. v. l. *°tam*, TS. ApŚ. *prapyātam*) *agne sarirasya* (MŚ. *salīlasya*) *madhye* VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ghṛtañ dukhānā viśvataḥ prapītāḥ* (TB. ApMB. *prapīnāḥ*, AVPpp. *pravṛṇāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

*āvillā dyāvāpṛthivī rāvr̥dhau* MS. KS.: *āvinne dyāvāpṛthivī dhṛtavrate* TS. TB.

*āvillau* (TS. *āvinnau*) *mītrāvaruṇau dhṛtavratau* (TS. *°nāv rāvr̥dhau*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Others with *āvilla*: *āvinna*, see Conc. 188.

*grāmān sajanāyo ṅgachantī* ApMB.: *grāmān sajatāyo yanti* HG.

*jāmim itvā mā vivitsi lokān* TA.: *jāmim rto māva patsi lokāt* AV.

*vīrān mā no rudra bhāmīto* (°no) . . . , *mā no vīrān rudra bhāmīno* . . . , see §209.

*sanitā bhṛtyām* (KS. ms.† *manyām*) TS. KS. See §242.

## ṣ and p

§872. The variants are few:

*atho* (LŚ. ApŚ. *nir mā*) *yamasya padbīśāt* (VS. *°viśāt*, LŚ. *†ṣadviśāt*) RV. AV. VS. LŚ. ApŚ. See §217.

*vājinam śepena* VS.: *śeṣo vājinena* MS. But MS. p.p. *śepaḥ*; read certainly *śepo*.

*ye lātṛpur* (TB. *lātṛpur*) *devatrā jehamānāḥ* RV. AV. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. 'Thirsted': 'delighted'.



*d and prā*

§873. In Devanāgarī, at least, these letters are easily confused. It is interesting that we find one variant here within the RV. itself:

*āvo* (and *prāvo*) *yudhyantam vṛṣabham daśadyum* RV. (both)

*āsmā aśṛṇvann āśāḥ* AV.: *prāsmā āśā aśṛṇvan* TA.

*āvat tam* (TA. Conc. *prāvarlam*, comm. *ācartam*; Poona ed. text and comm. *āvar tam*; so also KS. ms.) *indrah śacyā dhamantam* RV. AV. SV. KS. TA.

*s and p, pt, pr, bh, t*

§874. The remaining graphic variants are more sporadic and we shall group them in our arrangement. In this paragraph are included various other letters exchanging with *s* (on *s* and *m* see §870):

*sukīmāṇ somasatsaru* AV.: *susevaṇ somapitsaru* (TS. *sumatitsaru*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. VāDh. See §180. *s* and *p* (*t*).

*rasena sam aśṛkṣmahi* (RV. *agasmahi*, KS. LŚ. *aganmahi*, AV. JB. *aṣṛkṣmahi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ApMB. *s* and *p*.

[*āptam manah* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ. So read in TB., for which Bibl. Ind. ed. has *āsam*.]

*sacyutiṁ* (AŚ. *pracyutiṁ*) *jaghanacyutiṁ* MS. TB. AŚ. Preceded by a *pāda* ending in *sacyutiṁ* (MS. *hastacyutiṁ*). Perhaps the AŚ. variant (*s*: *pr*) is not so much graphic as deliberately stylistic (for the sake of variety).

*anugrāsāḥ* (PB. *anugrābhaḥ*) *ca vṛtrahan* RV. AV. PB. The original is a nom. pl. of *an-ugra*. PB. misunderstands and rationalizes it, with graphic change of *s* to *bh*.

*yad adya dugdham prthivīm aśṛpta* (TB. ApŚ. *asakta*, MŚ. *abhakta*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Again *bh* is secondary to *s*.

*agne avam* (TS. TB. *avām*, ŚB. *tvam*) *yonim ā śīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhuyā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. *sv*: *tv*, the latter secondary.

*gh and dh and other similar letters*

§875. The only common graphic interchange of *gh*, that with *dy*, has been treated in §868. The shift between *dh* and *gh* has phonetic aspects, see §147. The rest are sporadic:

*grhāṇāṅgāny apve* (SV. *aghe*) *parehi* RV. AV. SV. VS. N. The SV. is certainly corrupt; see Benfey's *Nachträge* to SV. text, p. 258. Benfey curiously retains *aghe* in his Glossary, but in his Translation substitutes the proper name *Apeḍ*. *gh*: *pv*.

*agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ* . . . TS.: *adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād ekaḥ* . . . MŚ.  
gdh: dhv or ddh.

*ima udevāsikāriṇa ime* . . . TB. ApŚ.: *imā uddhāsikāriṇa ime* . . . MŚ.  
ddh: dv.

*rurad dhokṣā* (TB. *nrvadbhyo 'kṣā*) *paprathānebhīr evaiḥ* RV. MS. AB.  
KB. TB. The TB. is secondary; ddh: dbhy.

v and j, ṣ, tr, th

§876. Compare §§866, 869 for v and c, d.

*pra viṣṭīminam āviṣuḥ* AV. VS. ŚŚ.: *pra samhr̥ṣṭinam ājiṣuḥ* LŚ. The whole passage is obscure; LŚ. doubtless secondary, with j for v.

*usrāu* (VSK. *usrā*) *etaṁ dhūrṣāhau* (VSK. MŚ. *dhūrṣāhau*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. MŚ. Others, §122. ṣ: v.

[*vairāji* (KSA.† °je) *puruṣi* (so also KSA.†, Conc. wrongly *puruvi*) TS. KSA.]

[*pra yaḥ satrācā* (TB. *sa vācā*, but comm. and Poona ed. text *satrācā*) *mānasā yajāte* (TB. °tai, Poona ed. text and comm. °te) RV. TB.]

[*śam te pruvāva śīyatām* AV.: *śam u prṣṭhāva* (read *pruvāva* with Poona ed. text and comm., tho v. l. *prṣṭhāva*) *śīyatām* TA.]

y and ṣ, th

§877. For y and p see §867; for dy and gh, §868.

*ṛṣvāḥ satīḥ kavayāḥ* (KSA. *kavayāḥ*) *śumbhamānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. See Keith's note on TS. While the meaning of *kavayāḥ* is quite uncertain, *kavayāḥ* (found also in some TS. mss.) is probably only a graphic lect. fac.

*tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām* (TB. *asthām*, Poona ed. *aśyām*) RV. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. See §287.

*apāmityam* (AŚ. *apām ittham*) *iva sambhara* MS. KS. AŚ. The AŚ. is an absurd graphic blunder.

*samidhho agnir vṛṣaṇārātir* (AV. °ṇā *rathī*, ŚŚ. °ṇā *rayir*) *divaḥ* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Here the reverse error, y for th, has occurred in ŚŚ.; see §93.

#### Miscellaneous

§878. Other miscellaneous variants which may be graphic in character:

*āptye* (AV. \**apriye*, \**deviṣate*) *saṁ nuyāmasi* RV. AV.\* The AV. comm. reads *āptye* for *apriye*. But the variant *deviṣate* suggests that *apriye* must have been known in very early times; and indeed Ppp. reads



*apriye* (Barret, *JAOS* 30. 220). The RV. says: 'We collect and heap (evils) upon (the scapegoat, Trita) Āptya'. The AV. charm-monger knows little and cares less about this old mythological character; with characteristic practicality he heaps evils on 'the enemy'. Without this intermediate step, in which the graphic resemblance to *pty* to *pr* may have shared, the further change to *dvīṣate* would be unintelligible.

*tasām viśiśnānām* (KS. *viśiśnyānām*) MS. KS.: *teṣām viśipriyānām* (VS. ŚB. °ṣām eo 'ham) VS. TS. ŚB. *kn(y): pr*. Both words are obscure; Keith renders 'without handles' and conjectures that MS. KS. meant the same.

*pratiśrutkāyā artanam* (TB. *ṛtulam*) VS. TB. *n: l*. Possibly phonetic; cf. §273.

*khanyābhyah* (KSA. *khalyā°*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. Von Schroeder suggests reading with TS. *n: l*; cf. preceding.

*anarīrātīm* (SV. *alarīrātīm*) *vasudām upa stuhi* RV. SV. AV. N. See §292. *n: l*.

*śaśvat parikupitena* (HG. °*pīlena*) ApMB. HG. *t: l*. Oldenberg abandons the HG. reading.

*abhi yo na irasyati* (AV. *no durasyati*) RV. AV. The AV. reading (found also in Ppp. as *durasyatu*, Barret, *JAOS* 26. 210) is nearly a synonym for that of RV., which is antiquated and limited to RV. *du: i*.

*aciṣyāma* (p.p. *ami*, for *abhi*, *ṣyāma*) *vrjane viśva ūti* MS.: *abhi ṣyāma vrjane sarvasīrāḥ* RV. KS. *c: bh* (note p.p. of MS.).

## CHAPTER XXI. SANDHI

§879. In the great mass of variants concerning phonetic relations of various individual sounds, already treated, not a few really relate to sandhi. This has been pointed out in individual instances as we have come to them. They are, however, mostly so sporadic that they can hardly be said to throw much light on the rules of sandhi as applied in the texts in general. As instances we may refer to §§142 and 145 (gutturals and dentals), 148 (gutturals and labials), 308 f. (nasal as 'Hiatusstilger'), 338 ff. and 359 ff. (*y* and *r* as 'Hiatusstilger'), 709 and 731 (elision of final *a* before initial *e* and *o*), and various parts of Chapter X, on internal consonant assimilation.

§880. We shall now present, as an appendix, a collection of variants showing different treatments of vowels or consonants in sandhi, which are sufficiently numerous in each rubric to make worth while an investigation of their bearings on the rules of sandhi. We believe that the results of this investigation will be found very fruitful; not a few new principles have come out of the study.

§881. Regarding the interpretation of these materials, a general word of caution will not be out of place. Changes in external sandhi are matters of great delicacy and finesse. In actual speech they probably always varied to some extent, in different communities, in different speakers, perhaps even in the same speaker at different times. On a number of points the Vedic grammatical authorities, the Prātiśākhyaś, reflect this variation by their apparent confusion of statement. The manuscripts on which our editions are based are in general at least equally confused. Modern editors sometimes increase the confusion. And if they are conscientious and desire to bring order into the chaos, they are often (quite naturally and inevitably) at a loss how to proceed. Shall they treat each occurrence of a given sandhi-combination as a separate problem without reference to similar cases, and print what the best manuscript evidence seems to suggest for each individual word? Shall they, on the other hand, try to determine the usual procedure of their text, by considering all analogous cases together, and then standardize by printing them all alike? To what extent shall they be influenced by the usual procedure of other Vedic texts, of the same or



different schools? These are some of the problems which confront every conscientious Vedic editor. Different scholars have chosen different solutions; and in some cases a rather careful study of their critical notes is necessary to determine the actual usage of the texts.

§882. For these reasons the variants gathered from our actual printed texts in certain of the sections on sandhi are of doubtful value. At times they tell us less about Vedic usage than about the ideas of some modern editor. We refer particularly to such matters as the treatment of final *s* before sibilants, §§969 ff. But in spite of such considerations, for which we have tried to make all due allowance, there is no doubt of the value of most of the sections which follow. And they frequently add a good deal to our knowledge of the usages of various Vedic schools. This is notably the case, for instance, with the 'abhinihita' sandhi (initial *a* after final *e* and *o*).

§883. The following matters of sandhi will be taken up, in the order indicated. First, final *au* and *o* before initial vowels (except, in the case of *o*, initial *a*). Next, the 'abhinihita' sandhi, final *e* and *o* before initial *a*. This is one of the most interesting sections. The variants seem to us to indicate clearly that an attempt was made, at some time or other, to standardize the writing of *a* after *e* and *o* in accordance with the pronunciation in metrical passages; for details see the section itself. The only other case of vocalic sandhi is that of final *a* vowels followed by initial vocalic *r*; here new and interesting results regarding the usage of various Vedic schools appear.

§884. Coming to consonantal sandhi, we take up first the treatment of final *ṇ*, before vowels, and then before consonants. Then the change of dental to lingual *ṇ*, in which again the various schools are shown to have individual rules or tendencies. Next the cases of final *s* before initial *t*, lingualized after non-*a* vowels in most texts, but regularly retained in the Taittiriya school (often also in KS.). Regarding final *s* before initial *k* and *p*, the Taittiriya school is again exceptional in that it usually has *h*, as in classical Sanskrit, especially after *a* vowels. After a few cases of final *r* before *k* and *p*, we come to final *s* before an initial sibilant alone, and then before initial sibilant plus consonant; here, as stated above, we are more than usually doubtful of the value of the evidence. No clear school tendencies appear in the matter of initial *s* after final non-*a* vowels (sometimes kept, sometimes changes to *ṣ*). We conclude with a section on secondary crasis or double vocalic sandhi, and its converse, hiatus between vowels, which proves to be in considerable part due to metrical considerations.

FINAL *au* AND *o* BEFORE INITIAL VOWELS

§885. Here are treated variants concerning *au* before all initial vowels and *o* before all except short *a* (abhinihita sandhi), which is treated in the next section. We find very definite school rules observed in this matter, to wit:

(a) AV. writes *āu* for *au*, but *a* for *o*, without regard to the character of the following vowel. This is required by APr. 2. 21 f. But once, in a passage inherited from RV., AVŚ. shows *ā* for *au* before *u*; Ppp. has the regular *āu*.

(b) All other schools treat *au* and *o* in a quite analogous manner. Thus Maitrāyaṇīya and Kāthaka texts, and VSK, write *ā* for *au* and *a* for *o* before all vowels. This is prescribed by VPr. 4. 124; for the practice of VS. see just below. The rule is not quite without exceptions in Maitr. texts; cf. *kṛyūtām tām adhvārā jātavedasau* MŚ. 5. 1. 3. 27. So, at least, Knauer reads with no report of v. l. On the other hand, at MŚ. 3. 5. 14c Knauer reads *yatra cūścutad agnāu evaitat*, without any ms. authority; the corrupt mss. are closer to *agnā*, the expected form.

(c) Taittirīya texts write *āu* and *au* before all vowels. This is contrary to TPr. 10. 19, which prescribes *ā* and *a*. But 10. 21 adds the opinion of another teacher who says *āu* and *au* should always be written; this is favored by the comm. on TPr., and is according to Weber the regular usage of the mss. of TS. The variants indicate that it is also the regular usage of Tait. school texts, at least in their mantra materials.

(d) Other schools—that is, those of RV., SV. (very few instances), and VS.—write *ā* and *a* before *u*-vowels, but *āu* and *au* before other vowels. So RPr. 129 (2. 9) and 135 (2. 11); and so VPr. 4. 125 gives the opinion of 'some', opposed to its own rule 4. 124, quoted above.

(e) To summarize: before *u*-vowels, Tait. texts write *āu* and *au*; AV. writes *āu* for *au* but *a* for *o*; others *ā* and *a*.

(f) Before other than *u*-vowels, Maitr. texts, KS., and VSK, write *ā* and *a*; AV. writes *āu* but *a*; all others *āu* and *au*.

(g) In a few sporadic instances the final *o* of voc. sing. forms is retained without change before a following vowel. Cf. Wackernagel I §273b; the variants show that the phenomenon is not quite so limited as Wackernagel represents it.

§886. The variants of *au* before *u*-vowels are the following:  
*āsrīnau dvyakṣureṇa* (MS. KS. <sup>o</sup>rayā) *prāṇāpūnāv* (MS. KS. <sup>o</sup>nā) *ud*  
*ajayātām* TS. MS. KS.

*asā* (ApŚ. *asāu-asāv*) *upahvayasma* ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*asmākaṁ yonā* (ApŚ. *yonāv*) *udare sukēvāḥ* MS. ApŚ.



*imam yajñam juṣamāṇā* (TB. °*ḡdā*) *upetam* MS. TB.

*upasthe mātuh surabhā* (TS. °*bhā*) *u loke* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*ubhā* (AV. *ubhāv*) *upāñśu prathamā pibāra* RV. AV.

*urūyasāv* (TA. *uru*°) *asutrpā* (AV. TA. °*pāv*) *udumbalau* (TA. *ulu*°)  
RV. AV. TA. AŚ.

*kā* (TA. *kāv*, AV. VS. *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA. † *pādāv*) *ucyete* RV. AV. VS. TA.

The only exception to the rule in AV. Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 42. 113) reads *pādāv*, regularly.

*daivya hotārāṇe ūrdhvam* (VS. MS. °*rā ūrdhvam*; KS. *hotārardhvam*)

VS. TS. MS. KS. †18. 17a. In KS. the form *hotārā*, not °*rau*, is concerned.

*na yonā* (TS. *yonāv*) *uṣāśo*° VS. TS. MS.

*rakṣohanau* (VS. ŚB. °*ḡau vām*) *valaguhana* (TS. ApŚ. °*hanāv*) *upa*°  
... VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*syons kṛpudhvam surabhā* (TS. °*bhā*) *u loke* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§887. The variants of *o* before *u*-vowels are:

*uṣṇena vāya* (ApMB. *vāyav*) *udakenehi* (with varr.) AV. SMB. ApMB.  
AG. GG. PG.

*deva viṣṇā* (ApŚ. *viṣṇav*) *urv* ... PB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*divo vā viṣṇa* (TS. *viṣṇav*) *uta vā pṛthivyāḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *divo viṣṇa*  
etc. AV. MS.

*maho vā viṣṇa* (AV. *maho viṣṇa*) *uror antarikṣāt* (TS. *viṣṇav uta rān-*  
*tarikṣāt*) AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

*viṣṇa* (TS. ApŚ. *viṣṇav*) *urukrama* ... VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

§888. The variants of *au* before other than *u*-vowels are:

*agnāṇ* (VSK. MS. KS. MŚ. *agnā*) *agnis carati praviṣṭaḥ* AV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB.; *pratīka*, Vait. KŚ. Kauś. GG.

*agnīṣomāu* (MS. KS. MŚ. °*gomā*) *imam su me* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB.  
AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚŚ.

*ajasya nābhāv* (MS. KS. *nābhā*) *adhy ekam arpitam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*asāv* (MS. KS. MŚ. *asā*) *anu mā* ... MS. KS. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ.

*āyur dadhad yajñapadāṇ* (MS. KS. °*lā*) *avihrutam* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS.  
KS. LŚ. ApŚ.

*imau bhadrāu dhuryāv* (MS. °*yā*) *abhi* SV. MS. JB.

*usrāv etam* ... VS. TS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. KŚ.: *usrā etam* ... VSK. KS.

In MŚ. the rule is violated; no *v*, *l* reported.

*goṣaphe śakulāv* (VSK. °*lā*) *iva* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ. LŚ.

*tāv* (KS. *tā*) *ehi saṁ* ... TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. HG. BṛhU.: *tāv iha*  
*saṁ* ... AV.: *tāv ehi* (MG. *tā eva*) *vī* ... AG. ŚG. PG. MG.:  
*tāv cha saṁ* ... AB.

*dīkṣīto 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanaḥ* MS. MŚ.: *adīkṣīṣṭāyanaḥ brāhmaṇa- 'sāu amuṣyā . . .* ApŚ.

*daiveyā hotārāgnā* (KS. AŚ. °*gna*, ŚŚ. °*rā agna*) *ājyasya vītam* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Since ŚŚ., if it stands for *hotārau*, is contrary to the rule which requires °*rāv*, we should perhaps read *hotārāgna* also in ŚŚ., or consider it a case of hiatus between *hotārā* and *agna*; the other texts of course have the form *hotārā*, not °*rau*. No v. l. reported for ŚŚ.

*nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāḥ* (VSK. MS. KS. °*kā*) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. MS. TB. ŚB. KS.

*namucāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °*cā*) *āsure sacā* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*pañcubhir dhātā vi dadhāv* (MS. KS. *dadhā*) *idam . . .* TS. MS. KS. But MS. p.p. *dadhe*.

*putram iṣa pītārāḥ* (VSK. MS. KS. °*rā*) *āśvinobhā* RV. AV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*praiṣṭān śmīdhēnīr āghārāḥ ājyabhāgāḥ* (KSA. *āghārā ājyabhāgā*) *āśrutam* TS. KSA.

*madharyau stokāḥ* (MS. °*kā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS.

*muṣkāv* (VSK. *muṣkā*) *id asya ejataḥ* AV. VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

*yajñasya yuktau dhuryā* (TB. ApŚ. °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS. °*thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ.

*yadā carisyā mīlhanāḥ* (MS. °*nā*) *abhūtām* RV. MS. N.

*yo 'sāv* (MU. 'sā) *adītye puruṣaḥ so 'sāv* (MU. 'sā) *aham* VS. MU.

*rādhanīsīt samprīcānāv* (MS. MŚ. °*si* °*nā*) *asaṁ . . .* MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*vigraḥ śipivīṣṭa tūrāḥ* (VSK. *tūrā*) *āsannaḥ* VS. VSK.: *śipivīṣṭa tūrā āsādyamānaḥ* KS.

*sacetasāḥ* (VSK. °*sā*, MS. *samokasau sacetasā*) *arepasau* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *samokasāḥ* (KŚ. °*sā*) *arepasau* TS. KS. Kauś.

*sumiddhe ognāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *agnā*) *adhī māmahānaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*samrājāḥ* (MS. °*jā*) *asya bhuvanasya rājataḥ* RV. MS.

*sarasvatīm āśvināḥ* (VSK. MS. KS. °*nā*) *īndram agnīm* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haīmantikāḥ* (VSK. MS. KS. °*kā*) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB.

*upa* (MS. *utā*) *no mītrāvaruṇāḥ ihāvalam* (MS. °*nā ihāgalam*) MS. TB. TA.

*ṛtena sthūyāḥ* (MG. *ṛtena sthūyā*) *adhī . . .* ApMB. HG. MG.



*tena* (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇā* (MS. °ṇā) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *avīṣṭ*°) RV. MS. TB.

*madhuś ca mādhaveś ca vāsantikā* (VSK. MS. KS. °kā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*viṣṇūvaruṇā* (TB. °ṇā) *abhikastīpāś* (TB. °pā *vām*) MS. TB.

*yā* (MS. KS. *yā*) *ātmanrad* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS.

*agnim sve yonā* (VSK. MS. KS. *yonā*) *abhār ukhā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ahāv* (MS. KS. *ahā*) *anadotā hate* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*ā tathā* (VSK. MS. KS. *tathā*) *amṛtam divi* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*indravāh* (KS. °hā) *ṛbhavo vājaratnā* RV. KS.

*mitrāvaruṇā* (VSK. °ṇā, MS. *indrāvaruṇā*) *algābhyām* VS. VSK. MS.

*vāsantikā* (KS. *ime vās*°, MS. KS. °tikā) *ṛtū abhikalpamānā* VS. MS. KS. TB.

*śaiśirāv* (MS. °rā, KS. *ime śaiśirā*) *ṛtū abhikalpamānā* TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*iṣaś corjaś ca śāradāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °dā) *ṛtā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ubhā dātārāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *iṣān rayiṇām* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ko nu vām mitrāvaruṇā* (MS. °ṇā) *ṛtāyan* RV. MS. KB. ŚB.

*tapas ca tapasyaś ca śaiśirāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*devī uṣṇsāv* (VSK. MS. °śā) *āśvinā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

*dairyaś* (VSK. °yā) *adhvaryū ā galam* VS. VSK. ŚŚ.

*dhanasātā* (VSK. MS. KS. °tā) *ihāvatu* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*praharṣiṇo* (KS. *ins. °ṇam*, ed. em.) *madirasya made mṛṣāsā* (KS. °śā) *astu* . . . KS. ApŚ.

*mahāntāv* (MS. °tā) *indrāvaruṇā mahāvasū* RV. MS.

*yājñasya pakṣā* (TS. °ṣāv) *ṛṣayo bhavanī* TS. MS. KS.

*yat pṛthivyān yad urāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *urā*) *antarikṣe* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*yā* (AV. omits) *rājanye dundhubhāv* (KS. † °bhā) *dyatāyām* AV. KS. TB.

*yo no mitrāvaruṇā abhidāsāt sapatnā* (TS. °varuṇā *abhidāsati*) TS. MS.

*imau* (Kauś. *yanu*) *te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatṛiṇau* (VSK. TS. † KS. °ṇā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*rājānāḥ samitāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °tā) *iva* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*vāyava ārohaṇavāhāv* (KSA. °hā) *anadivāhu* TS. KSA.

*veṇubhāram girāv* (KSA. *girā*) *iva* TS. KSA. TB.

*kacyā harī dhanutarāv* (KS. °rā) *ataṣṭa* RV. KS.

*kukraś ca śuciś ca graiśmān* (VSK. MS. KS. °mā) *ṛtū* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*śūdrāryāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °yā) *aśṛjyetām* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*śṛiś ca te lakṣmīś ca paṇyāv* (VSK. °nyā) [ahorātre] VS. VSK.

*sam yāv upnaśtho* (MS. *yā upnaśtho*) *apaseva janān* RV. MS.

*sajjośasāv* (VSK. °sā) *aśvinā darśobhiḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB.

*sahasrasā* (RV. also °sān) *medhasātār* (VSK. °tā) *iva tmanā* RV. (bis) VSK. KB. (This RV. repetition is omitted in *RVRep.*)

*somārudrāv* (MS. °drā) *iha su mṛḍataṁ naḥ* RV. AV. MS.

*staumi devāv* (MS. KS. *devā*) *akṛināu nāthito jōharimī* TS. MS. KS.

*hatāghaśaṁsā* (TB. °sān) *ābharadvasā* MS. KS. TB.

*hatāghaśaṁsāv* (VSK. °sā) *ābhārṣṭām vasu vāryāṇi* VS. VSK. TB.

*hemantaśiśirāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *ṛtū* (TS. *ṛtūnām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*hotārāv* (VSK. MS. °rā) *indram aśvinā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

*hotārāv* (VSK. MS. KS. °rā) *indram prathamā suvācā* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§889. The variants of *o* before other than *u*-vowels are:

*ubhayaebhyaḥ pra cikītsā gaviṣṭau* (VSK. *gaiṣṭau*) RV. VS. VSK.

*kuviṣṭ su no gaviṣṭaye* (MS. KS. *gaiṣṭaye*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau* (VSK. *gaiṣṭau*) RV. VS. VSK. AB. KB.

*eko bahūnām aśi manyav iḍituh* (AV. *manya iḍitā*) RV. AV.

*taṁ teā ghyatnar* (VSK. °sna) *imahe* RV. SV. VSK. ŚB.

*tava vāyav* (VSK. *vāya*) *ṛtaspate* RV. VS. VSK. ŚB.

*nīyutvān vāyav* (VSK. *vāya*) *ā gahī* RV. ArŚ. VS. VSK.

*nīyudbhīr vāyav* (VSK. MS. KS. *vāya*) *iṣṭaye durone* RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*nīyudbhīr* (AV. *viyugbhīr*) *vāyav* (AV. VSK. MS. *vāya*) *iha* . . . AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*maitrāvaruṇasya camasādhwaryav* (MŚ. °ya) *ādrava* (ek) TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*vasaṭ te viṣṇav* (KS. *viṣṇa*) *āsa ā kṛnomī* RV. SV. TS. KS. AŚ.

*vy astabhnā* (etc., §137) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VSK. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*) *ete* RV. VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*sahasah sūnar* (MS. KS. *sūna*) *āhuta* RV. TS. MS. KS.

§890. In the following *o* of voc. sing. is retained without change:

*sa no mayobhūh pito* (AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB. [Jørgensen] *pitu*) *divisasya* (AŚ. *diviścha*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚG. PG. SMB.

*tāse adhwaryav ādhāve* . . . ŚŚ.: *tāse adhwaryo indrāya* . . . AB. AŚ.



*bṛhaspatistulasya ta* (MS. *tā*; KS. omits) *indo* (MS. KS. *inda*) *indri*<sup>o</sup>  
TS. MS. KS.: *bṛhaspatistulasya deva soma ta inda indri*<sup>2</sup> VSK.

#### INITIAL *a* AFTER FINAL *e* AND *o*

§891. In the great mass of variants under this heading, the initial *a* is in one form elided as in classical Sanskrit (*abbinihita*), while in the other form both the *a* and the final diphthong are left unchanged in writing. A few cases of different and anomalous treatment will be mentioned at the end of the section. Disregarding them for the moment we shall consider the writing or elision of *a*. On the probable actual pronunciation of *e*, *o* when followed by written *a*, see Wackernagel I p. 324; the diphthong was, as he says, no doubt regularly pronounced in some way as a short vowel, but the variants throw no light on this question.

§892. On the principles governing writing or elision of initial *a* after *e* and *o* the Prātiśākhya give no help. Boiled down, their statements amount only to this, that the *a* is sometimes written and sometimes elided. VPr. 4. 78 specifies that it is generally written in verses (*ṛkṣu*).

§893. Early statements in western grammars add little except that in metrical passages the meter shows that the *a* was generally pronounced, whether written or not, tho it is generally omitted in writing, whether pronounced or not. Whitney, *Grammar* §135c, says specifically that there is no 'accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and the spoken form of the text.'

§894. Yet as long ago as 1862, in his note to APr. 3. 54, Whitney himself showed, from a count of AV. instances, that:

- (a) In prose passages, *a* is omitted seven times out of eight.
- (b) In metrical passages where the meter indicates elision (we shall use this familiar term, altho doubtless 'absorption' would be more accurate, cf. Wackernagel, l. c., p. 324, bottom) of *a*, it is omitted in writing six times out of seven.
- (c) In metrical passages where the meter indicates pronunciation of *a*, it is written nine times out of ten; except that at the beginning of a *pāda* in the middle of a verse-line, where of course it is always pronounced, it is omitted in writing four times out of five.

§895. If these facts are at all typical of Vedic works in general, and there is reason to believe that they are, they seem to indicate that at some time in the history of our tradition an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation. The statement quoted above from

Whitney's *Grammar* is therefore exaggerated, to say the least. To be sure, the attempt was either incompletely carried out, or else its results have been somewhat disturbed by later copyists and redactors. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 460 f., Wackernagel I p. 325.

*General practice of Vedic texts*

§896. Before summarizing the evidence of the variants, we shall venture a statement of what seems to us to have been the general procedure in the Vedic tradition. Apparently this tradition was fixed at a time when the usual custom was to elide the *a*, as in classical Sanskrit. But those who established the norm in the Vedic texts were quite aware of the fact that these texts themselves, by their meter, indicated that the *a* frequently, if not usually, had to be pronounced. As a concession to this observed fact, or perhaps, more accurately, in order to help in the proper recitation of the Vedic texts, they undertook to write the *a* in cases where the meter required its pronunciation, leaving it unwritten in the comparatively rare cases where the meter required its omission, and in prose generally. Only when the *a* came at the beginning of a pāda in the middle of a line, the *a* was elided in writing, in accordance with the general custom of the time when the redaction was carried out; perhaps for the very reason that no confusion or error of pronunciation could well arise in such cases. That is: since the *a* would have to be pronounced in every such case, its omission in writing, according to the usual rule of the time, was considered allowable.

§897. Thus, except in the last-mentioned case, an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts; while in prose texts the *a* tended to be omitted. Exceptions may often be explained as due to carelessness or ignorance, whether on the part of the original redactors who applied the rules, or on the part of later copyists or reciters.

*Evidence of the variants*

§898. In interpreting the bearing of the variants on these rules, we must remember that they are a specially selected group, and make allowance for the principle of selection. Thus, first, they cannot in the nature of things take note of the cases in which initial *a* is elided at the beginning of a pāda. All such pādas are necessarily printed in the Concordance, and in the Variants, with initial *a*; whereas, as we have seen, according to Whitney the *a* is elided in four-fifths of such cases



in the AV.; and much more regularly in the RV. In fact, RPr. 138 (2. 13) requires that *a* should never be written in this position.

§899. Secondly, every one of our variants contains, by definition, at least one instance, in some text or other, of both possible forms: *a* written and *a* elided. This means that invariably, except in the few cases in which a *pāda* can be read metrically either with or without pronunciation of *a*, at least one of the texts quoted violates the general rule. Consequently, statistics based on our variants cannot possibly be expected to agree precisely with the rules laid down in §896. If, despite this artificial weighting of the scales in favor of the *advocatus diaboli*, the variants nevertheless show a definite tendency in favor of the rules as stated, this may be considered a valuable confirmation of them. And such, we think, is the case.

§900. The extent to which variants may be trusted as representing general usage may be tested by comparing the AV. passages found among them with Whitney's statistics for the entire AV., mentioned in §894. Thus: in metrical passages where *a* is pronounced, Whitney found it written in nine-tenths of the cases; the variants have it written in more than two-thirds, or nearly five-sevenths of such cases (26 out of 38). In metrical passages where *a* is not pronounced, Whitney found it omitted in six-sevenths of the cases; the variants show it omitted in all the six cases which occur. The prose variants from AV. are very few (only 5); in two of them *a* is written, in three elided, whereas Whitney reports elision in seven-eighths of the prose cases. These correspondences suggest that when the variants occur in considerable numbers, they may be taken as a fair index of conditions in the texts as a whole.

#### *Metrical passages*

§901. The *a* is pronounced in 59 metrical *pādas* among the variants; it is not pronounced in 10. In 24 it may be read either way, or the readings are changed in other respects so that both forms of the variant are metrical as written.

§902. When the *a* is shown by the meter to be pronounced, it is also written in nearly two-thirds of the cases in all texts together (213 to 117). In general, the proportion is higher in the older texts. Thus RV., written 21 times, omitted 4; AV. 25 to 12; TS. 19 to 7; MS. 24 to 9. But it is lower than the general average in VS. (10 to 6) and KS. (20 to 16). SV. forms a striking exception; among the variants it has *a* written only once, omitted 4 times. Its school texts show that this is no

accident due to the small numbers; they also write *a* 3 times and omit it 8 times. The SV. school clearly tended against the writing of *a*, in accord with classical Sanskrit usage (we shall see below that in prose texts, also, the dropping of *a* predominates in the SV. school much more than in the others). While the SV. and its school texts are the only ones that show a majority for dropping *a* when it is pronounced, later texts in general show a growing tendency to do so, approaching the classical norm. Thus RV. school texts have it written 14 times, omitted 11 times (against RV. itself 21 to 4).

§903. When the *a* is shown by the meter not to be pronounced, it is also omitted in writing in five-sevenths of the cases in all texts together (46 to 19). The cases are too few to make it safe to set up rules for the individual schools.

§904. Thus we see that in all metrical pādas the writing is consistent with the pronunciation in nearly two-thirds of the cases (259 to 136), whether the meter requires pronunciation of *a* or the reverse. In the few cases where it is possible to read the pāda metrically either way, we have given the written text the benefit of the doubt, assuming that it was pronounced when written, not pronounced when omitted in writing. They are not numerous enough to affect the result, and our procedure seems justified by the evidence of other cases where there is no ambiguity.

#### *Prose passages*

§905. In the prose variants the school texts of SV. show a considerable preponderance of elided over written *a* (12 to 1), and the same tendency, tho less decisive, is noticeable in the Taittiriya school, which shows elision in two-thirds of the cases (49 to 25). Other texts show no very marked tendency in either direction. MS. has a majority for *a* written (21 to 15), but its school texts are nearly even. The totals for all prose passages are 105 written, 151 elided. Contrast this with 232 written, 163 elided among the metrical variants (213 to 117 where the meter shows that *a* was pronounced).

#### *Table of final a written or omitted after e and o*

§906. The figures in the following table are worth quoting, tho perhaps not to be taken too absolutely. As stated above, when the meter permits either pronunciation or elision of *a*, we assume consistency of writing and pronunciation. Repetitions of the same formula in the same text, with or without modulations in the adjoining words, are not counted.



TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
RV	21	0	4	0	0	0
RVKh	1	0	1	0	0	0
RV school texts	14	2	11	1	9	14
SV	1	0	4	0	0	0
SV school texts	3	0	8	1	1	12
AV	25	6	12	0	2	3
AV school texts	4	1	1	0	1	2
VS	10	2	6	2	13	13
VSK	2	1	0	0	0	2
ŚB	8	0	5	1	8	10
Other Vāj. school	5	1	4	0	0	3
TS	19	6	7	2	10	20
TB	17	2	9	0	3	8
ApŚ	10	0	7	4	8	11
Other Tait. school	10	3	6	2	4	10

TEXTS	METRICAL PASSAGES				PROSE PASSAGES	
	Writing and pronunciation consistent		Writing and pronunciation inconsistent		a written	a elided
	a written and pronounced	a not written, not pronounced	a not written, but pronounced	a written, not pronounced		
MS	24	6	9	3	21	15
Maitr. school	14	5	2	0	9	7
KS	20	8	16	3	15	18
Late and misc.	5	3	5	0	1	3
Totals	213	46	117	19	105	151

§907. We now proceed to list the variant passages, beginning with the metrical ones, and first with those in which the meter indicates that the *a* was pronounced, whether written or not (59 items):

*so adhvārān* (AV. Kauś. 'dhvārān) *sa ṛtūn kalpayāti* RV. AV. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*anumate 'nu* (KapS.† *anu*) *manyasva na idam* (AV. 'nu *idam manyasva*)

AV. KS. KapS. (quoted in note to KS.): *anumate 'nu manyasva* (prose) GG. KhG. HG. ApG.

*nir amuṣ bhaja yo 'mitro asya* TB.: *nīḥ tam bhaja yo amitro asya* AV.

*tatra śiśriye 'ja ekapādaḥ* AV.† 13. 1. 6: *tasmiñ chīśriye aja ekapāt* TB.

*teṣāṃ yo ajyānim* (PG. 'jyānim) *ajīlim āvahāt* (SMB. Conc. *ajījim āvahāḥ*, but Jørgensen as other texts) TS. SMB. PG. BDh.

*ṛco akṣare* (NrpU. 'kṣare) *param vyoman* RV. AV. GB. TB. TA. ŚvetU. NrpU. N.

*yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *astī* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro astī*

*jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo astī* (NrpU. 'sti) VS. TB.

ApŚ. MahānU. NrpU.

*ye agnayāḥ* (TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'gnayāḥ) *samanasāḥ* (KS. adds *sacetasāḥ*)

VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*taṃ tvā viśve avantu* (AV. 'vantu) *devāḥ* AV. ApMB. HG. A very poor pāda but intended for *trīṣṭubh*.



- yo 'syeśe dvipado yaś catuṣpadaḥ AV.: *ya īśe asya* (MS. KS. \* *īśe yo asya*)  
*dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (both).  
*vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām* (AV. 'āgi°, AŚ. *aṅgīrobhyaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
*śukrīḥ śukre ahany ojaśnā* (MS. *ahann ojaśne*; KS. †*śukro ahany ojaśye*;  
 AŚ. 'hany ojaśnām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.  
*sūryo ahobhīr* (KS. *suryo* [misprint] 'hobhīr) *anu teāvatu* KS. TB.  
*so asmān* (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatiṁ karotu* TS. MŚ.: *so 'smān adhipatiṁ*  
*kṛṇotu* ŚŚ.  
*svām tanvaṁ* (TS. TB. *tanuvam*) *varuṇo 'sugot* (TS. TB. *aśīśret*) TS. MS.  
 KS. TB. It would be forcing probabilities to compress the MS. KS.  
 reading to an *anusṭubh*.  
*agnīr ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhīḥ* MS.: *agnīr amṛto abhavat vayobhīḥ* (KS.  
*saḥobhīḥ*) RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.  
*na tā arvā rexukakāḥ aśnute* (AV. 'śnute) RV. AV. KS. TB. AŚ. Many  
 AV. mss. read *aśnute*.  
*adhi bruvantu te 'vante* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *arante*) *asmān* RV. AV. VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.  
*anīkair dveṣo ardaya* (ŚŚ. 'rdaya) MS. ŚŚ.  
*annam payo reto asmāsu* (ŚB. 'smāsu) *dhatta* (MS. ApŚ. *dhehi*) VS. MS.  
 KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.  
*anyam te asman* (NṛpU. 'aman) *ni vapantu senāḥ* RV. TS. NṛpU.  
*anyo- 'nyo* (Vait. *-anyo*) *bhavati varṇo asya* TB. Vait.  
*avāsrjo apo* (TB. 'po) *achā samudram* RV. MS. KS. TB.  
*pra varṭaya divo aśmānam* (AV. 'śmānam, v. l. *aś°*) *indra* RV. AV.  
*prothad aśvo na yuvase 'viṣyan* (TS. *aviṣyan*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
 ŚB.  
*namo astu* (MŚ. 'stu) *pariṣyate* AV. MŚ.  
*prāñico agāma* (TA. *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.  
*payo grheṣu payo 'stu tan naḥ* MŚ.: *payo valseṣu payo astu tan mayi*  
 AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.  
*ye agnayāḥ pāñicajanyāḥ* (MŚ. *purīṣiṇaḥ*) VS. ŚB. MŚ.: *ye 'gnayāḥ*  
*purīṣyāḥ* (KS. °*ṣiṇaḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ. JUB.  
*dhātā samudro apa* (AG. 'va) *hantu pāpam* AG. PG.: *dh° so° abhayaṁ*  
*kṛṇotu* MG.  
*śikā kṛīdantau pari yāto adhvaram* (AV. *arṇavam*, and 'rṇavam) RV. AV.  
 MS. TB.  
*namo astu* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. PG. NīlarU. 'stu) *sarpebhyaḥ* RVKh. VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. NīlarU.  
*ye 'do* (MS. *amī*) *rocane divaḥ* RVKh. TS. MS. ApMB.  
*yo asyāḥ pṛthivyāś tvaci* TB. ApŚ.: *yo 'syāḥ* (so all mss. but one, and so  
 Conc., but ed. † *asyāḥ*) *pṛthivyā adhi tvaci* MŚ.

yo nah svo (AV. svo yo) arañah (SV. 'rañah) RV. SV. AV. AG. ŚG. Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 40, thinks of inserting yo in RV., tho he fails to note that AV. reads so.

vaiśvānaro adabdhās (AV. no adabdhās, TA. me 'dabdhās, MS. ApŚ. 'dabdhās) tanūpāh AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB.

ko ambādādate (AŚ. 'mbā°) dadat MS. AŚ.

mayā so annam (AV. 'nnam) atti yo vipaśyati RV. AV.

indra vājeṣu no 'va (TB. ara, KS. vaha) RV. AV. SV. ArS. MS. KS. TB.

yad vā me api (LŚ. 'pi, Vait. apa) gachati AŚ. Vait. LŚ.

ye agnayo divo ye pṛthivyāh MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: ye 'gnayo divo ye 'ntarikṣāt KS. (wrongly printed as prose in ed.)

ye agnidagdā ye anagnidagdāh (TB. Poona ed.† 'nagni°; so v. l. of AV.) RV. AV. TB. AŚ.: ye agniṣvāllā ye 'nagniṣvāllāh (VS. anagni°) VS. TB. ApŚ.

sā tvam asy amo 'ham (ŚB. BṛhU. PG. amo aham, ApMB. amūham, MG. āpy amo 'ham) KS. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG.: sa tvam asy amo 'ham AB.

kikasābhya anūkyāt (ApMB. 'nū°) RV. AV. ApMB.

te asmāt (TS. 'amat) pāśān prā muñcantv enasah (TS. anhasah) AV. TS.

divo antebhyas (KS. 'nte°) pari RV. SV. KS.

yo adya (PB. 'dya) saumyo (AV. senyo) vadha AV. PB. AŚ.—Ppp. 'dya acc. to Roth.

vyāghro vaiyāghre adhi (TB. 'dhi) KS. TB.: vyāghro adhi vaiyāghre AV. ye anneṣu (VS. KS. 'nneṣu) vividhyanti VS. TS. MS. KS.

varṣiṣṭhe adhi (KS. 'dhi) nāke TS. KS. TB.

rājā me prāṇo amṛtam (TB. 'mṛtam) VS.† MS. KS. TB.

idam (KS. ā mā) varco (AŚ. rādho) agninā (KS. 'gninā) dattam āgāt (AV. āgan, KS. etu) AV. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.

vṛṣṭyamāno 'vṛṣṭa (AV. ar°) sōmam RV. AV. TB.

batolaye 'bhimātiṣṭhe (PG. abhi°) TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG.

kṛṇvāno (KS. kurvāno) anyān (TS. KS. ApŚ.† anyān, MS. anyarā, KŚ.† 'nyān) adharān sapatnān AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

śṛṇvanty (PB. °tv) āpo adha (PB. 'dha) kṣaranṭīh RV. PB.

so adhvarā (AB. 'dhvarā karatī) jālavedāh AB. ŚB. Cadenced prose; cf. kṛṇotu so . . .

annapate 'nnasya (MS. KS. MŚ. MG. an°) no dehi VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrāpāgU. AG. ŚG. MG. SMB. Intended for triṣṭubh.

ayam yo asya yasya ta idam śirah MŚ.: ayam yo 'si yasya ta idam śirah KS. ApŚ.



[*yo asya kauṣṭhya jagataḥ* MŚ.: *yo 'sya kauṣṭhya* (KS. °*ṭha*) *ja*° KS. TA. ApŚ. So Conc.; but Van Gelder's ed. reads *'sya* for MŚ. without v. l.]

[*anamitram no* (VSK. *me*) *adharāk* (AV. °*rāt*) AV. VSK.† KS. Conc. 'dharāk for VSK.]

[*bṛhaspate abhiṣaster* (AV. ed. 'bhi°) *amuñcaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. But read *abhi*° in AV.; see Whitney's note.]

§908. In the next group, a much smaller one, containing 10 items, the *a* seems not to have been pronounced, whether written or elided: *namo 'stu* (TS. KS. *astu*) *nīlogrīvāya* (NīlarU. *nīlasikhaṇḍāya*) VS. TS. KS. NīlarU. BrhPDh.

*viśvasmai bhūtāya dhruvo* (TS. ApŚ. *bhūtāyādhuvo*) *astu* (TS. 'si, MŚ.† 'stu) *devāḥ* (TS. omits) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ye apsu śudānē* (KS. 'psu *sa*°) *cakrire* MS. KS.

*ye te 'ryaman* (KS. *arya*°) *bahavo devayānāḥ* TS. MS. KS.† 10. 13a.

*vājinām vājo 'ratu bhakṣo asmān* VSK.: *vājinām bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān* ApŚ.

*yo 'gnīm* (AŚ. *agnīm*) *hotāram avrthāḥ* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ.†

*jātareḍo maruto adbhīs* (TB. 'dbhis) *tamayitvā* TB. ApŚ.

*kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny* (TA. MahānU. *ati duritāny*) *agnīḥ* AV. TA. MahānU.

*aghorebhyo 'tha* (MS. *aiha*) *ghorebhyah* MS. TA. MahānU.

*yāś ca devyo antān abhilo tatantha* SMB.: *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhilo 'tatananta* (ms. *tatantha*) MG. See §63. The meter is poor in any case.

§909. We now come to the third group of metrical variants, 24 in number, in which the surrounding conditions are so flexible metrically that the *a* may either be pronounced or not (in which case we assume that it was pronounced when written, and not pronounced when not written); or in which there are further changes in the pāda which alter the metrical conditions:

*ane adya no anumatiḥ* (AV. Kauś. 'nu°) AV. MS. ŚŚ. MŚ. Kauś.

*yān agnayo anvatapyanta* (TS. 'nva°) *dhīṣṇyāḥ* AV. TS. MS.

*ye asmīn* (KS. 'smīn) *mahaty arṇave* MS. KS. MŚ.

*jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat* AV.: *jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat* HG.

*jyok kṣotre 'dhi* (HG. *adhi*) *jāgarat* AV. HG.

*antarikṣe adhy* (TS. KS. 'dhy) *āsate* TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

*sarvābhyo abhayaḥ* (TB. 'bhayaḥ) *karat* RV. AV. TB. N.

*garbho asy* (MS. 'sy) *oṣadhīnām* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait.—Ppp. also 'sy (Barret JAOS 48. 38).

*tanva adya* (MS. 'dya) *dadhātu me* AV. MS.

*vasanto asyāsīd* (VS. 'syāsīd) *ājyam* RV. AV. VS. TA. The meter of VS (with *ājiam*) seems easier.

*satyam it tan na tvānān* (MS. °van) *anyo asti* (MS. 'sti) RV. MS. KS. TB.

The meter of MS. (tuāvan?) is inferior.

*ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV.: *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV.

*ūrubhyān te aṣṭhivadbhyām* (ApMB. 'ṣ(hi°) RV. AV. ApMB.

*te asmā agnayo* (MS. °ye, v. I. °yo) *draviṇān dattvā* MS. ApŚ.: *te 'smā agnaye draviṇāni dattvā* KS. The meter of MS. ApŚ. is very poor.

*sviṣṭān no abhi* (KŚ. 'bhi) *vasiyo* (AV. *vasyo*) *nayantu* AV. TS. KŚ.: *sviṣṭān no 'bhi vasyo nayantu* KS. MŚ.

*sūryāyā ādho 'dityā* (VSK.† KŚ.† *adityā*; KS. *aditer*) *upasthe* VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ.

*eko vo devo apy* (AV. 'py) *atiṣṭhat* AV. MS.: *eko devo apy atiṣṭhat* TS. KS.

Only MS. is certainly inconsistent (*a* written but not pronounced).

*bheṣajān gave 'śvāya* (MS. *aśvāya*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. LŚ.: *bheṣajān gave 'śvāya puruṣāya* KS. In the last the attaching of *puruṣāya* to this pāda makes the elision of *a* better metrically.

*mā ta eno anyakṛtān bhujema* RV.: *mā vayam eno 'nyakṛtān bhujema* KS. In both forms of this variant the writing and pronunciation are consistent.

*tām u dhīrāso anudīkya yajante* VS. ŚB. (*a* not pronounced): *tām dhīrāsaḥ kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta* MS. (*kavayo* looks like a secondary intrusion, cf. KS. in next form; without it *a-nu*° would have to be pronounced): *tām dhīrāso anudīkya* (VSK. °dīśya) *yajante* (KS. *anudīśyāyajanta kavayaḥ*) VSK. TS. KS. TB. (*a* pronounced).

*anydās te asman* (KS. *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāh* MŚ. KS. Both writings are metrical. VS. TS. have *anyam asman nive*° *tāh*, which is inferior to both MS. and KS.

*yad vāto apo* (MS. MŚ. 'po) *aganīgan* (TS. KSA. ApŚ. *agamai*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ. MŚ. Writing and pronunciation are consistent in all texts except VS., where one of the initial *a*'s must be omitted in reading, tho both are written.

*yo agnau rudro yo apsu antaḥ* AV. (intended for triṣṭubh, reading *agnau*, *apsu*, and perhaps *rud-r-o*, but more likely a syllable short): *yo 'gnau rudro yo 'psu antaḥ* ŚirasU. (meant for anuṣṭubh; 'gnau, 'psu): *yo rudro agnau yo apsu* (MŚ. *rudro 'psu yo 'gnau*) *ya oṣadhīṣu* TS. ApŚ. MŚ. (triṣṭubh; 'gnau, 'psu—inconsistent with the writing of TS. ApŚ.): *yo rudro agnau yo apsu*, (then as new pāda, correct Conc.) *ya oṣadhīṣu yo vanaspatiṣu* KS. (writing and pronunciation consistent).



*so asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV.: *so 'smān pātu* (prose) TS.

§910. There follow the prose variants, which number 53:

*abhayaṁ vo 'bhayaṁ no astu* (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *abhayaṁ me astu* (AB.† *'stu*) AB. ApŚ.

*iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . *dyumnāyorje* (VS. ŚB.† *dyumna ūrje*) *'patyāya* (VS.† ŚB.† *apa°*, TB.† *patyāya*, ApŚ. *°yorjapatyāya*) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*etāni te aghniye* (PB. *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* TS. PB.: *etā te aghnye nāmāni* VS. ŚB. MŚ. In the last, an attempt has been made to make metrical a passage which was most assuredly prose to begin with. This metrical form is not counted in our table; the *a-* may or may not have been pronounced (*aghnye* or *'ghnye*).

*vīvarto aśṭacatvāriṅśaḥ* (MS. *'ṣṭa°*) MS. KS.: *vīvarto 'ṣṭa°* VS. TS. ŚB. *yo 'smān* (MS. MŚ. *asmān*) *dveṣṭi yaṁ* (AV. adds *ca*) *vayaṁ drigmaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. KBU. JUB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. HG. BDh. This extremely common phrase seems always to be written with *asmān* in texts of the Maitr. school, with *'smān* in all others, if the editions are to be trusted. For other formulas containing it see the Conc. under it, and also: *taṁ abhi śoca yo 'smān* etc.; *agne yat te tapas (tejas, 'rcis, śocis, haras)* etc.; *tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi* etc.; *ny ahaṁ taṁ mṛdyāsam yo tasmān* (ApŚ. *'smān*) etc. MŚ. ApŚ.† 6. 18. 2; *abhy ahaṁ taṁ bhūyāsam* etc.; *prāhaṁ taṁ atibhūyāsam* (ApŚ. *†abhi°*) etc.; *vy asau yo* etc.; *durmitrās* (or the like) etc.

*devānām tvā patnīr devīr* . . . *sadhasṭhe aṅgirasvad* (TS. *'ṅgi°*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *aditīṣ tvā* (*°tis tvā*), *dhiṣaṇās tvā*, *varūtrayo* (etc.), *gnās tvā*.

*ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye* (MS. KS. *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The same with *medhāyai manase*, *sarasvatyai pūṣṇe*, and *dikṣāyai lapase*.

*agneḥ* (also, *īndrasya*, *vīśveṣām devānām*) *priyaṁ pātho 'pīhi* (TS. *apīhi*) VS. 8. 50, VSK. 8. 22. 4, TS. ŚB. 11. 5. 9. 12.

*yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsāt* . . . (five formulas) MS.: *agnīm* (also, *īndram*, *mitrāvaruṇau*, *somam*) *sa* (TB. *sa diśām* . . . *devatānām*) *ṛchatu yo maitasyai* (KS. *°syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS. TB. ApŚ.

*namo agriyāya* (VS. KS. *'griyāya*, MS. *'griyāya*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. *namo agrevadhāya* (MS. KS. *'gre°*) . . . VS. MS. TS. KS.

*namo aparasadbhyaḥ* (PB. and v. 1. of MŚ. *'para°*) PB. MŚ.

*namo 'śvebhyo* (TS. *aś°*) *'śvapalibhyaḥ ca* . . . VS. TS.† MS. KS.

*namas te astu* (PB. JB. LŚ. SMB. *'stu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. PB. JB.

ŚB. TB. TA. TAA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB ApG. Occurs frequently, and apparently always with *astu* except in SV. texts, which read '*stu*.'

*namo vo 'stu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *astu*) VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. SMB. Here, in curious contrast with the preceding, the SMB. reads *astu* according to Jørgensen's edition (not in the Conc.), while '*stu*' is read by VS. and Vait.

*tebhyo namo astu* (PG. '*stu*') VS. MS. KS. PG. ŚB.

*namo 'gnaya* (ApŚ. *agnaya*) *upādrazfre* ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*namo astu* (VS. ŚB. '*stu*') *rudrebhyo ye antarikṣe* (VS. KS. ŚB. '*ntari*'°)

... VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Also: *namo astu* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. '*stu*')  
*ru*° *ye divi* (and, *prthivyām*) ... VS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.

*namo mahadbhyo arbhakebhyas* (KS. '*rbha*'°) *ca* ... VS. KS.: *namo*

*brhadbhyo 'rbhakebhyas ca* ... MS. MŚ.

*namo rathibhyo arathibhyas* (TS. '*rathe*'°) *ca* ... VS. TS.

*yo no anli śapati tam elena jēsam* MŚ.: *yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam*  
*elena jēsam* TS.

*rudro 'gnit* (MS. *agnit*) MS. TA. ŚŚ.

*rudro 'dhipatib* (MS. *adhi*'°) MS. TA.

*tasyāpo apsarasa* (KS.† '*psa*'°, MS. '*psarasā*') *ūrjo nāma* (TS. '*psaraso*

*mudāh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*dhūrta* (KS. '*te*') *namas te astu* (KS. '*stu*') KS. ApŚ.: *dhūrte namante*

(?) *astu* MS.

*praty elā vāmā* ... *yajomāno 'grabhīd* (ŚŚ. *agra*'°) ... KB. ŚŚ.

*prāṇo agnīh* ... PrāṇāgU.: *prāṇa 'gnīh* ... MU.

*madhu hutam indratame agnau* (LŚ. '*gnau*') VS. ŚB. LŚ.: *hutam hāvīr*

... *indratame 'gnau* MS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*ye devā dipibhāgā* (MS. °*gāh stha*) *ye antarikṣabhāgā* (TS. KS. '*ntari*'°)

... TS. MS. KS.

*śivanī prajābhyo 'hīnsantam* (KS.† *ahīn*'°) ... *sadhasthe* (VS. ŚB.° *sthād*)

*agnīm* (TS. '*gnīm*') ... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.—KS. punctuates

before *agnīm*, so that elision of *a* is impossible.

*sajūr ābdo ayavobhīh* (TS. ApŚ. '*yāvabhīh*') VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*samidhah-samidho 'gne-'gna* (ŚŚ. °*dho agna*; MŚ.† °*dho 'gnā*) *ājyasya*

*vyantu* AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *samidho agna* (MS. *agnā*) *ājyasya* ... MS.

KS. TB. MŚ.

*suyame me adya* ... ApŚ.: *vāyame me 'dya* ... MS.

*agnir adhī viyatto asyām* KS.: *agnir viyatto 'syām* TS.

*agne yat te 'rcis* (MS. *arcs*) *tena* ... AV. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*āṅgīraso me asya* (KS. '*syā*') *yajñasya prātaraṇavākair ahaṅgūh* MS. KS.



*tañ* (KS.† *lat*) *tvendragraha* . . . *saha yan me 'sti* (ApŚ. *astī*) *tena* KS.  
ApŚ.: *tañ tvā pra viśāmi* . . . *saha yan me 'sti tena* AV.

*diko abhy abhūd ayam* MS. KS. MŚ.: *dīko 'bhy ayam rājābhūt* TS. TB.  
Semblance of meter; perhaps to be classed with metrical variants.  
*antimitraś* (TS. *antyami*°) *ca dūre-amitraś* (MS. 'mitraś) *ca gaṇaḥ* VS.  
TS. MS. KS.

*andhō achetah* (TS. ApŚ. 'chetah) VS. TS. KS. ApŚ. Ed. of KS. 'chetah,  
but the sole ms. *aśchetah*.

*apāgne agnim* (TS. MS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ. 'gnim) *āmādam jahi* VS. TS. MS.  
KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*apeu dhautasya* . . . *yo aśvasanis* (KS. 'eva°) . . . MS. KS.: . . . *yo*  
*bhakiḥ aśvasanir* . . . TS.

*aśvibhyāñ tirohniyānām* (MŚ. *tirohnyānām*) *somānām anubrūhi* ApŚ.  
MŚ. Also: *tirohniyāñ* (MŚ. *aśvibhyāñ tirohnyāñ*) *somāñ pras-*  
*thilāñ preṣya* ApŚ. MŚ.

*ūrdhvo adhearo asthāt* (VS. ŚB. 'dhvara āsthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ.  
*adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*āpo devīr agrepuvo agrepuvo* . . . TS. TB.: *devīr āpo 'greguwo 'greṇīyo*  
. . . MS. MŚ.: *devīr āpo agrepuvaḥ preman* . . . KS.

*yo devāḥ puraḥsado* (so also TS., for which Conc.† *paraḥ*°) 'gninetra  
(MS. *agni*°) . . . TS. MS. KS. BDh.

*dhūrva tañ yo 'smāñ dhūrvati* VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *dhvara dhvarantañ yo*  
*asmāñ dhvarāt* MS.

*agnis te 'gram* . . . TS.: *agnis te agram* . . . MŚ.

*somo 'smākañ* (KS. *asm*°) *brāhmaṇānām rājā* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.  
ŚB. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.

*svadhā pitrbhyo 'ntarikṣasadbhyaḥ* (AV. *antar*°; GG.† 'ntarī°) AV. ApŚ.  
MŚ. GG. HG.

*yo asmi so asmi* AV.: *yo 'smi sa san yaje* MS. KS. AB.: *yo 'ham asmi sa*  
*san yaje* TB. ApŚ.

*tutho vo viśvavedā vibhajatu varṣiṣṭhe adhi* (KS. 'dhī) *nāke* . . . TS. MS.  
KS.

*nirasto aghaśansaḥ* (ApŚ. 'gha°) KS. ApŚ.

[*devo narāśansa 'gnau* (ŚŚ.† 'gnā) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu* AŚ. ŚŚ.  
Conc. quotes *agnā* for ŚŚ.]

[*yena turyeṇā brahmaṇā bṛhaspataye 'pavathās* . . . JB.: *yena rūpeṇā*  
*prajāpataye 'vapathās* (Conc. *ava*°) . . . KS.]

§911. Very sporadically, other forms of sandhi between final *e* and  
initial *a* occur among the variants. For a single case of *y* as 'Hintus-  
tilger' developed between *e* and *a*, see §338. In addition, there are a few

variants which seem to point to a possible resolution of *e* into *ay* before *a* and *ā*; but formal differences are always concerned, so that the variation is never one of sandhi pure and simple:

*te ā* (SV. *teyā*) *bhūjanti vēdhasaḥ* RV. SV. A loc. in RV. is replaced by an instr. in SV., with resolution of *e* to *ay*, this time however before long *ā*.

*ubhe id asyobhayasya* (AV. *asyobhe asya*) *rājataḥ* RV. AV. Followed by: *ubhe yatete ubhayasya* (AV. *ubhe asya*) *puṣyataḥ* RV. AV. The verse is mystic and obscure. If the AV. text is right, it seems to have understood the original *ubhay-* as representing *ubhe*, perhaps under influence of suggestion from the preceding *ubhe*; so that we should have just the reverse of the resolution in question. Whitney translates the prior pāda according to the RV. reading, but keeps the AV. reading in the second.

§912. By a misquotation in the Conc. we would seem to have a single similar case of *av* for *o* before *a*:

*dyāwāprthivī uro antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.; the Conc. quotes *urav* for *uro* in VSK. But the actual text is *urv*. If the text as printed (with *antarikṣa*, not *\*kṣam*) is right, it is an illogical blend of this with the other form of the variant, *dyāvā<sup>o</sup> urv antarikṣam* AV. TS.

#### SANDHI OF *a*-VOWELS WITH FOLLOWING *r*

§913. The variants indicate the following school tendencies. Rig-vedic and Vājasaneyin texts write *a-r* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*. This is prescribed by RPr. 136 (2. 11) and VPr. 4. 48 (which gives *a-r* for *ā-r* and makes no reference to *a-r*, implying no change).

§914. Taittirīya texts and KS. write *ar* for both *ā* and *a* followed by *r*, as prescribed by TPr. 10. 8. So does LŚ. in the single variant noted.

§915. The rule of APr. 3. 46 is like that of TPr., *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r*. But the mss. of AV., according to Whitney's note on this passage, follow this rule in general only when the *r* is not followed by a sibilant; when a sibilant follows they generally write *a-r* (because of *avarabhakti*, Whitney on APr. 1. 101). There are exceptions in the mss., and the Berlin edition, says Whitney, does not always follow either the mss. or the Prātiśākhya rule, nor any consistent practice. As to the variants noted, the Berlin edition (and consequently the Conc.) agrees thruout with what Whitney tells us is the general practice of the mss., namely, *ar* for both *ā-r* and *a-r* except when a sibilant follows, in that case *a-r*. Both Vait. and Kauś. sometimes write *ar* even when a sibilant follows; the instances recorded are few.



§916. Maitrāyaṇīya texts regularly write *ā-r* and *a-r* without change. Occasionally, however, they seem to shorten *ā* to *a*; so in one variant, see *yad dīdayac* (°*yañ*) etc., §918. Two variants occur in which final *a* is lengthened to *ā* before *r* in MS.; these may be regarded as cases of rhythmic lengthening of final *a*, cf. §§452 and 458. They are found below in §919: *yatrā r̥ṣayo jagmuḥ* and *yeṇā r̥ṣayas tapasā* . . . There is even one variant in which complete sandhi, *ar*, is apparently found for *ā-r* in MS.:

*savitre tvār̥bhumate* (VS. ŚB. *tvā r̥bhū°*; MS. *tvār̥bhū°*) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. This sandhi is unique among the MS. variants. It is perhaps worth noting that two mss. read *tvār̥bhū°*; but p.p. *tvā, r̥bhū°*. Cf. §549, and Wackernagel I §267aa, note, which is somewhat misleading or at least incomplete as regards MS.

§917. It may be noted that in metrical passages the meter regularly indicates complete fusion (as if *ar*) in all variants, even for texts which write the *r*-vowel separately.

There are a very few real or apparent exceptions to the above rules, besides those noted for MS.; attention will be called to them as they occur.

§918. The following are the cases concerning *ā* followed by *r*:

*savitre tvār̥bhumate* (VS. ŚB. *tvā r̥bhū°*, MS. *tvār̥bhū°*) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. See §916.

*yad dīdayac charasa* (MS. °*yañ śavasa*; TS. °*śā*) *ṛtaprajāta* (KS. *charasarta°*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. This is the only case in which MS. shortens *ā* to *a*; see §916. The TS. reading is due to the fact that the word happens to end a *kaṇḍikā*, which always suspends all sandhi; it is no real exception to the Tait. practice.

*dvā yantārā bhavatas tatha ṛtuh* (TS. KSA. *tathartuh*, MŚ. *tathā ṛtuh*) RV. VS. TS. KSA. MŚ.

*agnijihvebhyaḥ* (MS. *agnihvarebhyaḥ*) *tvartāyubhya[h]* (MS. *tvā ṛtā°*) . . . TS. MS. KS.

*yatha ṛṣaṁ saṁnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharṣaṁ saṁnayanti*) RV. AV.

*yatha ṛtava* (AV. TA. *yathartava*) *ṛtubhīr yanti sādhu* (AV. *sākam*, TA. *kṛptāh*) RV. AV. TA.

*svāha r̥ṣabham* (MS. *svāhā r̥ṣ°*, TB. *svāhar̥ṣ°*) . . . VS. MS. TB.

*vibhakarma ṛṣib* (MS. °*mā ṛṣib*, KS. °*mar̥ṣib*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tapasar̥ṣayāḥ* (MahānU. °*sar̥ṣayāḥ*) *svar* (TB. *svar*) *anavāndaṁ* TB. TA.

MahānU. The MahānU. reading is exceptional, but is repeated in the comm., which calls special attention to the sandhi, referring to Pāṇ. 6. 1. 128.





*satyaś* (VS. *kukraś*) *ca śtapāś* (TS. KS. *caritāś*) *cātyaśhāś* VS. TS. MS. KS. *saptarṣayaś* (VS. MS. *sapta ṛś*) *sapta dhāma priyāṇi* VS. TS. MS. KS.

TB. In TS. 1. 5. 3. 2b *sapta ṛṣṇ* is read without sandhi merely because a *kandikā* ends here; it is no real exception to the rule.

*sapta ṛṣayo* (TS. KS. *saptarṣ*) *śrjyanta* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*saptarṣiṇām* (ApŚ. Kauś. *saptarṣ*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāś* Vait. KS. MŚ.

ApŚ. Kauś. Note *ar* in Kauś. even before a sibilant (one ms. *aṛ*); cf. §915.

*saptarṣiṇ* (ApŚ. *saptarṣiṇ*) *jinva* ApŚ. KŚ.

*upahūta dhenuh* (ŚB. *gūvah*) *saharṣabhā* (ŚB. *°bhāś*, AŚ. ŚŚ.† *saharṣabhā*) TS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Irregular sandhi in ŚB.

*upa mā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *mām*) *dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *saharṣṇ*) . . . TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*indrartubhir brahmaṇā vāṛdhūnāś* TB. ApŚ.: *indra ṛbhubhir brahmaṇā sahūddānāś* ŚŚ.

*indro vidyāt saha ṛṣibhiḥ* (KS. *saharṣ*) RV. AV. KS. ApMB. In ApMB. we must certainly read *saharṣibhiḥ* with four mss., in accord with Tait. usage; Winternitz prints *saha ṛṣ* with only one ms.

*upa ṛṣabhasya* (TB. LŚ. *uparṣṇ*) *retasi* (AV. *yad retah*) RV. AV. TB. LŚ.

*indrāya ṛṣabheṇa* VS.: *indrāyārṣabheṇāśvibhyām sarasvatyaś* TB.

*ṛṇān na narnam ertsamānāś* AV.: *nen na ṛṇān ṛṇava it samānāś* TA.: *nem na ṛṇān ṛṇavān īpsamānāś* MS. Only AV. has this sandhi (*na, ṛṇam*); the others *nas, ṛ-*.

*yatrā sapta ṛṣiṇ* (TS. KS. *yatra saptarṣiṇ*) *para ekam āhuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.

*yathaika ṛṣir* (KS. *°karṣir*) *vijānate* KS. TA. ApŚ. Only KS. has this sandhi; the others *eka(h) ṛṣir*, two words.

#### SANDHI OF FINAL *n*

§920. On this subject the variants throw little new light. School tendencies are seldom discernible; when they do seem to appear, other known facts sometimes throw doubt on the value of this evidence.

##### I. Final *n* before initial vowels

§921. All the variant passages concern forms which originally (pre-historically) ended in *s*, except a small group, mainly locative singulars of *n*-stems, in which the ending *n* (appearing as *nn*) varies with *ny*. These, of course, really concern morphology and not phonetics; they hardly belong in this place.

1. Final *ān* before vowels

§922. The Prātiśākhya in general (RPr. 284 [4. 26], VPr. 3. 141, APr. 2. 27) make *anuseāra* the rule, but with numerous exceptions; Whitney's note says that AV. more often retains *n*. TPr. 9. 20-24 gives detailed rules and exceptions, without any generalization; Whitney's note (p. 225) states that TS. retains *n* five times out of six.

§923. Our variants are as confused as would be expected from these statements. It happens that those occurring in TS. show *anuseāra* more often than *n*; but this is probably accidental in view of Whitney's statement just quoted. Maitr. texts and KS. show about as many cases of one alternative as of the other. But as to Maitr. texts, when they change *n* to *anuseāra*, they generally also shorten the preceding *ā* to *a*; cf. Schroeder, MS., Einleitung, p. XXIX. When this shortening of *ā* is the only difference in the readings of a variant, we have not troubled to record it. The variants fall naturally into three divisions: accusatives plural, nominatives singular, and *s*-aorists (only one of the last).

§924. The cases involving accusatives plural in *ān* are:

*agnis tān* (MS. † *tān*, KS. † *tān*, TS. TA. *agnis tān*) *agre pra* . . . AV. TS.

MS. KS. TA. The same with *vāyuḥ* (AV. † *tān*).

*agne devān* (MS. *devān*, ŚG. *devān*) *ihā vaha* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. The isolated form of ŚG. is suspicious (misprint or error?).

*aty anyān* (VS. ŚB. *anyān*) *agām nānyān* (VS. ŚB. *nānyān*) *upāgām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ.

*athā* (VS. ŚB. *adhā*) *sapatnān* (KS. twice† *°nān*; TS. twice† *°nān*, once *°nān*) *indra me* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*asmān* (MS. KS. *asmān*) *u devā* . . . RV. ŚV. TS. VS. MS. KS.

*idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.: *idāivāsmān anu vastām vratena* AV.

*unnayāmi svān* (MS. *svān*, AV. *svān*) *aham* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*etat tvān deva soma* . . . *devān* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *devān*) *upāgāh* VS. KS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: . . . *devān upāgāh* MS.

*kṛvāno* (KS. *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS. KS. ApŚ. † *anyān*, KŚ. *°nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

*jambhāis* (KS. *°yebhāis*) *taskarān* (KS. *°rān*) *utā* VS. TS. KS.: *jambhābhyām taskarān* (p.p. *°rān*) *utā* MS.

*purodāśān* (MŚ. *°śān*, GB. Vait. *°śān*) *alanikuru* TS. GB. ŚB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.



*mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt TS.:* *ned eṣo asmān avahāya parāyat MS.:*  
*maiṣo asmān avahāya parāgat KS.*

*yān (AV, TS, MS, KS, Vait. yān) āvaha usato deva devān AV, VS, TS,*  
*MS, KS, ŚB, KŚ, Vait.*

*yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta AV.:* *yās ca devīr (SMB, devyo) antān etc.*  
*ApMB, SMB, HG.:* *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān etc. MG.*

*rakṣohāmitrān (VS, \*trān) apabādhāmānāḥ RV, AV, SV, VS, TS, MS,*  
*KS.*

*vājo devān (MS, KS, devān) rtubhiḥ kalpayāti VS, TS, MS, KS.*

*sarvān (MS, °vān) agnīār apsuṣado huve vah (MS, omits vah) TS, MS,*  
*AV.:* *śivān agnīn apsuṣado harāmahe AV.*

*sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś.:* *sarvān aca yajāmahe KŚ,† TB, TAA, ApŚ,*  
*so asmān (MŚ, asmān) adhipatīn karotu TS, MŚ.:* *so 'smān adhipatīn*  
*kṛnotu ŚŚ.*

*yo 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV.:* *yo asmān abhyaghāyati AV.*

§925. Nominatives singular in *ān* are concerned in the following:

*agnīḥ pravidsān (MS, °vān, KS, °vān) iha tat . . . MS, KS, ApŚ.*

*idāvān (MS, °vān) eṣo asura prajāvān RV, TS, MS, KS.*

*iṣṭo yajño bhṛgubhir . . , āśīrvān (ApŚ, °vān) atharvabhiḥ KS, ApŚ.*

*cikiteān (MŚ, °vān) anu manyatām TS, KS, MŚ.*

*pumān enām tanuṣa ut kṛṇatti RV.:* *pumān enad vayatṣ udgrṇatti AV.*

*viśalyo vāṅvān (TS, MS, KS, bā°; MS, °vān, v. 1. °vān; KS, NīlarU,*  
*°vān) uta VS, TS, MS, KS, NīlarU.*

*payasvān (TS, TB, ApMB, °vān) agna āgamam AV, VS, TS, MS, KS,*  
*JB, ŚB, TB, IŚ, ApMB.*

*pra yo jajñe vidvān (AV, vidvān) asya bandhum (AV, °dhuḥ) AV, TS, KS,*  
*harīṣmān (KS, °mān) astu sūryaḥ VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB.*

[*adha triṣṭimān abhy ojaś . . . RV, SV,† (Cono. triṣṭimān for SV.)*]

§926. We have noted only a single case involving an aorist form:

*savitā jyotir ud ayān (KS, ayān, MS, ayuṣ) ajasram RV, VS, TS, MS,*  
*KS, ŚB.*

## 2. Final *īn* and *ūn* before vowels

§927. For this sandhi RPr. 289 (4. 29) requires *īār, ūār*. The other Prs. allow this also in specific cases, but it is very rare in other texts than RV. See Apr. 2. 29 and Whitney's note; TPr. 9. 20 and Whitney's note; VPr. 3. 140. The variants include very few cases, not enough to justify deductions:

*sarvān (MS, °vān) agnīār apsuṣado huve vah (MS, omits vah) TS, MS,*  
*AB.:* *śivān agnīn apsuṣado harāmahe AV.*

*padā pañīr* (SV. *pañīn*) *arāḍhasaḥ* RV. SV. AV.  
*ṛtūr* (TB. *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj* . . . RV. AV. MS. TB.  
*ṛtūn* (AV. *ṛtūr*) *utsjate vaśi* AV. SV. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

[*tisro bhūmīr dhārayan* (MS. °*yaṁs*) *trīr uta dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

In this variant the printed text of MS. reads *ṛtrīr*, with nasal consonant *n*, instead of *trīr*. This reading, which the Conc. ignores, is no doubt merely a slip, or a bad writing, for *trīr*.]

### 3. Final *nn* varying with *ny* before vowels

§928. As remarked above, §921, this is really a morphological matter, not one of phonetics. The few cases are chiefly locatives singular of *n*-stems:

*asmin brahmany asmin karmany* . . . AV.: *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre* (ŚŚ. adds '*amin karmany*') . . . KS. ŚŚ.: *asmin brahmann . . . asmin karmann* (PG. *karmany*) . . . TS. ApŚ. PG.: *te naḥ pāntv asmin brahmany asyām pīrodhāyām asmin karmany* . . . MS.

*ātmann* (IśāU. °*ny*) *evānupaśyati* VS. IśāU.

*śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasinā* (MS. *ahann ojasīne*; KS.† *śukro ahany ojasye*; AŚ. '*hany ojasinām*') TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

[*divye dhāmann* (once °*ny* acc. to Conc.) *upahūtaḥ* (once °*tā*) TB. (both).

But Poona ed. *dhāmann* both times.]

[*trītye dhāmany abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TS. MahānU.

So Conc., but TA. MahānU. both have *dhāmāny*, acc. plur.]

One isolated case concerning verb forms:

*ajany agnir hotā* (ApŚ. *ajann agniḥ*) . . . KS. ApŚ. See VV I p. 51.

## II. Final *n* before initial consonants

§929. Before voiceless mutes, as is well known, the usage varies. The insertion of a sibilant, before which *n* becomes *anusvāra*, is commoner in later texts than in RV.

### 1. Final *n* before *c*

§930. RPr. 228 (4. 4) requires *ñ*; but numerous exceptions are mentioned; cf. 293f. (4. 32). VPr. 3. 133 and APr. 2. 26 require *ñ*, and so does TPr. 5. 20f., with a few exceptions. Whitney's note on APr. I c. says that this rule is universally followed in the mss. and text of AV., a statement which is true only if the twentieth book of AV. be excluded from consideration (the Pr. in fact does not deal with Book 20). In AV. 20, and occasionally elsewhere, we find *n* represented by *anusvāra* without an inserted sibilant. The variants are:



*acikiteāñ* (AV. °cāñś) *cikituṣāś cid atra* RV. AV.  
*anaḍvāñś* (TS. °vāñ) *ca me* VS. TS. KS.; *dhenuś cānaḍvāñś ca* MS. MŚ.  
*asmāñś* (RV. KS. *asmāñ*) *cakre mānyasya medhā* RV. MS. KS. Most  
 mss. of MS. *asmāñ* (with dental *n*); v. l. of KS. *asmāñś*.  
*ghoṣeṣāmīvēāñś cātoyata* (PB. °mīvēāñ *cātoyadhvam*) TB. PB. ApŚ.  
*tām airayañś candramasi svadhābhīḥ* MS. KS.; *yām airayañś* (TS. °yañ)  
 etc. VS. TS. ŚB.  
*mahaḥ pituñ papiḍā* (AV. 20, °vāñ) *cāre annā* RV. AV.  
*vajriñ* (AV. 20, SV. *vajriñ*) *citrābhīr ātibhīḥ* RV. AV. SV. MS.  
*asmāñ* (SV. *asmāñ*) *citrābhīr avatād abhiṣṭibhīḥ* RV. SV.

## 2. Final *n* before *t*

§931. The usage fluctuates here also. RPr. 295 (4. 33) implies that it is exceptional to insert the sibilant, by quoting a few cases in which this is done. So also TPr. 6. 14. In the few variants found, the RV. and TS. schools, and KS., generally keep the nasal unchanged. On the other hand APr. 2. 26 and VPr. 3. 134 require *ñs*, tho both allow exceptions. The variants from these schools are not inconsistent herewith; and Maitr. texts seem also to favor *ñs*. But the number of variants is too small to be conclusive. Besides the writings *n* and *ñs*, a couple of cases of *n* alone without the sibilant occur, as before *c*, above, and before *j*, below; probably this is to be regarded as a bad writing for *n*.

§932. The following variants occur;

*agnīr āyusmāñ sa vanaspatibhīr āyusmāñ* (PG. KS. °māñś) *tena* (KS. *tasyā*) . . . TS. KS. PG. ApMB. (in the last with punctuation after *āyusmāñ*).  
*aśmañś* (KS. *aśman*) *te kṣut* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.  
*īhaiva san tatra sato vo agnayah* TB.; *īhaiva san* (MŚ. *sañś*) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB. AŚ. MŚ.  
*tasmin* (Vait. MŚ. °miñś) *tad eno* . . . RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ.  
*tisro bhāmīr dhārayan* (MS. °yañś) *trīñr* (MS. text *†trīñr*) *uta dyūñ* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.  
*paśūñś* (RV. *paśūñ*) *tāñś cakre vāyavyāñ* RV. AV. VS. TA.  
*pūṣāñ* (ŚB. TB. *pūṣañś*) *tava vrate vayam* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
*śarman* (MS. *śarmañś*) *te syāma* . . . MS. KS. TA.; *tava syāma śarmañś trivarūtha* . . . VS.; *tava syām śarman trivarūtha* . . . TS.  
*dhāman* (AG. *dhāmañ*) *te viśvam* . . . RV. VS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG.  
*brahmañś* (MS. KS. *brahmā3ñś*) *tvam* (MŚ. *tvam me*) *brahmāsi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.; *brahmā3ñ* (TB. °mā3ñ) *tvam rājan brahmāsi* TS. TB. ApŚ. (in the last with punctuation after *brahmā3ñ*).

[*brahman tvam asi* . . . MahānU.; acc. to Conc. *brahmaṇ* etc. in TA.; but the Poona ed. of TA. reads *brahman*.]

### 3. Final *n* before *j*

§933. The usual statements (e.g. Wackernagel I §280a) make no mention of any other possibility than assimilation of *n* to *ñ*. This is prescribed by the Prātiśākhya: RPr. 228 (4. 4), APr. 2. 11, TPr. 5. 24, VPr. 4. 92. For *ñ* the spelling *n̐* occurs very commonly in mss. of many, perhaps most, texts. Thus in the AV. mss., according to Whitney (note to APr. 1. c.), it is the commonest writing in this case, and has been generalized in the Berlin ed.; Whitney, however, feels it as merely another way of writing *ñ* before *j*, and as such it is doubtless always to be taken. A modern editor would no doubt prefer to write *ñ*. We find, in fact, *n̐* in all the AV. variants; and also in SV. in the two variants recorded there. (But in ArS. once *ñ*.) Compare the like writing before *c* and *t*, above.

§934. The variants from VS. and ŚB., following Weber's editions, print dental *n* before *j*, not *ñ*. Why Weber adopted this practice does not appear; his note on VPr. 1. c. (ISt. 4. 237) seems to indicate that at least the excellent Chambers mss. follow the Prātiśākhya. Perhaps some of his other mss. keep dental *n*; if he gives information on the subject we have not noted the fact. Altho we can hardly attribute any importance to the recorded readings of VS. and ŚB. on this point, we report them in accordance with Weber. Note that the comm. on VPr. 4. 92 quotes as an example of the rule *ayan̐ vājāñ jayatu*, VS. 5. 37, which Weber prints *vājāñ*.

§935. According to Von Schroeder's edition, MS. also reads *n*, not *ñ*, before *j* in all the variant passages noted. The sole variant noted from another Maitr. school text is MŚ. 1. 6. 3. 15b, where Knauer's edition reads *gṛhāñ jugupatan̐ yuvam* with a majority of his mss., but against that which he regards as the best; its reading is *gṛhān*, which is the reading found in the corresponding MS. passage according to Von Schroeder.—KS. usually reads *ñ*, but once *n* (*yat te asmin* etc., below). Most other texts read *ñ*, except in so far as they show *n̐* (cf. above).

§936. The following are the variants:

*adyā devāñ* (VS. *devān*) *juṣṭatamo hi gamyāñ* RV. VS. TS. KSA.  
*ahīñś ca sarvāñ* (TS. KS. *sarvāñ*) *jambhayan* (KS. °*ya*) VS. TS. MS. KS.  
*āyusmāñ* (PG. ApMB. °*māñ*; RVKh. VS. °*mān*) *jaradaṣṭīr* . . . RVKh.

AV. VS. AG. PG. ApMB. Scheftelowitz reads *āyusmāñ* for RVKh. The mss. of PG. have corruptly *āyusyam*.



- kam agañ* (AV. *agañ*) *janayopanaḥ* RV. AV. N.  
*garbhah samjāyase punaḥ* MS.: *garbhe sañ* (VS. ŚB. *san*, KS. *sam-*) *j° p°*  
 RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB.  
*taṃ arcīṣā sphūrjayañ* (AV. °*yañ*) *jātavedaḥ* RV. AV.  
*tvam etāñ* (AV. *etāñ*) *janarājño dvir daśa* RV. AV.  
*te asmin* (TS. KS. *asmiñ*) *javam ādadhuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*devān* (RV. TB. *devāñ*) *jigāti sumnayaḥ* RV. MS. ŚB. TB.  
*paśyañ* (AV. °*yañ*) *janmāni sūrya* RV. AV. ArS. N.  
*pitṛñ* (KŚ. *pitṛn*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ.: *ojasā pitrbhyaḥ*  
*pitṛn jinva* MS.  
*prajāḥ kṛṇvan janayan virūpāḥ* MS.: *prajā vikṛṇvañ* (ApŚ. *vikurvañ*)  
*janayan virūpam* (ApŚ. °*pāḥ*) KS. ApŚ.  
*praty ajātān* (AV. °*tān*, TS. KS. TA. °*tāñ*) *jātavedo nudasva* AV. VS.  
 VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA.  
*māre asman maghavañ* (SV. °*vañ*) *jyok kaḥ* RV. SV.  
*yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi* KS.: *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS.:  
*yasyās te ghora āsan ju°* VS. ŚB.: *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsañ ju°* TS.  
 ApŚ. Exception in KS.  
*yāñs* (TA. Poona ed. *†yās*) *te soma prāṇāñs tān* (Poona ed. *tān*; MahānU.  
*tāñ*) *juhomi* TA. MahānU.  
*vibhrājañ* (AV. SV. °*jañ*) *jyotiṣā svaḥ* RV. AV. SV.  
*vṛtrāñi vṛtrahañ* (AV. °*hañ*) *jahi* RV. AV.  
*satyāñṛte avapaśyañ* (AV. °*yañ*; MS. °*yan*) *janānām* RV. AV. TS. MS.  
 ApMB. This is quoted by APr. 2. 11 as an example of *ñ* before *j*!  
*saptarṣtān* (KŚ. *saptarṣtn*) *jinva* KŚ. ApŚ.  
*[grhān* (MŚ. *grhāñ*, read *grhān*, see above, §935) *jugupataṃ yuvam* MS.  
 MŚ.]

#### 4. Final *n* before *ś*

§937. Before *ś*, the regular sandhi of *n* requires *ñ*, which however is often written *n*, and seems regularly to be printed so in the editions of SV. and AV. The *ś* changes to *ch* (representing *t-ś*). But in the single variant noted from the YV. Saṃhitās, TS. alone has this regular *ñ-ch*; MS. and VS. keep *ś* unchanged, MŚ. writing *ñ* before it and VS. *n*; the sole ms. of KSA. reads like VS., but von Schroeder emended to *ñ-ch* in his edition. This exceptional treatment is due to the fact that a mute follows *ś*, in which case *ś* is retained by VPr. 4. 94. We begin with this variant:

*ādityāñ chmaśrūbhiḥ* (VS. and ms. of KSA. °*tyāñ śma°*, MŚ. °*tyāñ śma°*)  
 VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*asmiñ* (AV. *asmiñ*) *chūra savane mādayasva* RV. AV.  
*tām nah pūṣaṇ chivatamām erayasva* HG.: *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV. *pūṣaṇ*)  
*chi*° . . . RV. AV. ApMB.  
*divi ṣaṇ* (AV. *ṣaṇ*, SV. *ṣaṇ*) *chakra ātataḥ* RV. AV. SV.  
*maghavaṇ* (AV. SV. PB. TB. Conc. °*vaṇ*, TB. Poona ed. °*vaṇ*) *chagdhī*  
 . . . RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MahānU.  
*yācchreṣṭhābhīr maghavaṇ chūra jinva* RV.: *yāvacchreṣṭhābhīr maghavaṇ*  
*chūra* . . . AV.  
*yat te rājaṇ* (AG. *rājaṇ*) *chrtam haviḥ* RV. AG. ŚG.  
*sūro na rurukvāṇ* (SV. °*vāṇ*) *chalātmā* RV. SV.  
*parārciṣā mūraderāṇ* (AV. °*vāṇ*) *chr̥ṇīhi* RV. AV.  
*pratyañcam arkam anayaṇ* (AV. °*yaṇ*) *chacibhiḥ* RV. AV.  
*śatam hemanlāṇ* (AV. °*lāṇ*) *chatam u vasantān* RV. AV. N.

### 5. Final *n* before *s*

§938. Before *s*, the insertion of *t* after final *n* is required by APr. 2. 9 and TPr. 5. 33, and authorized by 'some' according to RPr. 236 (4. 6); cf. the divergent views recorded in VPr. 4. 14f. It is quite common in all texts; likewise the analogous insertion of *k* after final *ñ* before *s*. Cf. Wackernagel I §282. The Concordance ignores altogether the writing of *t* in such cases. It has not seemed profitable to try to collect and sift its occurrences. We therefore record here only a few stray cases in which final *n* before *s* varies with *anusvāra*; most of them concern *saṇ*; *sañ*, in the latter case the preposition *sañ* being felt as involved.

*brahman* (LŚ.\* *brahman*) *stoṣyāmaḥ praśāstaḥ* KB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
 Vait. LŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.

*sasavān saṇ* (MS. *sañ*) *stūyaso* . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The p.p. of MS. *saṇ*; all sañh. mss. *sañ*. The other texts all actually read *sant*, except KS. *saṇ*.

*pumāṇsam varidhatāṇ mayi* ŚG. (Conc. says that this is an error for *pumāṇ samvar*°, but the text is correct; see §97); *pumāṇ samvartatāṇ mayi* PG.

*jihvā paritrām uśvināsaṇ* (TB. °*nā sañ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§939. To these may be added a couple of cases—probably not a complete list—in which *k* is alternatively added after final *ñ* before *s*: *pratyañ* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.\* TB. *pratyañk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* (with var.)

AV. VS. VSK. MS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Poona ed. of TB. *pratyañ*.

*prāñ* (VS. TB. *prāñk*) *somo atidrutaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Again Poona ed. of TB. *prāñ*.



6. Final *n* before *p*

§940. The only cases noted concern *nṛñṣ* or *nṛñḥ* for *nṛn*; since this variation really concerns final *s* before *k* and *p*, we quote the variants below under that heading, §965.

7. Final *n* before *k*

§941. Only a single case has been noted; AV. writes *jayanṁ* (*jayan*) for *jayan* according to the edition, but Whitney and the Conc. would read *jayan*. In any case it is purely a matter of orthography: *saṁjayan* (AV. ed. *jayanṁ*) *kṣetrāṇi* . . . AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

8. Final *n* before *y*

§942. See RPr. 287 (4. 28), VPr. 3. 135, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

*dadhanevān* (MS. KS. °vān; VS. ŚB. TB. °vā) *yo naryo apsv antar ā* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

9. Final *n* before *l*

§943. Two variants:

*agnis t̄ān* (VS. *t̄ān*, AŚ. *t̄āt*) *lokāt pra ṇudāty* (etc.) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.: *agnis t̄ān asmāt* . . . AV. MŚ. Inconsistent with RPr. 227 (4. 4) and Wackernagel I §281b; the VS. reading also inconsistent with VPr. 4. 13, which requires nasalized *l*. Cf. further APr. 2. 35, TPr. 5. 26. A nasalized *l* is required by all authorities and was probably pronounced in all texts.

*eṣa me 'muṣmīn* (GB. 'muṣmīnī, Gaastra) *loke prakāśo 'sat* PB. GB.† 2. 5. 8.

[*viṣṇus tryaksareṇa trīnī lokān* (VSK. *trīn imānī lokān*; TS.† *trīn lokān*) . . . VS. VSK. TS.]

10. Final *n* before *v*

§944. One variant:

*puru teā dāśevān* (SV. *dāśivān*) *roce* RV. SV. N. Cf. RPr. 287 (4. 28), APr. 2. 28, Wackernagel I §281a, Macdonell 77. 2d.

CHANGE OF DENTAL *n* TO LINGUAL *ṇ*

§945. The variants of course mainly concern the change of *n* to *ṇ* under the influence of a lingual sound in a preceding word (in the same word the lingualization occurs almost invariably). In general, the

greater degree of psychological propinquity between the alterant sound and the *n*, the greater is the likelihood of lingualization. That is, both verbal and nominal compounds show a tendency to be treated as single words for the purposes of this change; and enclitics, and other monosyllabic particles, tend to be regarded as parts of the preceding word. (For a few cases of variation between *n* and 'spontaneous' *ṇ*, not conditioned in the normal way, see §§163, 165, 170.)

§946. The school tendencies which appear are capricious and unstable; one sometimes has a feeling as if Taittirīya texts, in particular, took a perverse delight in violating their own general principles.

§947. (1) The *n* is the initial of monosyllabic words, especially enclitics; or in forms of the enclitic pronoun *ena-*. Here we find that Sāmavedic and Maitrāyaṇīya texts rarely alter to *ṇ*, while Taittirīya texts generally alter to *ṇ*; but there are exceptions in both cases. Other schools seem to show no definite tendencies among the variants.

§948. We have separated the cases in which the alterant sound is a final *r* of the preceding word from those in which it occurs earlier in that word. But so far as the variants indicate, we find no reason to suppose that lingualization was any more apt to occur in the former case than in the latter. This is, indeed, what we should expect on the analogy of the classical rule, by which lingualization is not in the least dependent on close proximity of the alterant to the altered sound. Note that after a final *r*, Taittirīya texts keep dental *n* in a case or two where all other texts (in one instance even SV. and MS., which generally avoid lingualization) show lingual *ṇ*; and yet, as we have said, Tait. texts generally favor lingualization.

§949. In the following cases the alterant sound is final *r*:

*svar ṇa* (TS. ApŚ. *svar na*) *gharmah* (ApŚ. \* *gharma*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The same with *jyotiḥ*, *śukrah*, *sūryah*, *arkah*; all in the same passage, but not all in the same texts (see Conc.). Only TS. has *n* in the rest (they are not in ApŚ.)

*svar ṇa* (TS. *svar na*) *jyotiḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*asya sutasya svar na* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *ṇa*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*āśīr ṇa* (MS. MŚ. *nā*) *ūrjam* . . . AV. MS. Vait. MŚ.

*anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu* (MS. *ṇu*) RV. VS. MS. KS. The mss. of MS. read corruptly *nakṛṇu*; p.p. *nakiḥ*, *tu*.

*vratātār na* (TB. *ṇo*) . . . MS. TB. (two variants in the same passage).

§950. In the rest the alterant sound is not final in the preceding word:  
*pra ṇa naya vasya acha* RV.; *pra nā naya pratarāṇ vasya acha* RV.  
*pra ṇa* (SV. MS. PB. *na*) *āyāṅsi* . . . RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. N.



*pra na* (SV. *na*) *indo* . . . RV. SV.

*pra nah* (SV. *nah*) *piwa* . . . RV. SV.

*pra nu* (TA. ApMB. HG. *nu*, Kauś. *no*, read *nu*) *socam cibituzē janāya* RV. TA. SMB. ApMB. Kauś. PG. HG. MG. Jørgensen reads *nu* for SMB., but with v. l. *nu*, which should undoubtedly be read in accord with the usage of SV. texts.

*pra no* (also, *no*) *jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśah* Kauś. (both)

*pra no* (TS.† JUB. *no*) *jīvātare suva* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. JUB. Cono. wrongly *no* for TS. 5. 5. 7. 5. Note JUB. *no*, contrary to SV. usage.

*pra no* (TB. *no*) *nāyebhis* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB

*pra no* (AV. TS. *no*) *yachate aryamā* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*pra no* (AV. TS. *no*) *yācha* (KS. *rāsva*) *viśaspate* (AV. *viśam*°, TS. *bhuvas*°, VS. ŚB. *sahasrajit*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*parainān* (AV. *\*nān*) *devah savitā dadātu* RV. AV.

*pari nah* (SV. *nah*) *karmayantya* RV. SV.

*pari no* (SV. *no*) *āścam āśvavit* RV. SV.

*pari no* (VS. MS. *no*) *rudrasya* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *pari no heṭi rudrasya* . . . RV. VSK.: *pari no heḍo* . . . RV.

*ataś cid indra na* (SV. *nā*) *upa* RV. SV. ŚŚ.

*indra enam* (KS. *enam*) *pruthamo adhyatiṣṭhat* RV. VS. TS. KS.

*indra enam* (AV. *enam*) *parāśarū* AV. TB. ApŚ.

*sam indra no* (AV. MS. KS. Kauś. *no*) *manasā* . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. KS. Kauś.

*sumitrā* (etc.) *na* (KS. *no*) *apa* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. MahānU. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. BDh. ApŚ. KS. MŚ.

*urugyā no* (MS. *no*) *aghāyatalah samasmāt* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. N. *tebhīh* (RV. also *tenā*) *sonābhī* (TA. *\*bhī*) *rakṣa nah* (TA. *nah*) RV. (bis) TA.

*śikṣā no* (TS. *no*!) . . . RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. AB. Note that TS. perversely avoids lingualization, despite its general tendency.

*devth* (AV. *da*°, KS. *trayīṣ*) *ṣaḍ urvīr uru nah* (only RV. *nah*; AV. ed. *nah*, but read *nah*, see Whitney's note; KS.† *nas*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. KS. ApMB.

*asthūri nau gārhapatyam* . . . MS. KS.: *tayor* (ApŚ. *tayor nāv*) *asthūri* (MŚ. *\*rī nau*) *gārḥ*° . . . ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *asthūri nau gārhapatyāni* . . . Kauś.: *asthūri nau* (VSK. *no*; ŚŚ. *no*) *gārhapatyāni* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *asthūri no* (TS. TB. *no*, KS. *nau*, MŚ. [van Gelder] *†nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* RV. TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. In the first-quoted version, the two best mss. of MS. read *nau*, in accord with MS. usage; but the MŚ. form of it (*tayor* etc.) has *nau* according to all Knauer's mss.

§951. (2) The *n* occurs in a longer word, or in the second part of a compound, the alterant being in the preceding word or the prior member of the compound. Note that in compounds initial *n* is nearly always, and medial *n* often, lingualized in the RV. just as in simple words: Wackernagel I §170.

§952. We begin with cases in which the *n* is initial. Here lingualization is standard and regular in verb forms from roots in *n*- compounded with *pra* (and certain other prepositions; Wackernagel I §169). When SV. shows three times forms of *pra-nu* with dental *n*, it is therefore exceptional. But otherwise, with independent words, lingualization is only sporadic. Among the variants, TS. twice lingualizes the *n* of *nāman*; and the *n* of *nāsatyā* is twice lingualized, once in VS. and once in MS. (! despite the tendency of MS. to avoid lingualization):

*abhi pra nonumo* (SV. *no*<sup>o</sup>) . . . RV. SV. SV.

*abhi pra nonuvur* (SV. *nonuvur*) . . . RV. SV.

*tvām abhi pra nonumah* (SV. *no*<sup>o</sup>) RV. SV. KB.

*pra nāmāni* (TS. *nā*<sup>o</sup>) . . . RV. TS. MS. KS.

*athainam jarimā nayet* HG.: *yathainam jarase nayāt* AV.

*tasmād vār nāma* (TS. *nāma*) . . . AV. TS. MS. KS.

*gomad ū su nāsatyā* (VS. *nā*<sup>o</sup>) RV. VS. AŚ.

*nāsatyā* (MS. *nā*<sup>o</sup>) *bhijajāśvinā* VS. MS. TB. Preceded in all by *bhijañ*, which may be meant for part of this pāda.

*punar āgāh punarnava* (AV. *ṇava*, and *ṇavañ*) RV. AV. (bis)

*uṣṭro ghrṇvān vārdhrīnāśas* (MS. *ghrṇvān vārdhrīnāśas*) . . . VS. MS.:

*grḍhrah śitikaḥṣi vārdhrīnāśas* (KS. *ma. vārḥīnāśas*, ed. em. *vārdhrī*)  
. . . TS. KSA.

*sahasranīthah* (SV. *ṇīthah*) *padavīh kavīnām* RV. SV.

§953. Of the rest, in which *n* is not initial, there are only a few sporadic cases:

*śādhyebhyaś carmamnam* (VS. *ṇnam*) VS. VSK. TB. The form *ṇna* occurs in RV.

*agne deva payibhir vīyamānah* (MS. MŚ. *ṇnah*; VS. ŚB. *guhyaṇānah*: KS. *īdhyamānah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. TB.

*abhūr āpīnām* (HG. *ṇām*, v. l. *ṇām*) . . . ApMB. HQ.

*dyutadyubhir namasyair iṇānā* MS.: *mitājñubhir namasyair iṇānā* RV.

*devaśrīh śrīmanah* (VSK. TS. *ṇāh*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agneḥ purīṣarāhanah* (MS. *purīṣya*<sup>o</sup>; VS. † ŚB. † *ṇāhanah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§954. (3) The alterant is in the same part of the same word as the *n*, so that lingualization would be expected. The variation is due:



(a) to secondary origin of the alterant sound, due to sandhi; in some texts the analogy of the uncompounded word keeps the *s* dental:

*śugumṇah* (TS. N. °*nah*) *sūryaraśmih* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS.

N. there is thought of the simple *sumnah*.

(b) to the use of the word as first member of a compound; in one text the *n*, in the seam of the compound, is felt as final and hence not lingualized, while in the other it is treated as internal and lingualized:

*amṛmayam* (ApŚ. *amṛn*°) . . . TB. ApŚ.

#### FINAL *s* AFTER NON-*a* VOWELS, BEFORE INITIAL *!*

§955. On this point the various schools show markedly different tendencies. As to the Prātiśākhya rules: RPr. 349 requires *ś* regularly before *taḍ* and *te* (but cf. 356), and 350-354 allows it also before other words, mostly pronouns. APr. 2. 84, 85 also makes *ś* the rule especially before pronouns, but allows various exceptions; according to Whitney, *ś* is commoner in AV. VPr. 3. 75, 76 (cf. 70ff.) likewise makes *ś* the rule particularly before monosyllables (mostly pronouns). TPr. 6. 5 allows the change to *ś* in only a few specified cases.

§956. Wackernagel I §286b says that the change to *ś* occurs, outside of compounds, mainly before pronouns, and 'die andern Samh. kennen solches *ś* im Satz ausser in den mit dem RV. gemeinsamen Stellen nur vor Pronominalformen.' This statement is copied by Macdonell 78, 2, b. It is, however, not quite correct, as is shown by the following two variants, in which SV. shows *ś* for RV. *s*, not before pronouns. These are, incidentally, the only variants where this sandhi occurs before other than pronouns:

*dhanuḥ tancanti* (RV. *dhanuḥ ta*°) *pauṇṣyam* RV. SV.

*uṣā apa śvasuḥ tamah* (SV. †*śvasuḥ tamah*) RV. AV. SV. AŚ.

§957. All the other variants concern cases with following pronouns. (Cf. *agneḥ taḍ tejasaḥ sūryasya* . . . MG., to which the parallels in other texts show *s*, because no pronoun follows: *agneḥ tejasaḥ sūryasya* . . . MS. KS. AB. TB. TA.) They show that the schools of RV., AV., VS., and TS. follow fairly well the rules of the Prātiśākhya to their respective Samhitās. To be sure, only one case happens to concern RV., and that is exceptional in showing *ś*; but the RV. school texts show 12 cases of *ś* to 1 of *s*. AV. shows 4 of *ś* to 1 of *s*, and its school texts 3 to 0. VS. has 17 to 2, and other Vāj. texts (incl. VSK.) 22 to 1. TS., on the other hand, is unanimous for *s* (24 cases), and so are its school texts (28 cases). This is the only school which, on the evidence of the variants, overwhelmingly prefers *s*; but KS. also has 14 of *s* to 8 of *ś*. SV. itself has

only one instance (of *ṣ*), and its school texts have 2 of each. MS. is as unanimous for *ṣ* as TS. is for *s* (20 cases, and 16 from MŚ. and MG.). Summarizing: the schools of RV., AV., VS., and MS. regularly write *ṣ*; that of TS. always, and KS. usually, *s*; the variants from SV. are indecisive.

§958. There follows the list of variants, all before pronouns:

*anśur-anśus te* (TS. KS. ApŚ. °*śus te*) *deva somā pyāyatām* VS. TS. MS.

KS. AB. GB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Valt. LŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agnis te 'gram* (MŚ. *agnis te agram*) . . . TS. MŚ.

*agnis te tanvan* . . . MŚ.: *agnis te tanuvam* (KS. *tanvam*) . . . TS. KS. TB.

ApŚ.: *agnis te tvacam* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ.

*agnis te tejo* . . . AŚ. MŚ.: *agnis te tejo* . . . TS. TB. JB. ApŚ.

*agnis te* (TS. *agnis te*) *'dhipatiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agnis tvāhi* (TS. *agnis tvā*) *pātu* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agnis tvā* (TS. KS. *agnis tvā*) *śrīnātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*agnis tvā* (MS. *agnis tvā*) *hwayati* . . . TS. MS. KS. TB.

*agnis tñan agre* . . . MŚ.: *agnis tñan* (AV. *tñan*, TS. TA. [but not KS.†])

*agnis tñan*) *agre* . . . AV. TS. KS. TA.

*agnes tvā* (KS. ApŚ. *agnes tvā*) *tejasā sādāyāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

KŚ. MŚ.

*agnes tvā* (TS. KS. *agnes tvā*) *mātrayā* . . . TS. MS. KS. MŚ.

*agnes tvāsyena* (TS. ApŚ. *agnes tvā*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. GB. ŚB. KB.

ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

*aditiḥ te* (TS. KS. TA. ApŚ. °*tis te*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

KŚ. MŚ.

*aditiḥ tvā* (TS. KS. ApŚ. [but not MŚ.†] °*tis tvā*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

*avatatyā dhanuḥ tvam* (TS. KS. NilarU. °*nus tvam*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

MŚ. NilarU.

*gopāya mā* (VāDh. *mām*) *śevadhis te* (N. °*dhiḥ te*) VāDh. VīDh. N.

*tābhīḥ tvam* (KS. TA. *tābhīḥ tvam*) *ubhayībhiḥ samvidānaḥ* MS. KS. TA.

*tebhīḥ tvam putram janaya* ŚG.: *taiḥ tvam putram* (*putrān*) *vindaṣva*

AV. ApMB.

*dyaus tvā* (ŚŚ. *dyaus te*) *pītā prthivī mātā* AV. ŚŚ.

*prajāpatiḥ tvā sādāyatu* . . . VS. ŚB. MS. MŚ.: *prajāpatiḥ tvā sī* . . .

TS. TB. TA. ApŚ. KS.

*prajāpates tvā* (MŚ. °*tes tvā*) *prāṇena* . . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*prabhoḥ te* (SV. °*bhoḥ te*) *†sataḥ* . . . RV. SV.

*bahis te* (AV. KS. *bahiḥ te*) *astu* . . . AV. TS. KS. ApŚ.

*bṛhaspatēḥ tvā* (TS. TB. °*tes tvā*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB.



- brhaspatīḥ tvā* (TS. KS. ApŚ. °tis tvā) *sumne* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*brhaspatīḥ tvā* (SMB. HG. °tis tvā) *nīyunnaktu* . . . AG. ŚG. SMB. HG. MG.  
*brhaspatīḥ tvā* (TA. °tis tvā) *vīśvair* . . . MS. TA.  
*brhaspatīḥ tvā* (TS. ApŚ. °tis tvā) *sādayatu* . . . TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*brhaspatīḥ tvopasīdatu* (TA. ApŚ. °tis tvā) MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*manoḥ tvā* . . . MS. KŚ. MŚ.; *manoḥ tvā* . . . KS. TB. ApŚ.  
*varātṛiḥ tvā* . . . VS. ŚB.; *varatṛis tvā* . . . KS.  
*vāyus tātā* (MŚ. tātā, KS. tātā, TS. TA. vāyus tātā) *agre* . . . AV. TS. KS. TA. MŚ.  
*vāyus te* (TS. vāyus te) *'dhipatīḥ* VS. TS. MS.  
*vāyus te* (TS. vāyus te) *vājin yañ* TS. KSA.  
*vāyus tvābhipātu* (TS. vāyus tvā) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*śivebhīḥ arcibhīḥ tvam* (TS. °bhis tvam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*savitus tvā* (AG. ŚG. °tus tvā) *prasava* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ. AG. ŚG.  
*svadhītā te* (ŚG. °tiḥ te) *pītā* VS. ŚG. ApMB.

FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL *k* AND *p*

§959. Here the rules of the Prātisākhya (RPr. 260 [4. 14] ff.; APr. 2. 62ff.; TPr. 8. 23-35; VPr. 3. 10f., 20ff., especially 29, 36) give a mass of detailed prescriptions, which may be summarized thus: in compounds *s* (or *ś* after non-*a* vowels) prevails, otherwise *h* (or *upadhmanīya* and *jihvāmūliya*). But there are numerous exceptions to both parts of the rule.

§960. European grammarians have added practically nothing (cf. Macdonell 78. 2, c). Wackernagel I §286c, β, note, thinks he detects a tendency for the ending of the first part of an āmreḍita compound to be made like that of the second part, so as to make the two exactly alike in form, where that is possible.

§961. Among the variant formulas we find only one which concerns an āmreḍita, and very few others concerning compounds. They show no clear tendency to be treated differently from uncompounded words; but in view of the traditional distinction just mentioned, we shall list them separately. The sole āmreḍita noted is the following:

*paraśah-paruṣas* (KS. *paraśas-paruṣas*, TS. TA. MahānU. *paraśah-paruṣah*) *pari* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. MahānU. Note that in the VS. and MS. schools the final sound is dissimilar in the two parts of the compound, altho a *p* follows in both cases; and that the distinction made by these schools is exactly the reverse of that laid

down in the *Prātisākhya*s, namely: we find *h* in the prior member, *s* in the last member. *VPr.* 3. 36 mentions this as an exception; likewise *TPr.* 8. 33, which states that *h* remains in compounds when the following vocable contains *s* or *dh*, covers the case; this might be regarded as a kind of dissimilation, but is probably merely an artificial rule made up to cover actual occurrences.

§962. The other compounds noted are the following (in the first the *s* is preceded by *a*, in the others by *i* or *u*):

*sādyaskriś* . . . *ApMB.*: *sadyahkriś* . . . *ŚG.*

*kociṣkeśan* (*MS.* \* *śociḥ*<sup>o</sup>) *purupriya* *RV.* *VS.* *TS.* *MS.* (both) *KS.*

*upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇe* (*MS.* *haviḥ*<sup>o</sup>, but p.p. *haviṣ*<sup>o</sup>) *MS.* *AS.* *ŚS.*:

*bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇa upahūtaḥ* (*TB.* \* *ta*) *TS.* *TB.* *ŚB.*

*āyukṛd āyupatnī* . . . *ApŚ.*: *āyukṛd āyuspatnī* . . . *AV.*

§963. In uncompounded words, contrary to the statements of the *Prātisākhya*s, the variants indicate if anything that *s* or *ṣ* is commoner in most texts than *h*. Perhaps, however, the numbers are not sufficiently large to justify such an inference. The *Taittirīya* school, to be sure, seems definitely to prefer *h*, especially after *a*-vowels; but most other schools show a majority for *s* or *ṣ* in both groups (curiously, and perhaps by mere accident, the *Maitrāyaṇīya* school shows a majority for *s* after *a*-vowels, but for *h* after others). We give the lists for what they are worth, separating the two classes. The statistics for all occurrences among the variants—including the few cases of compound words mentioned above—are as follows:

	After <i>a</i> -vowels		After non- <i>a</i> -vowels		
	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>s</i> (dental)
<i>RV.</i>	7	9	3	12	
<i>RV. school</i>	5	12	1	2	
<i>SV.</i>	5	4	3	2	
<i>SV. school</i>	1	3	1	3	
<i>AV.</i>	4	7	1	8	
<i>AV. school</i>	0	4	0	1	
<i>VS.</i>	3	15	5	7	
<i>VS. school</i>	3	16	4	8	
<i>TS.</i>	21	2	2	4	
<i>TS. school</i>	24	7	16	6	2
<i>MS.</i>	6	15	10	5	1
<i>MS. school</i>	2	2	5	1	1
<i>KS.</i>	9	9	5	7	1
<i>Others</i>	0	2	0	1	



	After a-vowels		After non-a-vowels		s (dental)
	h	s	h	s	
Total RV. school	12	21	4	14	
Total SV. school	6	7	4	5	
Total AV. school	4	11	1	9	
Total VS. school	6	31	9	15	
Total TS. school	45	9	18	10	2
Total MS. school	8	17	15	6	2
Total all texts	90	107	56	67	5
Total all minus TS. school	45	98	38	57	3

1. The *s* is preceded by an *a* vowel

§964. Here *s* remains in a majority of variants in all schools except that of the Taittiriya; the latter is nearly unanimous for *h*. Besides the two cases concerning compounds (§§961f.), the following occur: *somah* (SV, *somas*) *patī rayīṇām* RV. AV. SV.  
*sa no divā sa riṣah* (VS. MS. *riṣas*) *pātu nakṣam* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.

*śam nas* (RV. *nah*) *karato āvinā* RV. TB. ApŚ.  
*manyāśai śam ca nas* (TS. *nah*) *kṛdhī* VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.  
*devāḥ* (daiivḥ) *śad . . . uru nah* (*ṇah*) *kṛṇota* RV. AV. TS. ApMB.:  
*trayīṣ śad . . . uru ṭṇas kṛ°* KS.  
*uru kṣayāya nas* (TS. *nah*) *kṛdhī* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*varivas* (RV. *\*vah*) *kṛṇvan . . .* RV. SV.  
*ayam no agnir varivas* (TS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. *\*vah*) *kṛṇotu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*urvi rodasi varivas* (TS. KS. *\*vah*) *kṛ°* TS. MS. KS.  
*divah* (VS. *divas*) *parjanyaḍ . . .* VS. TS. MS. KS.  
*divah prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣdī* TS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *divas* etc. RV. AV. MS.

*divah prthivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam* VS. TS. KSA.: *divas* etc. RV. AV. Vait. Kauś.

*divah prṣṭham svar* (*savar*) . . . TS. MS. KS.: *divas* etc. AV. VS. ŚB.  
*divas* (SV. *divah*) *prṣṭham adhi . . .* RV. SV.

*divas* (SV. *divah*) *prṣṭhāny . . .* AV. SV.  
*divah* (RV. *divas*) *prṣṭham* (PB. *\*ṭhe*) . . . RV. PB. TA. ApŚ.

*abhi priyā divas padā* (SV. *divah kavīḥ*) RV. SV.  
*agne tvam sūktavāg . . . divas* (TS. TB. *divah*) *prthivyoh* TS. (fragment)  
 MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*parameṣṭhi tvā sādāyatu divaḥ* (VS. ŚB. *divas*) *preṣṭhe* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*ṣṛāhi viśvataḥ prati* RV.; *ṛṣṛāhi viśvatas pari* SV. Add to VV I §275. *gīrir na viśvatas* (SV. °taḥ) *prthuh* . . . RV. AV. SV.

*yathā naḥ śreyasas* (TS. °saḥ) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*yathā na vasyasas* (TS. °saḥ, LŚ. *vasīyasas*) *karat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ.

*viśvābhyo mā nāṣṛābhyah* (VS.† ŚB. PG.† °bhyas; MS. *daṅṣṛābhyas*) *pāhi* (TS. TB. *pāta*, PG. *parīpāhi* . . .) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. PG.

*yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS. ApMB. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. TS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.† 2. 17. 6c.

*mitrās* (RV. *mitraḥ*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV.

*prthivyāḥ samprcas* (TS. TB. ApŚ. °caḥ; VS. ŚB. *samṣprcas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

*nānā hi vām derahitam sadas* (TB. ApŚ. *sadaḥ*) *kṛtam* VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ.

*diva oṣadhayas* (TS. °yaḥ) *pari* RV. VS. TS. MS.

*ubhe cū no* (etc.) . . . *añhasaḥ* (MS. ŚB.† AŚ. °sas) *pātām* (TB. Conc. *syātām*, Poona ed. *añhasaḥ syātām*!; AŚ. text, *ñanhasa syātām*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*indraḥ* (ŚŚ. *indras*) *patis* . . . AV. AA. ŚŚ.

*idāyās* (ApŚ. *idāyāḥ*) *padam* . . . AV. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. Vait. Kauś. *apah* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *apas*) *pinva* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. KŚ. ApŚ.

MŚ. Note the perverseness of the Tait. texts in reading *s*, contrary to their usual rule, against all other texts!

*agne trātar ṛtas* (SV. *ṛtaḥ*) *kaviḥ* RV. SV.

*pūṣādhevanah* (VS. KS. ŚB. °nas) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*prāṇasya tvā* . . . *tanuwaḥ* (MS. *tanvas*) *pāhi* MS. TA.

*praitu brahmanas* (MŚ. °ṇaḥ) *patnī* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*ṣaṇ morvīr añhasas* (ŚŚ. °saḥ) *pāntu* . . . ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

## 2. The *s* is preceded by a non-*a* vowel

§965. Here the variants are less numerous, and there seems to be a larger element of chance. In general, however, *ṣ* prevails. The dominance of *h* in the Tait. school is less marked; TS. itself has only half a dozen variants, a majority of which happen to contain *ṣ*. More curious is the fact (which may be accidental, since the total number of cases is not very large) that the Maitr. school this time favors *h*, tho after *a*-vowels it shows a majority for *s*. Nevertheless, in the three



variants where the preceding vowel is an *r*-vowel, MS. alone shows *ṣ*; other texts *ḥ*. These all concern the single form *nṛn*, acc. plur. of *nṛ*; the vowel *ṛ* alters the *s* across the intervening nasal which becomes *anunāsika* (cf. §940 above):

*hotā yakṣad uṣāśānakā . . . nṛñh* (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *patibhya . . . MS. KS. TB.*  
*hotā yakṣan nardśanśan nṛśastan nṛśsprayetram* (TB. *nṛñh*<sup>o</sup>) MS. TB.  
*nṛñh* (MS. *nṛñṣ*) *pāhi . . . RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.*

§966. Anomalously, dental *s* is preserved without change in two variants; both times before a form of root *kr* (does the form *skr* exercise an influence here?):

*supippalā oṣadhis* (ApŚ. *\*dhñh*) *krdhi* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*śam agnir agnibhis* (RV. *\*bhñh*) *karat* RV. TB. ApŚ.

§967. Besides these and the cases concerning compounds (above, §962), we find the following variants:

*dyañh* (RV. *dyauṣ*) *pitāḥ pṛthivī mātar adhruk* RV. MS. TB.  
*dyauḥ pitā . . . TB. ApŚ.:* *dyauṣ pitā . . . AV.*  
*dyauḥ pṛṣṭham pṛthivī śarīram* ŚŚ. 10. 17. 4 (as two separate mantras):  
*dyauṣ pṛṣṭham antarikṣam . . . ŚB. KŚ.*  
*upahūto dyauṣ* (TB. ApŚ. *dyauḥ*) *pitā* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.  
*upā mām dyauṣ* (TB. ApŚ. *dyauḥ*) *pitā hwayatām* VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.  
*jyotiṣ* (MS. LŚ. *jyotiḥ*) *paśyanta* (MS.<sup>o</sup> *tā*) *ullaram* RV. MS. KS. CbU. LŚ.

*jyotiṣ* (SV. *\*tiḥ*) *paśyanti vāsanam* RV. SV. KS.

*yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS. and most mss. of AV. *pituh*) *pitāsat* AV. VS.:  
*yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ* (TA. *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. TA. N.: *yas tad veda savituh* (MahānU. *sa pituh*) *pitāsat* TA. MahānU.  
*aham id dhi pituṣ* (MG. *pituh*) *pari* RV. AV. SV. Vait. MG.  
*sa idhāno* (KS. ms. *edh*<sup>o</sup>, ed. emends) *vasuṣ* (MS. *vanuh*) *karib* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*haviṣ* (HG. MG. *haviḥ*) *kr̥vantah parivatsarīṣam* (HG.† SMB.† *\*ṇām*, MG. *\*yam*) AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG.

*yasya dvārā manuṣ* (SV. *manuh*) *pitā* RV. SV.  
*mṛtyoh* (VSK. *\*yoṣ*) *pāhi* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.  
*citraḥ śiśuh* (MŚ. *śiśuṣ*) *pari . . . RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.*

*āyoḥ patmane svāhā* KS.: *āyoṣ patrane svāhā* ApŚ.  
*āviṣ* (MS. *āvih*) *kr̥ṇuṣva dvairyāny agne* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
*apālām . . . triṣ* (ApMB. MG. *trih*) *pā*<sup>o</sup> RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG.  
*parṇe vō vasatiṣ* (TS. MS. *\*tiḥ*) *kr̥ta* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*nīḥ kravyādān nūdāmasi* (MS. *nudassa*) AV. MS.: *nīṣ kravyādān sedha* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *nīṣ kravyādām anīnabat* RV. AV. MG.

[*svādus* (AV. °*duh*; but most mss., SPP., and Whitney °*duṣ*) *kilāyaṣ*  
*mādhumān utāyam* RV. AV. AB. ApŚ.]

#### ALTERATION OF FINAL *r* BEFORE *h* AND *p*

§968. Among the variants occur only three *pādas* belonging here, and they all concern the word *svarpati*. This occurs in that form in RV. (three times), AV. and KS. (once each), while in SV. (three times) and PB. (once) it occurs in the form *svahpati*. This accords with RPr. 258 (4. 12), which requires *sva* before any voiceless sound in composition (otherwise *h*). APr. ignores the case, which does not come within its purview since it occurs in Book 20, which the Pr. does not treat. The *pādas* are:

*yuvāṁ hi śhah svarpatī* (SV, PB. *svahpati*) RV, SV, PB.

*dātrasyāgne svarpatih* (SV. *svahpatiḥ*) RV, SV, KS.

*svahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV.; *svarpatiṁ yad īm vṛdhe* RV, AV.

#### FINAL *s* BEFORE INITIAL SIBILANT (NOT FOLLOWED BY A CONSONANT)

§969. In this case RPr. 251, 253 allows either *h* or retention of the sibilant, except in cases where the initial is altered to *ṣ* by the influence of a non-*a* vowel preceding the final *s*, in which case the final *s* must be assimilated to *ṣ*. A violation of this rule is permitted in Aufrecht's edition and Müller's *editio princeps* in the first variant quoted below, *niṣṣahamāno* . . .; Müller's editions of 1873 and 1877 read *niṣṣah*<sup>2</sup> in accordance with the Pr. rule. VPr. 3. 8 f. quotes opposing views of different authorities and does not decide between them; according to Weber the mss. of both VS. and VSK. generally write *h*. APr. 2. 40 requires assimilation of the sibilant, but according to Whitney the mss. of AV. generally write *h*, and the edition usually follows them. TPr. 9. 2 also requires assimilation of the sibilant, but Whitney says that the mss. of TS. generally write *h*, and this practice Weber seems to have generalized in his edition.

§970. The few variants recorded in the Concordance indicate that in most texts *s* in these circumstances appears as *h*, whether absolutely final or in compounds. In KS. however it is always retained or assimilated, according to Von Schroeder's edition (cf. his *Einleitung*, p. XII); the Concordance rarely takes note of this habit of KS., and it has not seemed worth while to collect such cases here. Among the variants, the RV. retains or assimilates the sibilant in about half the cases (five in all); but in several of these Müller prints *h* instead. According to the Concordance (based on the Bibl. Ind. edition), TB. also



retains the sibilant three times; but in all of these the Poona ed. has *h*. ApMB. also retains or assimilates the sibilant (see Winternitz, p. xlviii); but again the Concordance usually ignores this. All other texts would seem to write *h*. [But it is impossible to say how much this is due to editorial systematization on the one hand, and on the other to the failure of the Concordance to record readings with the sibilant, which evidently did not seem to Bloomfield worth recording when he was preparing the Concordance. In this opinion I agree with him; and I consider the following list of variants of extremely slight value. F. E.]

§971. The following variants have been noted:

*nihśahamāno* (SV. *niśsa*°) *yamate nāyate* RV. SV. On the RV. reading see the preceding paragraph.

*vakṣaḥsu* (RV. *vakṣassu*; but Müller: °*h*su) *rukma upāśikriyāṇāḥ* RV. MS. TB.

*vardhanam puruniṣṣidhe* (SV. °*niḥṣidhe*) RV. SV.

*pr̥ṣutūrṣu kravassu* (AV. and Müller's RV. °*h*su) *ca* RV. AV.

*vr̥ṣā na kruddhaḥ patayad rajase* (AV. and Müller's RV. °*h*sv) *ā* RV. AV.

*haviḥ haviṣṣu vandyah* (SV. *haviṣṣu tvandyah*) RV. SV.

*kriyanta* (TB. *priyā ta*) *ā barhiḥ* (KS.† TB. °*hi*s, but TB. Poona ed. °*hiḥ*) *sīda* RV. AV. KS. TB.

*uta aranyāniḥ* (TB. °*ni*s, but Poona ed. °*niḥ*) *śayam* RV. TB.

*upa nah* (KS.† TB. *nas*, but TB. Poona ed. *nah*) *sūnaso girah* RV. SV. VS. KS. TB.

*idam devānām idam u nah* (KS. *idam nas*) *saha* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*satyā eṣām* (AG. *etā*) *āśiṣah* (ApMB. °*ṣas*) *santu* . . . VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

#### FINAL *s* BEFORE SIBILANT PLUS CONSONANT

§972. RPr. 255 (4. 12) prescribes the dropping of the *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant. So also VPr. 3. 12. TPr. 9. 1 quotes a rule of one teacher to the same effect; the comm. and Whitney regard this as intended to be binding, and according to Whitney the mss. of TS. generally follow it. APr. contains no such prescription, but the AV. mss. observe the practice in a majority of cases, and Whitney says that it has been observed uniformly in the Berlin edition (see his note on APr. 2. 40). This appears to be not quite true; cf. the variants *hotra-ridah stōmatayāso* . . . AV. 18. 3. 47b, and *maulvah ścotanty* . . . AV. 20. 88. 3d.

§973. None of the Prātisākhya authorize the dropping of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant; but the comm. on TPr. 9, 1 says that 'some' prescribe the dropping even then.

#### 1. Final *s* before sibilant plus surd consonant

§974. The usage varies somewhat arbitrarily in manuscripts and editions; and it is not always clear to what extent editors have been guided by the actual readings of the mss. Aufrecht's edition of RV. follows the Prātisākhya rule, dropping *s* before sibilant plus surd; but Müller's edition always prints *h*, at least in the variant pādas, and we believe otherwise. Benfey's edition of SV. is apparently not wholly consistent: of the two variant pādas noted, one drops the *s*, the other reads *h*. On AV. see above, §972. In TS., Weber's edition apparently always drops the *s*; at least the variants record no contrary case. The same is true of Weber's edition of VS. Von Schroeder's edition of MS. always prints *h*; but the editor tells us (Einleitung to Vol. 1, p. XLII) that this was done in defiance of his mss., which generally follow the custom of most texts and drop *s*. On MŚ. and MG. cf. Knauer, Einleitung to MG., p. xxxviii; it appears that the mss. of these texts vary greatly, but that Knauer undertook to print *h* generally; among the variants we have noted only one case where he failed to do so, *yas ts drapsa skandati* MŚ. 2. 4. 3. 29a. The mss. of KS. usually, and von Schroeder's edition apparently always, keep the final sibilant, assimilating it to a following palatal or lingual sibilant; in most cases the Concordance ignores this habit of KS., quoting its readings with *h* like those of MS.

§975. Most other texts seem usually to drop the *s*, at least in the repeated mantras. But evidently the mss. of many of them are inconsistent. It will be noted, in our list of variants, that TB, especially varies, seemingly at random, and that the Bibl. Ind. and Poona editions are often at variance on the point. ŚŚ. likewise shows a number of cases of *h* where other texts drop the sibilant. Instructive is the repetition in the same text of ŚG. of the mantra *mā no hīnsīh* (*hīnsī*) *sthaviram* . . ., with and without *h*; we must assume that so careful an editor as Oldenberg followed his mss. in both cases, and he reports no v.l. to either.

§976. [In recording the variants on this point, I have taken the liberty of applying certain *paribhāṣā* rules. It would certainly have been futile to record individually all the cases in which Von Schroeder and Knauer insert *h* in MS., MŚ., and MG. against the evidence of their mss.



Likewise in the case of KS. there would be no point in recording every occurrence of the retained or assimilated sibilant, altho in this case the editor appears to have followed the general custom of his mss. The Concordance itself, as stated above, usually ignores this habit of KS. When, therefore, in the following list, a variant is stated to be found in MS., MŚ., MG., or KS., it is to be understood, in default of statement to the contrary, that the printed editions of the three first-named texts read *h*, and that of KS. reads *s* (or *ś*, *ṣ* when these sibilants follow). Likewise in quotations from the RV. it is to be understood that the form quoted, without sibilant or *h*, is found in Aufrecht's edition, while Müller's edition in every case reads *h*.—I would add that in view of the evidently arbitrary way in which this matter is treated both in mss. and by editors generally, I cannot attribute very much significance or importance to the variants recorded.—F. E.]

§977. The list of variants concerning final *s* before sibilant plus surd—to be interpreted in accordance with the *paribhāṣā* just stated—is as follows:

*pra tad viṣṇu* (TB. Poona ed. *viṣṇuḥ*; AV.† *viṣṇu*; ŚŚ. [prattika] †*pra tad viṣṇur iti*) *stavate* . . . RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. NrpU.

*ya* (ŚŚ. *yah*) *strīyām* . . . VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.

*viṣṇo* (TB. *viṣṇoh*) *stupo* (*stāpo*). 'ai VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*viṣṇo* (TB. *viṣṇoh*) *sthānam asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*saṁsṛāvacbhāgā* (or, *saṁsṛava*°; TB. °*bhāgāḥ*) *stheṣā* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

*huta* (TB. *hutaḥ*) *stokah* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*hotrāvida* (AV. °*vidah*, TB. °*rdha*, Poona ed. °*rdhaḥ*) *stomatagṛīto* . . . RV. AV. MS. TB.

*vīprca* (TB. Poona ed. 1. 3. 3. 6. °*caḥ*) *stha* VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. (both readings) KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The same with *savīprca* . . .

*andha sthāndho* . . . VS. ŚB. KŚ.: *ambha* (ApŚ. *ambhaḥ*) *sthāmbho* . . . TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.

*ā na* (ŚŚ. *nah*) *stuta* . . . RV. ŚŚ.

*āyu stha* ApŚ.: *āyuh stha* TB.

*ṛtava* (TB. °*rah*) *stha* . . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*indrawanta* (AB. °*taḥ*) *stuta* (*studhvam*) AB. GB. Vait.

*divs* (TB. *divah*) *skumbha*° . . . VS. VSK. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*pra va* (KB. ŚŚ. *vah*) *spad* . . . RV. KB. ŚŚ.

*prokṣitā* (TB. Cone. °*tā* and °*tāḥ*, Poona ed. both times °*taḥ*) *stha* VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.

- balavijñāya* (SV, °yah) *sthavirah* . . . RV, AV, SV, VS, TS, MS, KS.  
*bṛhadbhīr vōjai* (TB, Poona ed. *vājai*) *sthavirebhīr* . . . RV, MS, KS, TB.  
*bṛhaspati* (TB, Conc. °ti- and °tiḥ, Poona ed. both times °tiḥ) *stotram* VS.  
 MS, KS, TB.  
*madhva* (AV, °vah) *ścotanty* . . . RV, AV.  
*mā no hīnsīḥ* (and, *hīnsī*) *sthaviram* . . . ŚG. (both)  
*mānta* (ApŚ. *māntah*) *sthur* . . . RV, AV, AB, JB, ApŚ, MŚ.  
*mā na stena* . . . RV, KS.: *mā ra* (TB, Poona ed. *ra* and *vah*) *stena* . . .  
 RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, TB.  
*yaś te drapsa* (ŚŚ, Vait, *drapsah*; MŚ, *drapsa*) *skandati* . . . RV, VS, TS.  
 KS, GB, ŚB, Vait, MŚ, ŚŚ.  
*ye devā devasūva* (TB, °vah) *stha* . . . TS, TB.  
*vāyava* (TB, °vah) *stha* VS, TS, MS, KS, GB, ŚB, TB, KŚ, ApŚ, MŚ.  
*upāyava* (TB, °vah) *stha* TS, KS, ŚB, TB, KŚ, ApŚ.  
*prāṇah stah* TB.: *prāṇa stah* ApŚ.  
*stokā* (TB, Poona ed. *stokāḥ*) *ścotanti* . . . RV, MS, KS, AB, TB.  
*suhūtakṛta stha* ApŚ.: *suhūtakṛtah stha* AŚ.  
*sūryatvacasa* (TB, Poona ed. °sah) *stha* VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, TB, MŚ.  
*gira* (ApŚ. *girah*) *stomāsa īrate* RV, AV, SV, MS, ApŚ.  
*cakṣu* (TB, *cakṣuh*) *sthaś* . . . TB, ApŚ.  
*cīta* (TB, *cītah*) *stha* TS, MS, ŚB, TB, ApŚ, MŚ.  
*cīta* (ApŚ, once out of four times, and TA, twice out of three times acc.  
 to Conc., all three times acc. to Poona ed., *cītah*) *stha pari*? . . .  
 VS, TS, KS, TA, ApŚ, KŚ.  
*prati tvā diva* (TB, *divah*) *skambhanir vetu* (TB, Poona ed. *†vetu*) TS, TB.  
 [†*trīṇave †maruḥ* (Conc. °tah for VS.) *stutāḥ* (°tami) VS, MS, KS.]  
 [†*dhruvam aśi dhruvata* (Conc. °tah for ApMB.) *sthitam* ApMB, HG.]

## 2. Final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant

§978. Here the regular usage of nearly all texts, and the prescriptions of all the Prātiśākhya, require *h*. In KS., just as before sibilant plus surd, the final *s* is retained, or assimilated to an initial palatal or lingual sibilant; again, as in the preceding group, the Concordance usually ignores this, and quotes KS. as reading *nīarga* like other texts. The only text noted which regularly drops the final *s* is ApMB.; see Winternitz's Introduction, p. xlviii. It appears, however, that the mss. of some other texts show the same dropping of *s* not infrequently. Especially is this true of AV.; see Whitney's note on APr. 2, 86, and on his Translation of AV., 6, 121, 1. The Bibl. Ind. editions of TB. and TA. show the dropping of *s* a number of times, but the Poona editions of the same



works print *h* in most of these cases. There is even one case in MS. which seems to have eluded the editorial vigilance of von Schroeder: *syonā* (for *syonāh*, so ApŚ.) *syonena ghrtena nā samukṣata*, MS. 4. 2. 5. Otherwise the variants which show lack of *h* are rare and sporadic.

§979. [Again, as in the preceding section, the following list is to be interpreted with two *paribhāṣā* rules, viz.: 1. KS. always retains or assimilates the sibilant, tho this fact is usually not recorded in the Concordance.—2. Variants in which the sibilant is dropped in ApMB. alone are excluded from the list, since this dropping takes place universally in that text.—F. E.]

§980. The variants of final *s* before sibilant plus sonant consonant are as follows:

*svapnaḥ svapnādhikaraṇe* RVKh.: *svapna svapnādhikaraṇena* AV. The latter is to be understood with *svāpna(h)* nom., not voc.; Edgerton, *AJP* 35. 438ff.

*medasaḥ* (VSK. °sa) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.

*yā devy asīṣṭake prāṇadā . . . cakṣurdāś* (ApŚ. °dā) *śrotradā . . . dyaurdās* (ApŚ. °dā) *svardāḥ . . . KS. ApŚ.: yā devy asīṣṭaka āyurdāḥ . . . cakṣurdāḥ śrotradāḥ* MS.

*saṁjñānaḥ naḥ* (TB. *na*, but Poona ed. *naḥ*) *see*° . . . RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB.

*ādityebhyaḥ preṣya . . . mahasvasarasya* (MŚ. *mahaḥ sva*°) . . . ŚB. MŚ. ApŚ. See Knauer's note, and pw., Addendum to Vol. 5, s. v. *mahasvasara*.

*avidahantāḥ* (TB. °ta) *śrapayata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*uṣasaḥ śreyasīḥ-śreyasīr dadhat* ApŚ.: *uṣasa śreyasī-śreyasīr dadhat* TB. Conc., but Poona ed. as ApŚ.

*jyog ajitā* (MŚ. *jivā*, SMB. *jītā*, but Jørgensen *ajitā*) *ahatāḥ* (SMB. °tā) *syāma* TS. KS. MŚ. PG. SMB.

*śrotapdāḥ* (AŚ. °pā) *śrotam* . . . TS. MS. AB. AŚ.

*avar* (TS. ApŚ. *suvar*) *ṇa* (TS. ApŚ. *na*) *gharmaḥ* (ApŚ.\* °ma) *vāhā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. (both).

*stutāḥ* (TB. *stuta*, but Poona ed. *stutāḥ*) *śravasyann* . . . RV. MS. KS. TB.

*syonāḥ* (MS. °nā) *syonena ghrtena nā samukṣata* MS. ApŚ.

*svapāyih* (TA. °ṇi, but Poona ed. °ṇih; ŚŚ. *svāhuh*) *vaṅguriḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.

*cittih* (TA. °ti, but Poona ed. °tih) *śruk* MS. TA. ŚŚ. MŚ.

*para.martāḥ parāḥ* (ApŚ. all mss., and TB. Conc. *para*, but TB. Poona ed. *parāḥ*) *svi* VS. TS. MS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*pary āvarte duṣṭapnyāt* (KŚ. *duḥṣva*°, v. 1. *duṣṭa*°) AV. KS. See Whitney's note on 6. 121. 1c for the spelling of this word in the AV. mss.

*duṣvapnyam duritam niḥ* (AV. \**nī*) *ṣvāsmat* AV. (both). Whitney, however, would read *niḥ* in both places—with the Prātiśākhya, but against nearly all the mss.

*duṣvapnahan duruṣṣaha* (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap<sup>o</sup> duruṣṣaha*) TA.: *duḥvapnahan duruṣṣahā* MahānU. Cf. preceding two.

*aśloma* (AV. comm. *akro<sup>o</sup>*) *aśgair ahrulāḥ* (TA. *aślomāṅgair ahr̥tā*, Poona ed. *ahrulāḥ* with v. l. *āṭā*) *averge* AV. TA.

*smuṣā sapatnā* (TB. comm. and Poona ed. text *ānāḥ*) *śvāśuro 'yūm astu* (AŚ. *'ham aśmā*) TB. AŚ. *sapatnāḥ*, nom. pl. masc. (!), seems to be intended in both.

#### INITIAL *s* VARYING WITH *ṣ*

§981. Nothing approaching general rules on this subject comes out of the Prātiśākhyas (RPr. 318 (5. 1) ff., APr. 2. 96 ff., TPr. 6. 1 ff., VPr. 3. 58 ff.). The variants hardly throw much new light on the excellent treatment in Wackernagel, I §§204–7. In practically every case the altered *s* is preceded by an *i* or *u* vowel; TB. reads *ṛksama* for *ṛksama* of other texts (§985), and in a few cases *ṣ* appears after *a*-vowels, always owing to the influence of analogy from other words where an *i* or *u* vowel occurred (§984). *Visarga* after *i* or *u* does not interfere with the alteration: Wackernagel I p. 237, bottom.

§982. In compound verbs the change was regular in all texts (Wackernagel I §204), and we find no variants except one or two compounds of the copula (§987), and except forms where the augment intervenes between the altering sound and the initial *s*. In these latter cases *ṣ* is extremely rare in RV., but becomes common in the other Saṁhitās (Wackernagel I §205a); two of our variants show *ṣ* under such circumstances for RV. *s* (§983). The largest group of variants concerns noun compounds. Here the conditions are confused: the change is quite common, yet by no means universal, in all periods of the Vedic language (Wackernagel I §206). We find in the variants no evidence of school or other tendencies; earlier *s* is replaced by later *ṣ* and vice versa, so far as we can see quite at random. Next comes a somewhat smaller group of cases in which 'light words', monosyllables or forms of the copula, are concerned. Lingual *ṣ* in these is common in the RV., but relatively rare later (Wackernagel I §207); accordingly we find that in most of our variants a later text substitutes *s* for earlier (generally RV.) *ṣ*; but the reverse is also found (§987). Finally, there are a very few sporadic cases of longer uncompound words; in these the change is very rare in post-Rigvedic language; yet our variants show at least one case of *ṣ* in TB. substituted for *s* of RV. (§988).



§983. The following are the variants concerning augmented forms of compound verbs. As stated above, there are no other variants of compound verbs except a few of the copula, see §987:

*vy astabhñā* (VS. ŚB. *askabhñā*, MS. *aṣkabhñā*, KS. *aṣṭabhñā*, TS. *askabhñād*, TA. *aṣṭabhñād*) *rodasī* . . . RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*ād il dhotāram ny asādayanta* (TB. *aṣā*°) RV. VS. TB.

*abhy aṣṭhām* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *asthād*, MS. *asthām*) *vivadh prtanā arātīh* AV. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ.

*tena dasyūn vy asahanta devāh* TS. KS.: *tena devā vy asahanta śatrūn* AV. *yasmād bhīṣā nyasadaḥ* (ŚŚ. *nyasadaḥ*) TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

§984. Coming to noun compounds, we mention first the few anomalous cases in which an *a* vowel precedes, so that the change to *ṣ* is irregular. Four of them contain the Rigvedic words *prtanāṣah* (°*ṣāh*, °*ṣāhya*), which are several times changed in later texts to the more regular °*sah* etc. Whitney's statement (*Grammar*, 186a) about this form is not correct, as the variants show. The *ṣ* is evidently due to the analogy of compounds like *śatrūṣah*, *bhūriṣah*, *obhīṣah* etc.—The only other case contains the TS. form *saṣṭubh*, which is obviously analogous to *triṣṭubh*, *anusaṣṭubh*, as noted by Wackernagel I §206b:

*samstup* (TS. *saṣṭup*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ā vīram prtanāṣaham* (SV. °*saham*) RV. AV. SV.

*tam agne prtanāṣaham* (TS. °*saham*) RV. TS.

*prtanāṣāhyāya* (TB. °*sāhyāya*) *ca* RV. AV. VS. TB.

*uccoirvāji prtanāṣāt* (HG. °*sāham*) RVKh. HG.

§985. Twice in the same passage of TS. occurs the stem *ṛksamā*, for *ṛksama* of the others; this is the only case where the alteration is due to a preceding *k* (cf. Wackernagel I p. 237, top):

*jagatyā ṛksamam* (TS. *ṛksamam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ṛksamāc* (TS. *ṛksamāc*) *chukraḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§986. The remaining cases concern a preceding *i* or *u* or diphthong. In GB. 1. 5. 25d, quoted in Conc. as *viṣkandham enaḥ vidhṛtaḥ projāni*, Gaustra reads *viṣkandham* . . . *viṣṭam* . . .

*abhiṣiro abhiṣatā* (KS. °*ṣatā*) *sahojāh* (AV. MS.† KS. *sahojit*) RV. AV.

SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Many mss. of AV., followed by the comm. and SPP.'s ed., also read *abhiṣatā*.

*stotā me goṣakhā* (SV. *gosakhā*) *syāt* RV. AV. SV.

*prthiviṣadam* (MS. *prthivī*°; VS.† °*sadam*) *teāntariṣasadam* (VS.† adds, *divisadam devasadam*) . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*devo savitah susāvitram* (ApŚ. *suṣā*°) . . . PB. KŚ. ApŚ.

*rayisthāno* (AV. °sthāno) *rayim asmāsu dīehi* RV. AV.  
*susamiddho* (RV. *susā*°) *na ā vaha* RV. SV. PB. LŚ.  
*susamiddho* (KS. TB. *susa*°) *vareṇyah* VS. MS. KS. TB.  
*susamiddham* (TB. *susa*°) *vareṇyam* VS. TB.  
*susadam* (ŚŚ. *susatyam*) *id gavām* . . . AV. ŚŚ.  
*ye trisaptāḥ* (MS. *tris*°) *pariyanti* AV. MS.  
*trisaptāso* (TB. *tris*°) *marutah* . . . AV. TB.  
*utkūlanikūlebhyas trisṭhinam* VS.: *utkūlavikālābhyām trisṭhinam* TB.  
*amba nīspara* (TS. ApŚ. *nīspara*, KS. *nīspara*, MS. *nīsmara*) VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. In VS. ŚB. divide *nīspara*; the rest belong here.  
*somanētrebhyo* . . . *uparisadbhyo* (VSK. °zadbhyo) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.  
*ye devāḥ somanetrā uparisado* (VSK. °zado) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.: *ye devā upariṣado* (KS.° *das*) . . . MS. KS.  
*vrajam gacha gosthānam* (VS. ŚB. TB. *goṣṭhānam*, but TB. Poona ed. °sth°) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*kṣṇagrīvaḥ śīlikakṣo 'ñjivakṥhas* (MS. °zakṥhas) *ta aindrāgnāḥ* VS. MS.  
*añjivakṥhāya* (KSA.† °zakṥhāya) *vāhā* TS. KSA.  
*duṣvapnahan duruṣyaha* (Poona ed. *duṣṣvap*° *duruṣṣaha*) TA.: *duṣvapnahan duruṣvahā* MahānU.

§987. Next we come to the group of monosyllables or forms of the copula. In one or two of these *s* of RV. is replaced by *ṣ* in a later text: *druhaḥ pāśān* (TS. KS. *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣā*) *mucṣṣa* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*apo su* (MS. *ṣu*) *myakṣa* . . . RV. MS.

But in most of them the change is in the opposite direction: *krdhī ṣv* (TS. *sv*) *asmāḥ* . . . RV. TS. MS. KS.  
*prati śma* (SV. *śma*) *deva riṣataḥ* (SV. *ri*°) RV. SV. MS. KS. TB.  
*pratī śma* (AV. *śma*) *rakṣaso dāha* (AV. *jahī*) RV. AV.  
*astī hi śmā* (TS. MS. KS. *astu śma*) *te śuṣmīnn arayāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vayaṁ ghā te api śmasi* (SV. *śmasi*) RV. SV.  
*anupūrcvaṁ yatamānā yatī śtha* (AV. *stha*) RV. AV.  
*dīvi ṣaṇ* (AV. *ṣaṇ*, SV. *saṇ*) *chukra ātataḥ* RV. AV. SV.  
*dīvi śad* (RV. *śad*) *bhūmy ā dade* RV. SV. VS.  
*āfi ṣa* (SV. *sa*) *brhato divaḥ* RV. SV.  
*pari śya sūrdno akṣāḥ* RV.: *pari śya svāno akṣarat* SV.; cf. *pari śya sūrdno arpayam* RV.  
*tasmād āpo anu śthana* (TS. *sthana*) AV. TS. MS. KS.

§988. Finally, we come to the few sporadic cases of longer uncom-



pounded words. Note that in the first a later text introduces § where RV. has *z*:

*trīṇī kṛtā trī sahasrāṇy* (TB. *ṣa°*) *agnim* RV. VS. TB.

*ye apsu ṣadānsī* (KS. *°psu sadānsī cakṛire* MS. KS.: *teṣāṃ apsu sadas kṛtam* RVKh.

*apsu dhautasya te deva soma* (TS. tr. *soma deva te*) *nṛbhīḥ ṣṭulasya* (KS. *nṛbhīs stu°*, TS. PB. *nṛbhīḥ sūlasya*) . . . TS. MS. KS. PB. The mss. of MS. read *nṛbhi*, which von Schroeder as always (cf. §974) changes to *nṛbhīḥ*; but the presence of final *h*, as noted above, would have no influence here in any event.

*pari bhrātuh pari ṣvasuh* HG. ApMB.: *pari mātuh pari ṣvasuh* PG.

*vāyo ve* (TS. ApŚ. *vīhi*) *stokānām* (VSK. *°nām juṣāṇah*, KS. *ṣṭokānām*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. KS.† 3. 6 (with *†re*, not *reṣ*).

#### SECONDARY CRISIS, AND HIATUS

§989. Secondary crisis or double sandhi occurs rarely among the variants. Most of the cases quoted below are capable of different morphological or lexical interpretations without assumption of double sandhi. There are however a few cases where it is clearly found, and we shall begin with one from MG., which according to Knauer (p. xxxviii f.) has it quite frequently:

*dhruvā strī patikule iyam* (MG. *°kuleyam*) SMB. MG. In SMB., also, the v. l. *°kuleyam* is recorded, as well as *°kula iyam*, which is the regular form and would seem preferable to the reading adopted by the editor, *°kule iyam* (with complete hiatus).

*uo chuṣmā oṣadhīnām* (AV. *chuṣmauṣ°*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Whitney would 'probably' read *chuṣmā* (for *°maḥ*) *oṣ°*; this is supported by Ppp., cf. Whitney's note and Barret, JAOS 35. 50 f.

*vīśāḍītyāḥ* [pratikā] MG. This probably refers to the formula *vīśva* (PG. text *trīśve*, with hiatus) *āḍītyā vasavaś ca devāḥ* (MG. *sarve*) AG. PG. MG. All mss. of MG. (in the pratika) read *vīśvād°*.

*sahasradhāre 'va* (AV. *°dhāra eva*) *te sam asvaran* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. Whitney, note on AV. 5. 6. 3, suggests that RV. stands for *°dhārāḥ*, with double sandhi. The RV. p.p. reads *°dhāre, ava*. Oldenberg, *Noten*, would read *avate* as one word, keeping *°dhāre* of p.p. The whole verse is difficult and obscure.

*anāmayaiddhi* etc., see §344.

§990. All the remaining cases permit, if they do not compel, interpretations of both forms of the variant without assuming double sandhi.

They are, however, similar enough to the foregoing to be worth quoting in this context:

*ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ.: *ado māgachatu* MS. KS. MŚ. (not ApŚ. which in 4. 13. 8 reads *īma āga*<sup>o</sup>)—In ApŚ. *me*, in the others *mā*.

*māgadhaḥ puṁścaliḥ kitavaḥ klībo 'śūdrā abrahmanās* (VSK. . . 'śūdrā-brāhmaṇās) *te prajāpatyāḥ* VS. VSK. Two separate words in VS., a compound in VSK. So also in the following; cf. the section on False Divisions, which contains other somewhat similar cases that might perhaps also be mentioned here.

*aślonā* (AV. comm. *akro*<sup>o</sup>) *aṅgair ahrutāḥ* (TA. *aślonāṅgair ahrūtā*, Poona ed. *ahrutāḥ*, v. 1. <sup>o</sup>*tā*) *svargo* AV. TA. 'Unmaimed in limbs', or 'with unmaimed limbs'. Cf. preceding.

*ākrayāyā ayogūm* VS.: *ākrayāyāyogūm* (so Poona ed. text and comm.) TB. Different genders; fem. in VS., masc. in TB.

*saha ojaḥ* (VS. *sahaujaḥ*; VSK. *sahojāḥ*) VS. VSK. AB. GB. AŚ. Vait. In VS. VSK. *saha* plus *ojaḥ* (on VSK.'s sandhi see §731); in the others, *sahas* plus *ojaḥ*. The latter form is probably original.

*yathaika r̥ṣir* (KS. <sup>o</sup>*karsir*) *viśānate* KS. TA. ApŚ. See §919, end.

*yā* (MS. *ya*) *iśavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. Serpents are referred to: 'who are missiles of sorcerers' is certainly original, yet KS. makes reasonable sense: 'either in whom are sorcerers' . . . (correlative with the following, which see). But it is clearly based on *yā* (or *ya*) *iśavo*, mispronounced with secondary crasis.

§991. From a purely external standpoint, the variants concerning hiatus are indistinguishable from those concerning double sandhi: or they may be called the converse of them. In the cases of double sandhi, the form with hiatus is regular; in those we are about to give, it is irregular. A fitting bridge between the two is formed by a group of variants in which a secondary text resolves a long vowel or diphthong incorrectly, leaving a secondary hiatus, or at least one whose historicity is questionable:

*utā śravasā* (MS. *śravasa ā*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA. The p.p. of MS. reads *śravasaḥ ā*; but both meter and sense show that the MS. has a stupid blunder.

*yad indra citra mehanā* (SV. PB. *ma iha na*) RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. See §532.

*vazneva* (KS. *vazna iṣa*) *vikrīṇāvahai* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. Since the uncombined form was a neuter nom.-acc. plur. of an *a*-stem (*vazna*), it seems that we are to understand it as *vaznā* (so MS. p.p.), rather



than *rasna*. We have, then, in KS, perhaps a case of what may be called partial sandhi, that is shortening of a long vowel before a following vowel, as in *ā-ṛ* = RV. etc. *a-ṛ*; cf. Wackernagel I §267b for such shortenings before other vowels than *ṛ*. Otherwise KS. would be a mere blunder, like MS. in the preceding. Cf. the next. *sapatnā vācam manasā* (AŚ. °sa) *upāsātām* TB. AŚ. 'His (or, my) rivals shall obey his (or, my) word with their minds'. Both texts must intend *manasā*; TB. has complete hiatus, while AŚ. (if the text is correct; we have not much faith in the edition) shows 'partial sandhi'; see under the preceding variant. The meter is against fusion. See also the variant *praty etā vāmā* (*sunvan*) etc., §357.

§392. The rest concern cases of complete hiatus, except in so far as they may be capable of different formal or lexical explanations. It will be noticed that the meter sometimes favors the hiatus, as in the variant last quoted:

*bhūyo vā atah somo rājārhati* (MŚ. *rājā arhati*) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. All Knauer's mss. read thus for MŚ.; Knauer suggests *pluti*. The passage seems to be prose, but with hiatus as in MŚ. It could pass for a fair jagati pāda.

*pavasa deva āyusak* (RV. *devāyusak*) RV. SV. PB. The accent in SV. (*devd*) indicates a nom. form; but Benfey translates a voc. In any case SV. is secondary, and metri gr.

*pāpmānam utā vāgham* (SMB. *vā agham*) SMB. ApMB. HG. Another case of hiatus for metrical reasons.

*ā pūṣā etv ā vasu* TS.: *ā puṣtam etv ā vasu* AV. Hiatus for metrical reasons in TS.; in AV. the meter is improved without fusion.

*tatra indro bṛhaspatiḥ* VS.: *tatrā* (SV. *tatra*) *no brahmaṇaspatiḥ* RV. SV. Hiatus metri gratia in VS.

*tan mā* (Vait. *mā*) *āpyāyatān punaḥ* GB. Vait. Not only the hiatus, but the meaning of the verb is strange in Vait.. Garbe and Caland take it with active meaning, which it has according to BR. only in one epic passage (Mbh. 5. 508). In GB. (with *me*) there is no hiatus and the verb is intransitive, both improvements. But if *mā* be read, hiatus is necessary to give good meter.

*sam teḥ riṇanti* (Vait. *riṇanti*) LŚ. KŚ. Vait. The hiatus in Vait. may be connected with pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ri*, see §670.

*punantu ṛṣayaḥ* TA. MahānU. Hiatus in both forms.

*daivya hotārdagna* (MS. °gnā, ŚŚ. *hotārā agnā*) *ājyasya vītām* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Probably ŚŚ. stands for *hotārā*, not °rāu, and therefore has hiatus; see §885d. For *hotārāu* we should expect °rāu in ŚŚ.

*achidrā uṣijah padānu takṣuḥ* TS.: *achidroṣijah kavayah padānutakṣiḥ* (see §627) KS. Keith, 'flawless abodes', as if *achidrā* went with *padā* as in KS.; but TS. p.p. *achidrāḥ*, with *uṣijah*, and so comm. *abhim* (SV. *abhi*) *ṛtasya dohanā unūgata* RV. SV. Cf. *abhim ṛtasya* (SV. *abhy ṛtasya*) *sudughā ghytaścutah* RV. SV. On *m* as "Hiatus-tilger" see §309.

*pitr̥bhyah svadhāstu* (MahānU. *svadhā astu*) TA. MahānU.

§993. With the last variant belongs the next group, all in like contexts; in them we might indeed think of nominatives of the radical *ā* declension (in *ās*) varying with nominatives of the derivative *ā* declension in *ā*. But the uncombined forms occur only in Tait. texts, and according to TS. p.p. and TPr. 5. 2, 10. 13, are to be regarded as uncombined forms of *-mā*, without *s*:

*māsi* MS. MŚ.: *mā asi* TA. ApŚ. Likewise (in MS. TA.) *pramā*, *unmā*, *vimā*, *śaṁmā*, *pratimā*.

*sahasrasya prāmāsi* (TS. *°mā asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The same with *pratimā*, and *sahasrasyonmā*.

§994. The next is different in character:

*manāsi* (KS. *manā asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. All texts have a curious feminine stem (the gender doubtless due to attraction to parallel feminines in the context) which is supposed, no doubt correctly, to mean the same as the normal neuter *manas*. In KS. it has the form of a feminine *s*-stem (nom. *manā's*). In the others it becomes an *ā* stem.

§995. The next group contains textually dubious cases:

*pīlarāś ca upāsate* (VS. *copāś*) RVKh. VS. The hiatus improves the meter; but Scheftelowitz reads *copāsate*, with all his authorities except the late Prayogaratna, which reads *copa dante*, with hiatus in a different place.

*yā medhā apsarāsu* (MG. *medhāpsarāsu*) RVKh. MG. The meter is better, tho still poor, with hiatus. However, most of Knauer's mss. read *medhā aps*° in MG.; and on the other hand Scheftelowitz reads *medhāps*° in RVKh. without report of variant; he also reads *°psarāsu*.

*devā brahmāṇa āgachata āgachata* GB., Cone.: *de° bra° āgachatāgachatagachata* LŚ. But Gaastra reads for GB. *āgachatāgachata*; he notes a v. l. *āgachatā āga*°.

*vibhur vibhārā suṣakhā* (AV. *sakha ā*) *sakhīyate* RV. AV. So the mss. of AV., leaving *sakha* unaccented; SPP. follows them; the vulgate ed. reads *sākhā ā*'. It seems at least possible that the AV. mss. correctly



present the Atharvan tradition; the verse is addressed to Kāma, so that a vocative *sakhe* is conceivable. If we were to accept the vulgate text, we should have a case of hiatus. Whitney in his Transl. assumes *sikhā'* (fusion of *sikhā* and *ā'*).

§996. The variants concerning the pronoun *sa* followed by a vowel constitute a special case. Here crasis was originally the rule, but (especially in late texts) there is a tendency to approach the Classical Sanskrit rule which requires hiatus. The variants are not numerous; in some of them the meter favors hiatus, notably in the first where the RV. itself (tho it writes a combined form) seems by its meter to call for hiatus:

*semān* (AV. *sa imān*) *no havyadātīm juṣāṇaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. Oldenberg, *Noten*, thinks that RV. should probably be read *sa imān*.

*agnir vidoān sa yajāt sed u hotā* (AV. Kauś. *sa id dhotā*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Here both forms are metrically correct, since AV. omits the particle *u*.

*sa imān* (ŚG. *semān*) *devaḥ pūṣā* (also *aryamā*, and *varuṇaḥ*) ŚG. AG. SMB.

*soma āyuṣmān sa oṣadhībhir* (PG. *sauṣa°*) *āyuṣmān* TS. KS. PG. ApMB. This passage is prose. PG. is hyper-archaizing.





## INDEXES





## INDEX OF SOUNDS, SOUND GROUPS, AND LETTERS

Note.—Here are indexed all sounds, combinations, and letters which are treated as varying from a phonetic or graphic standpoint. In so far as they have semantic significance, they are to be sought rather in the following Sanskrit Index. For example, *ā* as a sound, and *ya* as a phonetic combination (which varies with *i*, *ī*, and *e*), are treated here; but *d* the preposition or privative prefix, and *ya* the suffix, are listed in the Sanskrit Index. All references in all the indexes are to sections.

- a*, epenthetic, 755, 763; elided before *e*, *o*, 709, 731; sandhi of initial (after *e*, *o*) 891-911; sandhi of final, with *r*, 913-7, 919;—and *ā*, 422-512; *i*, 570-596; *ī*, 600; *u*, 601-618; *ū*, 621; *r*, 631-4; *a* plus nasal, and *ā*, 300-2
- aya*: and *e*, 744-6
- ayi*: and *ai*, 747
- ar*: and *r*, 573, 575; *ar*, 603, 615; *r*, 647-651; *ra*, 806
- ar*: and *ur*, 601-4
- ava*: and *ā*, 760; *o*, 748-9
- avi*, *ave*: and *e*, 747
- ā*, sandhi of final, with *r*, 913-8;—and *a*, 422-612; *i*, 599; *ī*, 607-8; *u*, 620; *ū*, 619; *r*, 632; *prā*, 873; *a* plus nasal, 300-2
- āya*: and *e*, 747
- ār*: and *r*, 632
- i*, epenthetic, 751-784;—and *a*, 570-596; *ā*, 599; *iya*, 734; *ī*, 513-545; *u*, 622-7; *r*, 635-640; *e*, 686-694; *ai*, 699-700; *du*, 878; *ya*, *yā*, 733-8; *ya*, 730, 733; *i* plus nasal, and *ī*, 300-2
- iy*: and *y*, 766-798
- iya*: and *i*, 734; *e*, 747
- iye*: and *e*, 747
- ir*: and *ar*, 573, 575; *r*, 653
- ī*: and *a*, 600; *ā*, 597-8; *ī*, 513-545; *u*, *ū*, 628; *r*, 638; *e*, 695-8; *ai*, 701-2; *ya*, 734-5; *yā*, 737; *ya*, 738; *i* plus nasal, 300-2
- iy*: and *y*, 786
- u*, epenthetic, 759, 761, 765;—and *a*, 601-618; *ā*, 620; *i*, 622-7; *ī*, 628; *u*, 546-569; *r*, 641-3; *ī*, 645; *o*, 713-9; *au*, 724; *va*, *vā*, 739-742; *ei*, *ei*, 743
- ur*: and *ar*, 605, 615; *r*, 654
- ur*: and *ar*, 601-4; *e*, 766-798
- ū*: and *a*, 621; *ava*, 750; *ā*, 619; *ī*, 628; *u*, 546-569; *r*, 644; *r*, 644; *o*, 720-3; *au*, 725-7; *va*, 739; *ei*, 743
- ār*: and *r*, 655
- r*, sandhi of, with preceding *a*, *ā*, 913-9;—and *a*, 631-4; *ā*, 632; *i*, 635-640; *ī*, 638; *u*, 641-3; *ū*, 644; *a*, 646; *ar*, 647-651; *ār*, 652; *ir*, 653; *ur*, 654; *ār*, 655; *va*, 656-4, 660, 662-5; *rā*, 657-9, 661; *ri*, 660-670; *ri*, 677; *ra*, 678-684
- r*: and *ā*, 644
- r*: and *u*, 645
- e*: and *aya*, 744-6; *avi*, *ave*, *āya*, 747; *i*, 686-694; *iya*, *iye*, 747; *ī*, 695-8; *ai*, 703-712; *ya*, *yā*, 803
- ai*: and *api*, 747; *i*, 699-700; *ī*, 701-2; *e*, 703-712
- o*, sandhi of final, 885, 887, 889 f.;—and *ava*, 748-9; *u*, 713-9; *ū*, 720-3; *r*, 646; *au*, 728-732; *va*, *vā*, 804
- au*, sandhi of final, 885-6, 888;—and *u*, 724; *ā*, 725-7; *o*, 728-732
- h*, present or absent, 378-384
- h*(*h*), present or absent, 300-310; *na* hiatus-bridger, 308-9
- k*, optional between final *a* and initial *e*, 639;—and *kā*, 81; *y*, 45-9; *ph*, 83; *c*, 126-7; *ch*, 128a; *d*, 135; *ī*, 137-142; *p*, 149-153a; *dh*, 152
- kā*: and *kā*, *kāy*, 190-1

- kṣ*, followed by evanescent *y*, 333, 335;—and *kṣ*, *kṣy*, 190-1; *cṣ*, 184; *is*, 140; *ps*, 153a; *bj*, 196; *ś*, 297  
*kh*: and *k*, 51; *g*, 82; *gh*, 70; *ch*, 129; *ṣ*, 143; *dh*, 147; *b*, 151; *ḍ*, 296; *ṣ*, 295; *h*, 124  
*kṣy*: and *kṣ*, *kṣ*, 190-1  
*g*: and *k*, 45-9; *kh*, 82; *gh*, 83; *c*, 128; *j*, 130-4; *ḍ*, 144-5; *p*, 153; *b*, 151-2  
*gdh*: and *dhe*, or *dāh*, 875  
*gh*: and *k*, 83; *kh*, 70; *g*, 83; *th*, 147; *dy*, 868; *dh*, 147; *ps*, 575; *h*, 123  
*ñ*, sandhi of final, 939;—and *n*, 146  
*c*: and *k*, 126-7; *g*, 128; *ch*, 84; *j*, 50-7; *ṣ*, 155-6; *ḍ*, 158; *p*, 162; *bh*, 878; *v*, 866; *ś*, 195; *z*, 194  
*ch*: and *k*, 128a; *kṣ*, 140, 183-4; *kh*, 129; *c*, 84; *ts*, *ps*, 140, 183, 185-6; *ś*, 195  
*j*: and *g*, 130-4; *c*, 50-7; *jh*, 85; *ṣ*, 156-7; *ḍ*, 159; *dh*, 160; *y*, 192-3; *v*, 876; *ś*, 195; *h*, 196  
*jh*: and *j*, 85  
*t*: and *th*, 86-8; *ḍ*, 58; *ṣ*, 164-5, 167-8, 170; *th*, 170  
*th*: and *t*, 86-8; *v*, 876  
*ḍ*: and *k*, 135; *ṣ*, 58; *ṣ*, 169-170; *th*, 165; *ḍ*, 165-170; *dh*, 169; *r*, 272; *ṣ*, 270-1  
*dh*: and *dh*, 168, 170  
*n*: and *n*, 163, 165, 170, 945-54; *ṣ*, 273  
*l*, optional between final *n* and initial *s*, 938;—and *k*, 137-142; *kh*, 143; *c*, 155-6; *j*, 156-7; *ṣ*, 164-5, 167-8, 170; *ḍ*, 169-170; *th*, 89-96; *ḍ*, 59-68; *dh*, 97-8; *n*, 871; *p*, 180; *bh*, 177; *ṣ*, 878; *ś*, 874  
*tr*: and *v*, 876  
*ts*, followed by evanescent *y*, 333;—and *kṣ*, 140; *ch*, 183, 185; *ps*, 180; and *th*: and *gh*, 147; *ṣ*, 170; *ḍ*, 165; *ṣ*, 89-96; *dh*, 71-8; *y*, 877  
*ḍ*: and *g*, 144-5; *c*, 158; *j*, 159; *ḍ*, 165-170; *ṣ*, 59-68; *dh*, 69-110; *b*, 179; *bh*, 177-8; *y*, 181; *r*, 272a; *ṣ*, 273; *v*, 869  
*du*: and *ṣ*, 878  
*ddh*: and *gdh*, *dbhy*, *dv*, 875  
*dbhy*: and *ddh*, 875  
*dy*: and *gh*, 865  
*dv*: and *ddh*, 875  
*dā*: and *kh*, 147; *gh*, 147; *j*, 169; *ḍ*, 169; *dh*, 168, 170; *ṣ*, 97-8; *th*, 71-8; *ḍ*, 99-110; *p*, 177; *bh*, 172-6; *h*, 122  
*dhe*: and *gdh*, 875  
*n*, sandhi of final, 920-944; present or absent, 300-311; as hiatus-bridger, 300;—and *ś*, 146; *n*, 163, 165, 170, 945-954; *ṣ*, 871; *m*, 181; *r*, 860-5; *ṣ*, 878  
*p*, rhythmic lengthening of *a* before, 433, 460, 464-6;—and *k*, 148-153a; *g*, 153; *c*, 162; *ṣ*, 180; *dh*, 177; *ph*, 111; *b*, 69; *bh*, 112-4; *m*, 203-5; *y*, 867; *v*, 198, 200-2; *ṣ*, 872; *ś*, 874  
*pt*: and *ś*, 874  
*pty*: and *pr*, 875  
*pr*: and *pty*, 878; *śn(y)*, 878; *ś*, 874  
*prā*: and *ḍ*, 873  
*ps*: and *gh*, 875  
*ps*: and *kṣ*, 153a; *ch*, 183, 186; *ts*, 180; end  
*ph*: and *p*, 111; *bh*, 79; *v*, 199  
*b*: and *kh*, 151; *g*, 151-2; *ḍ*, 179; *p*, 69; *ś*, 206-219; *m*, 241  
*bj*: and *kṣ*, 196  
*bh*: and *k*, 152; *c*, 878; *ṣ*, 177; *ḍ*, 177-8; *dh*, 172-6; *p*, 112-4; *ph*, 79; *m*, 242; *v*, 220-2; *ś*, 874; *h*, 116-121  
*m*, present or absent, 300-312; lengthening of *a* and *u* before, 454-5, 468, 549; as hiatus-bridger, 309;—and *n*, 181; *p*, 203-5; *b*, 241; *bh*, 242; *v*, 223-240; *ś*, 870  
*y*, present or absent, 36, 313-347; as hiatus-bridger, 36, 338-344; after two consonants, 314-5, 321-2, 332-7; after palatals, *kṣ*, etc., 332-7; assimilation to adjoining consonant, 408;—and *ig*, 766-798; *iy*, 786; *j*, 192-3; *th*, 877; *ḍ*, 161; *p*, 867; *r*, 244; *ṣ*, 245; *v*, 246-255; *ś*, 877; *h*, 256  
*ya*, *yā*: and *ṣ*, 733-8; *c*, 803  
*gu*: and *ṣ*, 730, 738; *ṣ*, 738; *vi*, 805  
*gd*: and *vi*, 805  
*r*, final, before *k*, *p*, 908; present or absent, 348-357; as hiatus-bridger, 353; after two consonants, 357; assimilated to adjoining consonant, 407; rhythmic lengthening of *i* and *u*



- before, 515-6, 550;—and *d*, 272; *d*, 272a; *s*, 860-3; *y*, 244; *i*, 257-265; *r*, 260-8; *h*, 269
- ra*: and *r*, 656-8, 660, 662-5; *ri*, 573
- rd*: and *ar*, 806; *r*, 657-9, 661
- ri*: and *r*, 666-676; *ra*, 573
- ri*: and *r*, 677
- ru*: and *r*, 678-684
- l*, assimilated to adjoining consonant, 409;—and *d*, 270-1; *s*, 273; *t*, 378; *d*, 273; *n*, 878; *y*, 245; *r*, 257-265
- v*, present or absent, 358-371; *u* hiatus-bridger, 358-362; after two consonants, 367, 370; assimilated to adjoining consonant, 408, 410; rhythmic lengthening of short vowels before, 464-8, 515-6, 520, 547, 550-1; variation of *a* and *u* before, 601-4;—and *u*, 768-798; *c*, 866; *j*, 876; *kh*, 876; *tr*, 876; *d*, 869; *p*, 198, 200-2; *ph*, 199; *b*, 206-219; *bh*, 220-2; *m*, 223-240; *y*, 246-255; *r*, 266-8; *s*, 876; *h*, 269
- va*: and *u*, 739, 741-2; *a*, 739; *o*, 804
- vd*: and *u*, 739-740, 742; *o*, 804
- vi*: and *u*, 743; *va*, 805
- vi*: and *u*, *ü* or *yü*, 743, 805
- di*: and *ti*, 297; *kh*, 296; *c*, *ch*, *j*, 195; *s*, 288-292; *s*, 275-287
- de*: and *ay*, 188
- du(y)*: and *pr*, 878
- s*, rhythmic lengthening of *i* and *u* before, 515-6, 547; for *s* final after non-*a* vowel before *t*, 956-8; for initial *s*, 981-8;—and *kh*, 295; *c*, 194; *p*, 872; *y*, 877; *r*, 876; *i*, 288-292; *s*, 293-4; *h*, 299
- s*, present or absent, 372-7; final after non-*a* vowels before *t*, varies with *s*, 956-8; final before *k*, *p*, 959-967; final before initial sibilant, 969-971; *ditto*, before sibilant plus sord, 972-7, and plus sonant, 972-3, 978-989; initial *s* varies with *s*, 981-8;—and *t*, *p*, *pt*, *pr*, *bh*, 874; *m*, 870; *i*, 275-287; *s*, 293-4; *h*, 298-9
- ay*: and *de* or *s* plus consonant, 187-9
- h*, present or absent, 385-7;—and *kh*, 124; *gh*, 123; *j*, 196; *dh*, 122; *hh*, 116-121; *y*, 256; *r*, *v*, 269; *s*, *i*, 298-9

## SANSKRIT INDEX

Note.—Here are indexed the most important words, roots, stems, and formative elements which are treated in this book as having semantic value (cf. Note at the head of the Index of Sounds etc.): with this exception, that (to save space) words which occur *first* in their respective mantras are, as a general rule, not listed here, since they can be located in the Index of Mantras. The Index of Mantras is therefore to some extent supplementary to this Index, and should be consulted if a word sought is not found here. Of course, not all variant words could be listed here, even with this deduction. It has been the intention to include (a) those of greatest interest and importance, and (b) those which could least easily be found by other means. Nor are the references in this Index completely given to all occurrences of the variant word; only those references are given which deal with the matters most apt to be sought in connexion with the words listed. The Index of Mantras will supply complete references to all occurrences.—In this Index the colon (:) is used in the sense of 'varying with' or 'as a substitute for.' References are to sections.

*a-privative, lengthened*, 470-1

anāsadhri: °dri, 99

akōpāra, 108

agni: agra, 863-4

agnēyāni, 357, 692

agra: agni, 863-4

aghṛṇi: āgh°, 473

anḡhṛṇi: āgh°, 300, 473

acha: achā, 461

atatantha, adadanta, 63

adham: sadam, 110

adhi: abhi, 172

anapatyātām: anapad°, 59

anavapṛgṇa, 55

anaśyato, °śvato, °śato, 255, 408

anaśrū: anaśrū, 407

anūkya: anūpya, 151

antarikṣa, 517

apas: āpas, 498

apīkakṣa: apīpakṣa, 151

apṭu(bhū), 152

abhhuva: abhva, 392, 790

abhi: adhi, 172

abhiśastipāvā: °pā u, 740

abhiṣṭāt, 142

abhva: abhhuva, 392, 790

arśat: arṣat, 285

av (root), 253

avaṣa: °ta, 164

avāktā, 496

aviṣhura: avidhura, 77

aviśvaminvām: aviśvavinām, 236

ajita: as°, 277

asṇ(y)uṣṇi, 337

asṛiv: asṛiv, 277

aṣṭ(h)iva, 80

-as: -āa (in a stems), 502

asamhaya, 121, 124

askra: āskra, 473

asyate: āsy°, 278

ā, preposition, present or absent, 508-9,  
662, 694, 698, 711, 718, 722, 730

ā-: a-, privatives, 470-1

-ā, stem final, shortened, 493

ākkhidate, 401, 405

āghṛṇi: anḡhṛṇi: aghṛṇi, 300, 473

āṇṛhuh: āṇṛdubh, 122

āpas: apas, 498

āvahhūva, 215

āvṛt: rāvat: rāvat, 168, 632

-āa: -aa (in a stems), 502

āskra: askra, 473



- āsyaṇ, 328  
 ikṣva: iyakṣva, 734  
 indh: id, 169  
 id: indh, 169; —: vid etc., 169, 360  
 ugra: ūgra, 567  
 uttara: "rā, 476  
 ud-ac: ud-aj, 53  
 uramdhva: "dhra, 353  
 uruyā, 743, 791  
 urv-: ūrm-, 228  
 urviyā: urvyā, 767, 791  
 ulumbara: "la, 265  
 ulba: ulva, 219  
 uṣṇan (= muṣṇan?), 401  
 ūgra: ugra, 567  
 ūrm-: ūrv-, urv-, 228  
 rṇanti: rinanti, 676  
 ṛabha: ṛṣ, 359  
 eṭagva: eḍagva, 59  
 kakūṭha: kakkaṭa, 68, 401, 607  
 kakud: kakubh, 178  
 kakubha: kakuha, 120  
 kakkaṭa: kakūṭha, 68, 401, 607  
     : katkaṭa, 139  
 kaṇānakā: kaṇṭ, kaṇinikā, 595, 597  
 kayāda: kravyāda, 355  
 kariṣa, 152  
 kavyavāhana: kravya, 353  
 kahya: gahya, 49  
 kāsṭhā: gā, 48  
 kirika: girika, 49  
 kilbiṣa: kilv, 216  
 kirāḥ: kirā, 290  
 kulāṅga: kulūṅga, 607  
 kulikaya: kulikā: kulipaya, 149, 802  
 kulmah = kurmah, 263  
 kuvala: kvala, 767, 782  
 kuṣṭhā: kuṣṭā, 86; —: guṣṭhā, 49  
 kuha: guha, 49  
 kūvara, kūvara, 198  
 kṛṇatti: gr, 48  
 kṛtadvau, 95  
 kṛtta: kṛta, 401  
 kṛtṇāmi: grathnāmi, 47  
 kṛmi: krimi, 668  
 kṛvi: krivi, 673  
 kṛṣṭi: gr, 46  
 ketu, ketaḥ: cetu, cetas, 126  
 kevarta: kai, 708  
 krayi: kravi, krivi, giri, 47  
 kravyavāhana: kravya, 353  
 kravyāda: kayāda, 355  
 krimi: kṛmi, 668  
 krivi: kṛvi, 673; — see krayi  
 kruṣa: krauṣa, 724  
 kilba: kliva, 219  
 kvala: kuvala, 767, 782  
 kṣā: kṣā, khyā, 190  
 kṣayaṅga: kṣepa, 744  
 kṣā: kṣā, khyā, 190  
 kṣiyant: kṣyant, 767, 795  
 kṣu, 183  
 kṣudra(ka): kṣullaka, 262  
 kṣepa: kṣayaṅga, 744  
 kṣyant: kṣiyant, 767, 795  
 khagalya: khṛg, 199, 631  
 kharva: khalva, 265  
 khid: chid, 129  
 khilya: khilla, 408  
 khṛgalya: khag, 199, 631  
 khyā: kṣā, kṣā, 190  
 gabhastī, 151  
 gambh-: gah-, 120  
 galgā: galdā, 144  
 gahya: kahya, 49  
 gāṣṭhā: kā, 48  
 giri-, see krayi  
 girika: kir, 49  
 guggulu: gulgulu, 409  
 gulph: gusp, 111  
 gulbadhānaḥ, 260  
 guṣṭhā: ku, 49  
 guha: kuha, 49  
 gūḥ for guḥ, 558  
 gr: pr, 153  
 grṇatti: kṛ, 48  
 grṣi: kṛṣi, 46  
 gotrahhid: "bhṛd, 636  
 grathnāmi: kṛtṇāmi, 47  
 grabh: grab, 115-6  
 ghoṣad, 83  
 caṇkhudad, 126  
 car: tar, 155  
 carīṣa: jar, 57  
 cākupāna: cākṛp, 645  
 cikitnu, 45

- citra: śvitra, 195, 369  
 cidākoh, 47  
 cubuka, 84  
 cetu, cetas: ketu, ketas, 126  
 cyu(t): ścut etc., 336  
 chid: khid, 129  
 chubuka, 84  
 jaksuḥ: ca\*, 55  
 jagrbhñā, 116  
 jaoman: manman, 856  
 jariṣṣu: car\*, 57  
 jaṣa: jhaṣa, 85  
 jAgryāma: jAgriyāma, 674  
 jigatnu, 45  
 jinv: pinv, 852  
 jmann: dyām, 159  
 jyām: dyām, 159  
 jyut: dyut, 159  
 jhaṣa: jaṣa, 85  
 ta: tya, 345; —: tva-, 365  
 tanakmi: tanaemi, 127  
 tap: tam, 204  
 tar: car, 155  
 tarutra: tarodra, 59  
 tādiknā: "tā, 141  
 tityagdhi: titigdhi, 733  
 tiṣṭhato (for "tu), 715  
 tevi (devi), 21, 66  
 tya: ta, 345; tyam: tvam, 252  
 -tra: -trā (adv. suffix), 451-2  
 tva-: ta-, 365  
 tvam: tyam, 252  
 tviṣ: diviṣ, 60  
 -tha: -thā (adv. suffix), 453-5  
 dā: dhā, 100-6  
 dips: dhips (dabh), 107  
 diā: viā, 869  
 durugyaha, \*evaha, \*śaha, 255, 406  
 durbhūtam: \*dam, 59  
 durhaṇyataḥ: durhṇ\*, 4, 631  
 dūraka: dūragā, 46  
 drbā: drvā: drubā, 219, 679  
 devayat: deva-yaṭ(-ya), 170  
 devakūmā: devrk\*, 633  
 dyām: jmann, 159; —: jyām, 159  
 dyut: jyut, 159  
 drāghuyā, 240, 764  
 drubā: drvā: drbā, 219, 679  
 diviṣ: tviṣ, 60  
 -dha: -dhā (adv. suffix), 453-4  
 dhavani: dhamani, 144, 225  
 -dhā: -dha (adv. suffix), 453-4  
 dhā: dā, 100-6; —: dhr, 350  
 dhāman: nāman, 856  
 -dhi: -dhi, *impr. ending*, 518  
 dhita: bhṛta, 175, 639  
 dhipe: dips (dabh), 107  
 dhur: dhūr, 557  
 dhūr(u)sadam, dhūr(u)śāh-, 759  
 dhr: dhā, 350  
 dhrṣat, dhrṣad, 60, 110  
 dhenukā: \*gā, 48  
 -na: -nā (*instrum. ending*), 458  
 napti: naptri, 357  
 navakṛi: navagat, 46  
 nahṛṣa: nahuṣa, 642  
 nāth: nādhi, 76  
 nāman: dhāman, 855  
 nicanṅkupa: nicunṅk\*: nicumpupa, 150, 605  
 niṣaṅgadhi: "thi: "ti, 77, 93  
 nyemur (ni yemur), 767, 770  
 nyantar (niyantar), 767, 770  
 paḍbāsa: \*vāsa [:\*viāsa], 217, 302  
 paḍbhiḥ: pad\*, 166  
 pad: pād, 499  
 parasevi: \*spi, 198  
 parita: paritta, 404  
 palakṣa, 69  
 paśṭhavāh: prṣ\*, 631  
 pānsura: "la, 261  
 pād: pad, 499  
 pitar: pitār-, 500  
 pitrya: pītrya, 674  
 pinv: jinv, 852  
 pīvas etc.: pīh\*, 211  
 puṣijigṣa: \*ṣṭha, 86  
 purikaya, *see* puli\*  
 puritātā, puri\*, puli\*, puli\*, 263, 532  
 puriṣa, 152  
 purūtama: \*dama, 60  
 puruṣa: pū\*, 566  
 pulikaya, puri\*, pulikā, puliraya, 149, 802  
 pulitātā, *see* puri\*  
 pūruṣa: pu\*, 566



pr: gr, 153; —: bhṛ, 112  
 pr̥canti: vr̥ñjanti, 57, 200  
 pr̥ṇami: pr̥ṇajmi, 55  
 pr̥thivī: "vi, 524  
 pr̥sthavāh: paṣ", 631  
 pr̥ṣvā: pr̥ṣvā, 680  
 prakkhīdate, 401, 405  
 prakhān: praghān, 70  
 pratadvasu, 95  
 pratijagrāham, 808  
 pratīta: pratīta, 404  
 prapharvī: "vi, 524  
 prayakṣu: prayatsu, 140  
 praviśivāṇsam, 808  
 prasutah: prasupah, 180  
 prā, for pra, 429, 439, 465, 512  
 pru: plu, 261  
 pr̥ṣvā: pr̥ṣvā, 680  
 pror̥ṇ(u)vāthām, 767, 797  
 plu: pru, 261  
 phaliga, 46  
 baḍabā, 219  
 badh: vadh, 209  
 bandhura: van", 213  
 bala: vala, 210  
 bal(i)h: valh, 214, 762  
 baṣkiha: vaṣ": bāṣka, 219  
 baṣiṣṭha: vah", 214  
 bākura: vā", 216  
 bāṇa: vāṇa, 218  
 bāla: vāla, 214-5  
 bāṣka, see baṣkiha  
 bīja: vīja, 216  
 bṛh: vr̥h, 212, 215  
 bṛhat: mahat, 241, 634  
 bhū: hu, hū, 119  
 bhūyāma: bhūyāma, 377  
 bhṛ: pr, 112; —: hr̥, 117  
 bhṛta: hita: dhita, 118, 175, 639  
 -ma: -mā (endings of nouns), 459-460  
 maṅgīradāsakau, "gau(h), etc., 49  
 mathavya, 78  
 man: van (roots), 227; (suffixes), 240  
 mant, lengthening of u before, 549  
 mant: vant, vin, varī (suffixes), 238-9  
 manthilava, 77, 597  
 mand: vand, 229  
 manman: janman, 850

mayas: vayas, 232  
 marūka, 81  
 māsmaṣā, māsmaṣā, 294, 632  
 mahat: bṛhat, 241, 634  
 mahānaghal ("naghi"), 83  
 -mā: -ma (noun endings), 459-460  
 māṭṛk (māṭṛk), 21, 66  
 mānthāla, "lava, māndhāla, mānthū-  
 āva, 77, 597  
 mārgmi: mārjmi, 131  
 mṛddha: mṛdhra, 407  
 mṛṇṇā, 294, 632  
 medin: vedin, 231  
 medh-: vedh-(ved-), 109, 230  
 -ya, noun suffix, 313-326; —: iya, 784-7  
 -ya: -yā, gerund suffix, 456-7  
 yati: yatti, 401  
 -yin: -vin, 246-7  
 yunagmi: yunajmi, 131  
 yup: lubh, 113, 245  
 yuva-: yuvā- (pronoun), 504  
 raghusyadaḥ: "taḥ, 64  
 ratha-kṛtsa: "kṛtsa, "grtsa, 46  
 rabh: labh, 262  
 rayyā, rayyai: rāyas, rāye, 396  
 rarāja: lalāja, 265  
 rāyas, rāye: rayyā, rayyai, 396  
 rāvaḥ: rāvat: āvrt, 168, 632  
 riṇanti: ṛṇanti, 676  
 riṣ: liṣ, 261  
 riṣak: riṣat, 142  
 rohita: lohita, 262  
 labh: rabh, 262  
 lalāja: rarāja, 265  
 liṣ: riṣ, 261  
 lubh: yup, 113, 245  
 loka: loga, 46  
 lohita: rohita, 262  
 vadabā, vadavā, 219  
 vadh: badh, 209  
 van: man (roots), 227; (suffixes), 240  
 vanasat: vanar̥ṣad: vanṛṣad, 630  
 vaniṣṭu: "ṣṭhu, 86  
 vant: mant (suffixes), 238-9; lengthen-  
 ing of a, i, before, 467, 520  
 vand: mand, 229  
 vandhura: bah", 213  
 vayas: mayas, 232

- varivaḥ: variyab, 249, 541a  
 varī: vatī, matī (*suffices*), 239  
 vala: bala, 210  
 valh: bal(i)h, 214, 762  
 vaṣkiha: baṣ<sup>o</sup>, bāṣka, 210  
 vas: viś, 281, 576  
 vastya: paṣtya, 108  
 vaḥṣiḥa: baḥ<sup>o</sup>, 214  
 vākura: bā<sup>o</sup>, 216  
 vācam: vājam, 51-2  
 vāpa: bāpa, 218  
 vāyosāvitra, 716  
 vāra: vāla, 261  
 vārdhrāpaṣa: vārdhri<sup>o</sup>, vārhi<sup>o</sup>, 122, 597  
 vāla: bāla, 214-5; —: vāra, 261  
 vicarturam, 156  
 vicrt: vivrt, 866  
 vicrta: vicrtta, 401  
 vitudasya, 65  
 vid: vrdh, 108, 640  
 -vin, *lengthening of a before*, 467; —:  
 -mant, 239; —: -yin, 246-7  
 vipreṇaḥ: vibhrjaḥ, vimrjaḥ, vivrtah, 57  
 viyantu: vyantu, 796  
 vivrt: vicrt, 866  
 viś: diś, 869; —: vas, 281, 576  
 viśvabhā, viśvāha, "hā, 477, 511  
 vīja: bīja, 216  
 vīd: vid: īd, 169, 360  
 vṛkka: vṛkya, 408  
 vṛṇjanti: pṛṇcanti, 57, 200  
 vṛdh: vṛt, 97; —: vid, 108, 640  
 vṛṣeyantām, vṛscantām, 334  
 vṛṣabha: ṛṣ<sup>o</sup>, 359  
 vṛhi: bṛh, 212, 215  
 ved-: vedh-: medh-, 109, 230  
 vedin: medin, 231  
 vyantu: viyantu, 796  
 śak: śik, 571  
 śaktiśai: "iati, 156  
 śabali: śav<sup>o</sup>, 219  
 śam (*root*): śim, 572  
 śam (*particle*): sam, 276, 278, 280  
 śamopyāt, 277  
 śava: śapha, 109  
 śavall: śab<sup>o</sup>, 219  
 śavas etc.: śravas etc., 349  
 śaspiñjara: śasp<sup>o</sup>, 278, 294  
 śāki: āki, 278  
 śābalya: śābulya: śāmulya, 241, 607  
 śāśumāra: śāsu<sup>o</sup>, śāśu<sup>o</sup>, 305, 551  
 śik: śak, 571  
 śitihga: śvi<sup>o</sup>, 369  
 śim: śam, 572  
 śirā: śilā, 263  
 śāsumāra, śāśu<sup>o</sup>: śāśu<sup>o</sup>, 305, 551  
 śakra: śukla, 262  
 śudh: śubb, 173  
 śuśulūkā, 279, 624  
 śūra: sūra, 278, 284  
 śoka: śoca, 126  
 ścut: śeyut: cyu(t), 336  
 śn(y)aptra, 337  
 śrañś: srañś, 277  
 śrama: sṛma, 277  
 śravas etc.: śavas etc., 349  
 śriṣ: śliṣ, 261, 265  
 śru: sru, 274-5, 278, 283  
 śropa: ślopa, 261  
 śliṣ: śriṣ, 261, 265  
 ślopa: śropa, 261  
 śvitihga: śi<sup>o</sup>, 369  
 śvitra: citra, 195, 369  
 śaḥvīśā, 217, 302  
 sa: sam, 306; —: su, 612; —: sva, 364  
 saṁskṛti: saṁskṛti, 374  
 saṁskṛṣya: "kaṣya, "kuṣya, 4, 631  
 sacate: sṛjate, 3, 57, 634  
 saṁjigāire, 387  
 sat(a): sada(a), 60  
 sad: śad, 278  
 sada(a): sat(a), 60  
 sadhriṣu, 353  
 sanīṣa: sanīṣyan, 334  
 sam: sa, 306; —: śam, 276, 278, 280  
 samiddham: saṁpiddham, 39, 635  
 samude (saṁmude?), 401  
 sarira: salila, 264  
 saru: śaru, 278  
 salila: sarira, 264  
 saṁrgmahe: saṁrg<sup>o</sup>, 131  
 saṁpiñjara: śasp<sup>o</sup>, 278, 294  
 sāki: śāki, 278  
 sāviṣak: "ṣat, 142  
 simāh (śi<sup>o</sup>), 275  
 su: sa, 612; —: sva, 741



sūka (śuka), 278  
 suci: śuci, 278  
 suta: stuta, 419  
 subhūtam: °dam, 59  
 sumatiśāru, 180  
 suvāna: svāna, 768, 794  
 suṣīlikā, 279, 624  
 sūra: śūra, 278, 284  
 sṛ: sru, 682  
 sṛkāyīn: °vīn, sṛgāyīn, 48, 247  
 sṛjate: sacate, 3, 57, 634  
 sṛdh: sridh, 672  
 sṛma: śrama, 277  
 senāni: °nī, 523, 527  
 soma: stoma, 419  
 somapitsaru: somaśantsaru, 180  
 skabh: stabh, 137

stuta: suta, 419  
 stoma: soma, 419  
 sthūra: sthūla, 261  
 sraśe: śraśā, 277  
 sravañ: srotyā, 749  
 sri: śri, 278  
 sridh: sṛdh, 672  
 sru: sṛ, 682; —: śru, 274-5, 278, 283  
 srotyā: sravati, 749  
 sva: su, 364; —: su, 741  
 svasūr: svasṛ, 644  
 svāna: suvāna, 768, 794  
 harīśaya: harī°, harā°, 521, 597  
 hita: bhṛta, 118, 639  
 hu, hū: bhū, 119  
 hr: bhṛ, 117  
 hrda: hrada, 658

## SUBJECT INDEX

References are to sections

- Ablaut: see Gūpa, Vriddhi, Sampra-sāraṇa, and under the various vowels and diphthongs in the Index of Sounds etc.
- Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: prefers *r* to *l*, 259
- Āpastamba Mantra Brāhmaṇa: drops final *s* before sibilant plus sonant, 978
- Aspirates: and non-aspirates, 80-114; and *h*, 23, 115-124
- Assimilation and dissimilation: of consonants, 38, 139, 406-416; of vowels, 416a, 601-5, 607, 609, 622-4, 678-680
- Atharva Veda and its school: prefers *śubh* to *śukh*, 173; *varīyaś* for *varīcaś*, 249; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885a; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 915; final *s*: *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957; final *s* before sibilant plus sonant, 978; Book 20 has *l* for *ḍ*, 270
- Consonants: double and single (in conjunction with other consonants) 389-392, (between vowels) 393-405; simplification of groups, 417-421 (see also 314-5, 321-2, 332-7, 357, 367, 370); optional dropping of mute between nasal and other consonant, 417-8; see also Assimilation
- Denominative stems in *aya*, *āya*, 478; in *īya*, *īya*, 534; in (ī)ya, 786
- Dentals: and gutturals, 136-147; labials, 148-153; linguals, 25, 163-170; palatals, 24, 154-161
- Diphthongs: 41-2, 685-750
- Dissimilation, see Assimilation
- Dittology, 810-3
- Epenthesis of vowels, 43, 751-798
- False divisions 814-840
- Gerunds in *ya*, *yā*, 450-7
- Graphic variants, 858-878
- Gūpa (normal Ablaut grade), 570-3, 582-3, 601-5, 615, 647-651, 686-8, 696, 713-5, 720
- Gutturals: and dentals, 136-147; labials, 148-153; linguals, 135; palatals, 125-134
- Hapology, 807-9, 812-3
- Hiatus, 991-6; hiatus-bridger (Hiatus-tilger), nasals *as*, 308-9; *y* *as*, 36, 338-344; *r* *as*, 353; *v* *as*, 358-362
- Hieratic language: prefers *adha* to *aiha*, 726; *grabh* to *grah*, 115; *r* to *l*, 258, 261-2, 264
- Instrumentals in *as*, *nā*, 458
- Kāṭhaka Samhitā: writes *kāś* for *khyā*, 190; *trīyari* for *tryari*, 768, 776; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 914; final *s*: *ṣ* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957; final *s* before sibilants, 970, 974; *āgrāyana* for *āgra*°, 492
- Labials, 29, 197-242; lengthening of short vowels before, 433, 460, 464-8, 515-6, 520, 547, 549-51; shortening of long vowels before, 475;—and dentals, 171-181; gutturals, 148-153; palatals, 162
- Linguals: and dentals, 25, 163-170; gutturals, 135
- Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā and its school: writes *kāś* for *khyā*, 190; *ll* for *r*?, 259; *śaṇḍa*: *śaṇḍa*, 289; *a* before *vant* and *vin*, 467; prefers *u* to *a* before *r* (?), 601-4; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 916; change of *n* to *v*, 947, 952; final *ṣ* for *s* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957; final *s* before *k*, *p*, 963; final *s* before sibilants, 974; *āgrāyana* for *āgra*°, 492
- Mantra-pāṭha, see Āpastamba



Metathesis, 799-806

Meter, relation to rhythmic lengthening and shortening, 425, 428-431, 438-449, 457-460, 515-6; concerned in hiatus, 901ff.; in patch-words, 843ff.

Nasals, present or absent, 35, 300-312; as hiatus-bridgers, 308-9; assimilation of consonants to adjoining—, 411-5; nasal after short vowel, varies with long vowel, 300-2

Nirukta: has *l* for *ḍ*, 270-1

Palatals, 26-8, 182-196; followed by evanescent *y*, 334, 336-7;—and dentals, 24, 154-161; gutturals, 125-134; labials, 162

Patch words, 822-833, 841-850

Popular language: prefers *atha* to *adha*, 72ff.; *grah* to *grabh*, 115; *l* to *r*, 258, 261-2

Prakritisms, 20-43 (summary, which see for further references)

Reduplicating syllable: rhythmic lengthening of vowels in, 468, 519, 548; *a* and *i* in, 581

Rhythmic lengthening and shortening, see Vowels

Rigveda and its school: *r* for *l* in, 261-2; *l*, *ḷh*, for *ḍ*, *ḍh*, 270; *susāna* for *svāna*, 768, 794; *h* for *dh*, *bh*, 23; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 913; change of *n* to *p*, 951; final *s:y* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957; final *r* before *k*, *p*, 968

Rime words, 851-7

Sāma Veda and its school: has *atha* etc. for *adha* etc., 72; *g* for *j* before *m*, 131; prefers *u* to *a* before *s*, 601-4; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d; tends to drop initial *a* after *e*, *o*, 902; change of *n* to *p*, 947, 952; final *r* before *k*, *p*, 968

Saṃprasāraṇa, 656-665, 733-743

Sandhi, 879-906. See 881-2 for general principles; 883-4 (or Table of Contents) for analysis of contents of the chapter; 879 for references to sandhi

in other parts of the book.—Secondary crasis or double sandhi, 989-990. See Hiatus.

Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra: has *l* for *ḍ*, 270; *h* for final *s* before sibilant plus surd, 975

Sibilants, 30-4, 274-299; lengthening of *i* and *u* before, 515-6, 547

Surds and sonants, 21-2, 44-79

Taittirīya Saṃhitā and its school: prefers *u* to *i*, 8, 622; prefers *s* to *y*, 8, 247-8; guttural for final labial, 148, 151; *ā* for *a* before *ant* and *sin*, 467; *prṣṭā* for *prṣṭā*, 680; favors *iy*, *uv*, for *y*, *v*, after consonant, 767ff. (exceptions, 767); sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885e; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 914; change of *n* to *p*, 947-8, 952; retains final *s* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957; final *s* before *k*, *p*, 963

Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā and its school: has *badh* for *vadh* (?), 209, but often *v* for original *b*, 215-8; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885d; sandhi of *a*, *ā*, with *r*, 913; final *s:y* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957

Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, Kāṇva: has *k* and *g* for *c* and *j* before *m*, 125, 127, 131; *badh* for *vadh* (?), 209; *l* for *ḍ*, 270; sandhi of final *o*, *au*, 885b; final *s:y* after non-*a* vowels before *t*, 957

Voiceless and Voiced, see Surd and Sonant

Vowels, short and long, with and without following nasal, 35, 300-2; before double and single consonants, 303ff.; rhythmic lengthening, (of *a*) 422-468, (of *i*) 514-521, (of *u*) 546-552; rhythmic shortening, (of *a*) 424, 473-7, (of *i*) 522-4, (of *u*) 553. See Assimilation, Epenthesis

Vriddhi (Dehnstufe): in primary noun formations, 485-9; in secondary noun formations, 514-526, 490-1, 699, 702, 707, 724-5, 728; in verb stems, 480-1, 700, 702, 712, 729

## INDEX OF MANTRAS

References are to sections

- añśun gabhasti (gabhasti) haritebhir  
 āśabhiḥ, 151  
 añśur-añśus te (-añśus te) deva somā  
 pyāyatām, 658  
 añśun gabhasti haritebhir āśabhiḥ, 151  
 añśo rājā vibhajatīmāy ('mām) agni,  
 237  
 añśasaspataye (añśasatyāya) tvā,  
 325, 810  
 añbāriri asi bambhāriḥ, 123  
 añbomuce pra bhareṃā (bhare) mani-  
 śām, 808  
 akaḥ su (sa) lokam sukṛtān prthivyāḥ  
 ('vyām), 612  
 aktān rihāṇā viyantu (vyantu) vayah,  
 96, 152, 796, 857  
 akrān samudrah prathame vidharman,  
 508  
 akṣakṛtyā tripañcāśā, 185, 192, 353  
 akṣatam aṣṭam ilādam, 411, 576  
 akṣatam asy aṣṭam ilānam gopā-  
 yanam, 411, 576  
 akṣāṇām vagnum (vagnum, gatnum,  
 gaṇam) avajighram āpaḥ (upajigh-  
 namānaḥ, upalīpamānāḥ), 181, 832,  
 835  
 akṣitam asi mā pitṛbṛhān (pitāma-  
 hānān, prapitāmahanān) kṣeṣṭhā  
 ..., 576, 586  
 akṣitam asi mā me kṣeṣṭhāḥ, 576, 586  
 akṣitam asy akṣitān me bhūyāḥ,  
 576, 586  
 akṣitir asi mā me kṣeṣṭhā. ..., 576, 586  
 akṣitā ca me kūyavā ca me, 562, 587  
 akṣyoḥ (akṣoḥ) tanvo rapaḥ, 335  
 akhidrāḥ prajā abhivipaśya, 129  
 agni prāpaḥ svargam lokam ..., 308  
 aganma yatra pratiranta āyuh (pra-  
 taran na āyuh), 411, 575, 824  
 aganma viśvavedasam, 308  
 aganma vṛtrahantamam, 308  
 agrbhīt, agrbhīṣata, 657  
 agotām anapatyatām (anapadyatām),  
 59  
 agor arir ā ciketa, 244, 837  
 agdhād eko 'hutād ekaḥ samasanād  
 ekaḥ, 181, 511, 875  
 agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvaṃ tejasvān  
 deveṣv edhi, 598  
 agnaya upāhvayadhvam, 509  
 agnaye gāyatrāya trivṛte rātharū-  
 tarāyāṣṭākāpālāḥ (etc.), 495  
 agnaye tvā mahyaṃ ... āyur (mayo)  
 dātra ... mayo mahyaṃ pratigra-  
 hitre (pratigṛhate), 511, 657, 719  
 agnaye dhūñkṣā (dhūñkṣā), 255, 311,  
 335, 568  
 agnaye samidham āhārṣam (āhārṣam),  
 508  
 agnāv (agnā) agniś carati pravieṣaḥ,  
 888  
 agnāviṣṇu mā vām ava krāmiṣam, 723  
 agniḥ pareṣu (pratneṣu) dhāmasu, 579  
 agniḥ pratneṣa manīṣā (janmanā),  
 856  
 agniḥ pravividvān ('vān) iha tat kṛpotu  
 (karotu, dadhātu), 925  
 agniḥ priyeṣu dhāmasu, 579  
 agniḥ yunajmi (yunagmi) śavasā  
 ghr̥tens, 131  
 agniḥ āreṣṭhaśociṣam, 747, 843  
 agniḥ sa rehatu yo maitasyai ('syā)  
 diśo 'bhīdāṣati, 910  
 agniḥ sa diśām devaṃ devatānām  
 rehatu yo ..., 910  
 agniḥ aruco adhvaṛeṣu prayatsu, 140  
 agniḥ sve yonāv (yonā) abhār ukhā,  
 888



- agnih hotāram antarā vivṛttāḥ, 868  
 agnih ca viśvāśubbhuvam (\*sam-  
 bhuvam), 278  
 agnirjñvebhyaḥ tvartāyubhya (\*bhyo)  
 . . ., 918  
 agnisandrenā somenā . . . upa te huve  
 savāham (\*sā aham), 362  
 agniḥ naraś triśadhaśthe sam idhire  
 (indhate), 301  
 agnim atirugbhyām (atī°), 516  
 agnim adya hotāram avṛttāyām yaja-  
 mānaḥ pacan paktiḥ (pañktiḥ)  
 pacan . . ., 310  
 agnim indraḥ vṛtrahaṇā huve 'ham  
 (\*hapaḥ huvema), 850  
 agnim indhita martyaḥ, 169, 302  
 agnim indhe vivasvabhiḥ, 301  
 agnim idhita martyaḥ, 169, 302  
 agnim idhe vivasvabhiḥ, 301  
 agnim u śreṣṭhaśociṣam, 747, 843  
 agnir ajaro 'bhavat saḥobhiḥ, 907  
 agnir adhi viyatto aśyām, 910  
 agnir adhyakṣaḥ (\*āḥ), 494  
 agnir annādo 'nnapatir . . . dadhātu  
 (dadātu) svāhā, 104  
 agnir amṛto abhavad vayobhiḥ (sah-  
 obhiḥ), 907  
 agnir āyusmān sa vanaspatibhir āyus-  
 mām (\*māta) tena (tasyā) . . ., 932  
 agnir ukthena vāhasā (uktheśv aḥ-  
 hasa), 310  
 agnir gāṛhapatyānām (gṛhapatīnām),  
 652, 737  
 agnir dād (dā) draviṣaḥ viraṣeṣāḥ, 392  
 agnir dikṣitaḥ pṛthivī . . . dikṣayatu  
 (dikṣeta) . . ., 745  
 agnir devobhyaḥ auvidatriyebhyaḥ  
 (\*trebhyāḥ), 315, 747  
 agnir deveṣu pra voca, 379  
 agnir dvārā vy rovatī (uruvatī), 654  
 agnir no vanate (vanute, vaṇsate)  
 rayim, 377, 606  
 agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām, 509  
 agnir vidvān sa yajāt sed u hotā (sa id  
 dhotā), 848, 995  
 agnir viyatto 'ayām, 910  
 agnir haviḥ (havyam) śamitā sūdayāti  
 (avadayatu), 737, 739  
 agnir havyāni śiśvadat, 739  
 agnir havyānumanyatām (havyā no  
 ma°), 719  
 agnir havyā suśūdatī, 739  
 agnir hotā pṛthivy antarikṣam, 821  
 agnir hotā vetv (vettv) agnir (agner)  
 hotraḥ vetu (vettu) . . ., 392, 691  
 agnir hotrepedaḥ (hotrepa) havir . . .,  
 354, 833  
 agniś ca dahataḥ prati, 512  
 agniś tān (tān, tān) agre pramumoktu  
 devaḥ, 924, 958  
 agniś tān (tān, tān) lokāt (asmāt)  
 pra . . ., 942  
 agniś te agrah . . ., 910, 958  
 agniś te tanvaḥ mā vinait, 958  
 agniś te tejo mā hūrjīt (\*th, vinait), 958  
 agniś te tvacāḥ mā hīṣat, 958  
 agniś te 'dhipatiḥ, 958  
 agniś te hastam agrabhīt (agrahīt), 116  
 agniś tvābhi pātu . . ., 958  
 agniś tvā śrīpātu, 958  
 agniś tvā hvayati, 958  
 agniś tān agre . . ., 924, 958  
 agniś te 'grah nayatu, 910, 958  
 agniś te tanuvaḥ mātī dhāk (tanvaḥ  
 mā hīṣat), 958  
 agniś te tejo mā vi nait (mā prati  
 dhākṣit), 958  
 agniś te 'dhipatiḥ, 958  
 agniś tvābhi pātu . . ., 958  
 agniś tvā śrīpātu, 958  
 agniś tvā hvayati devayajyāyai, 958  
 agniś sudakṣaḥ eutanur ha bhūtva, 554,  
 578, 612  
 agniś aruco adhvaraṣu prayakṣu, 140  
 agnihotraḥ pṛthivy antarikṣam, 821  
 agnihotrepedaḥ havir ajuṣatāvivṛ-  
 dhata (\*dhanta) . . ., 354, 833  
 agnihvarebhyaḥ tvā rīṣa°, 918  
 agni indrā vṛtrahaṇā huve vām, 850  
 agnid rajanarāṇigau (rāja°) . . ., 490  
 agnindrayor aham devayajyā vīr-  
 yavān indriyavān bhūyasam, 467  
 agniśomā imāḥ su me, 888  
 agniśomābhyāḥ juṣtaḥ nī yunajmi  
 (yunagmi), 131  
 agniśomāv imāḥ su me, 888

agne akṣīpi nīr dāha svāhā, 338  
 agneḥ purīṣam aśi, 325, 381  
 agneḥ purīṣavāhanah (purīṣya°, °vāh-  
 aṇah), 319, 953  
 agneḥ priyaḥ pātho 'pīhi (apīhi), 910  
 agne kahya (gahya), 49  
 agne gr̥hapata upa mā hvayasva, 500  
 agne gr̥tenāhuta (\*tah), 380  
 agne tām vetiḥa yadi te jātavedah, 60  
 agne tejāsvin tejaavi . . ., 598  
 agne trātār r̥tas (r̥tah) kaviḥ, 964  
 agne tvam yonim āsida sādhuṣā, 505,  
 874  
 agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti  
 (\*ti, °śrito) divas (divah) pṛthivyoḥ,  
 525, 626, 964  
 agne tvam purīṣyaḥ, 325, 381  
 agne tvāṁkāmayā (tvāṁ kāmaye)  
 girā, 820  
 agne dakṣaḥ punīhi nah (mā, puni-  
 mah), 802  
 agne 'dabdhāyo 'śitatano ('śrtatano,  
 'śitama) pāhi . . ., 353, 808  
 agne deva paṇibhir viyamānah (\*ṇah,  
 gubyamānah, ldhyamānah), 953  
 agne devān (devān) ihā vaha, 924  
 agne devānām ava heḍa iyakṣva  
 (ikṣva), 325, 696, 734  
 agne deveḥ pra vocaḥ, 379  
 agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (bhavā)  
 tvam nah, 434, 446  
 agne pṛthivipate . . . varuṇa dharmā-  
 gāh pate . . ., 494  
 agne pṛthivyā adhipate . . . varuṇa  
 dharmāgām adhipate . . ., 494  
 agne prehi prathamō devayātām  
 (devā°, devatānām), 478  
 agne br̥hann uśasām . . ., 864  
 agne brahma gr̥bhṇīṣva (gr̥bhṇīṣva,  
 gr̥hīṣva), 116  
 agne 'bhyaṁvartina abhi mā nī vartasva  
 (māvartasva, na ā vartasva, no  
 nivartasva, na ā vavṛtsva), 516, 648  
 agneyakṣīpi nīr dāha svāhā, 338  
 agne yajasva rodasī urūci, 57, 363  
 agne yajñasya cetataḥ, 864  
 agne yat te tapas . . . yo 'smān (asmān)  
 dvesti . . ., 910

agne yat te tejasa tena tam atejasam  
 kuru (tam prati tityagdhi, titigdhi)  
 yo 'smān (asmān) . . ., 733, 910  
 agne yat te 'reia (arcia) . . . yo 'smān  
 (asmān) . . ., 910 (bis)  
 agne yat te haras . . . yo 'smān (asmān)  
 . . ., 910  
 agne yan me tanvā (tanuvā) ānam  
 (yan ma ānam tanvas) tan ma ā  
 pṛṇa, 503  
 agne yān devān ayāḍ . . . tām esanu-  
 ṣṭu (samanaṣṭ) . . ., 870  
 agne yāhi dūtyam mā riṣanyah (dūty-  
 ah vāriṣanyah), 225, 829  
 agne yāhi suśastibhiḥ, 509  
 agner akṣṇvann uśijo amṛtyave, 152,  
 643, 650  
 agner akṣṇah kantiṇakam (\*kān,  
 °nikām), 595  
 agner agneyāny (agniyāny) aśi, 357,  
 692, 818  
 agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavaḥ, 152,  
 643, 650  
 agner aveṇa marutām na bhojyā, 837  
 agner jihvām abhi (jihvābhi, jih-  
 vayābhi) gr̥ṣtam (gr̥ṣata), 309  
 agner jihvāsi subhūr (subhūr, supūr)  
 . . ., 114, 119  
 agner yāny aśi, 357, 692, 818  
 agne varcasvin (\*van) varcasvān  
 (\*vi) . . . varcasvān (\*vy) aham . . .,  
 596  
 agne vājajid vājan tvā . . ., 360  
 agne vikṣu pratidayat, 64, 864  
 agne vitatam antar ā (antaram), 826  
 agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma  
 (\*mah), 379  
 agne virājam upaseḍha śakram, 138,  
 569, 616  
 agne vyasaṁvā rodasī urūci, 57, 363  
 agne vṛtapate vṛtām acāriṣam (acār-  
 ṣam), 754  
 agneṣ tvā tejasa sādyaṁmi, 956  
 agneṣ tvā tejasa sūryasya . . ., 957  
 agneṣ tvā mātrayā jāgatyā . . ., 491,  
 958  
 agneṣ tvāsyena prānāmi, 958  
 agne saharjmahe girah, 306



agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayah tava, 224  
 agne sadakṣaḥ antanur (\*nūr) hi  
     bhūtā, 554, 575, 612  
 agne samidham āhāṣam, 864  
 agne samrād iṣe rāye (rayai) ram-  
     sava . . ., 37, 390, 705  
 agne saṣṭjmahe girah, 306  
 agnes tejasa sūryasya . . ., 957  
 agnes tvā tejasa ādayāmi, 958  
 agnes tvā mātraya jagatya (\*tyā)  
     . . ., 491, 958  
 agnes tvāsyena prāśāmi . . ., 958  
 agne svam (svām) yonim ā sīda  
     sādhyā (sādhuyā), 505, 874  
 agnau lājān āvapanti, 151  
 agnau samrūdhanīm yaje, 617, 806  
 agrabhīti, agrabhīṣata, 657  
 agre bṛhann uṣasām ūrdhvo asthāt,  
     864  
 agre yajñasya śocataḥ (cetataḥ), 156,  
     195, 864  
 agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam  
     (bhajase mahad dhanam), 395a  
 agre vikṣu pradīdayat, 64, 864  
 agre samidham . . ., 864  
 aghadviṣṭā devajātā, 147, 381, 610  
 aghāya bhūma harivaḥ parādai (\*daiḥ),  
     384  
 aghoraḥ prajā abhivipaśya, 129  
 aghoraghoratareḥkhyas ca, 516  
 aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa (maitreṇa,  
     cakṣuṣāhaḥ śivena), 314, 699  
 aghorebhyo 'tha (atha) ghorebhyah,  
     908  
 aghnyāv aśunam āratām, 569  
 aghnyau sūnam āratām, 569  
 aṅkāṅkaṇi (aṅkāṇ-aṅkaṇ, aṅkaṅkaṇ)  
     chandaḥ, 362, 511  
 aṅgād-aṅgāi saṁbhavasi (\*śravasi), 853  
 aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni (\*sthīni) ca me,  
     593  
 aṅgāni ta ukthyah pātu, 322  
 aṅgirasō me asya (\*ya) yajñasya . . .,  
     910  
 aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñiyebhiḥ, 849  
 aṅgirobhir yajñiyair ā gahīha, 849  
 aṅgoṣṇam avāvaṇanta vāpīḥ, 490, 599,  
     720

aṅgoṣṇaḥ pavamānam sakhyāḥ, 490,  
     720  
 aṅghārīr asi bambhārīḥ, 123  
 aṅghriṣā viṣṇo (viṣṇu) mā tvāva  
     (vām ava) kramiṣam, 723  
 āndhi kham vartayā paṇim (pavim),  
     857  
 acikītvān (\*vāpā) cikituṣas cid atra, 930  
 acikradat svapā iha bhuvat (bhavat),  
     602, 838  
 acittapājā agnīti, 399, 738  
 acittamaṇā upavaktā, 399, 738  
 acīgyāma vṛjane viśva ūti, 242, 878  
 acety agniḥ cikituḥ (\*tiḥ), 623  
 acyutapājā agnīti, 399, 738  
 acyutamaṇā upavaktā, 399, 738  
 acha yāhy ā vahā daivyaḥ janam, 400  
 achalābhiḥ (\*rābhiḥ) kapiḥjalān, 26,  
     184, 265, 631  
 achā devān ūciṣe dhiḥgyā (\*ciyā)  
     ye, 784  
 achā no yāhy ā vaha, 460  
 achā ma indraḥ matayaḥ svarvidah,  
     234, 805  
 achāyam yanti śavasa ghyācīḥ, 824  
 achāyam eti śavasa ghyena (ghyā cit),  
     824  
 achā va indraḥ matayaḥ svaryuvaḥ,  
     234, 805  
 achā vīraḥ naryaḥ paṅktirādhasam  
     (paṅkti"), 418  
 achidrā utījah padānu takṣuḥ, 627, 982  
 achidrām pārayiṣṣum (\*yiṣṣvīm), 743  
 achidroṣijah kavayaḥ padāni ("nu)  
     takṣiṣ(v)at (\*ṣuḥ), 627, 992  
 achinnam tantum anu sam tarema  
     (carema), 155  
 achinnapatrāḥ (\*raḥ) prajā anuvik-  
     ṣasva, 129  
 achinno divyas (daivyas) tantur mā  
     mānuṣas (manuṣyaś) chedi, 316, 490,  
     699  
 ajagan rātri sumanā iha syāḥ, 508  
 ajanti vahnīm sadanāny aha, 634  
 ajany agnir hotā (ajann agniḥ) . . .  
     928  
 ajasya nābhāv (nābhā) adhy ekam  
     arjātam, 888

aśvarāṇi tvāṇi (tvā) sabhāpālāḥ, 304  
 aśśvāḥ paśupā vājapatyāḥ (vājavas-  
 tyāḥ), 198  
 aśitāḥ syāma śaradaḥ śatam, 537  
 aślāpata ('jipata) vanaśpatayāḥ, 584  
 aślāpatendurāṇi vājam, 52  
 aślāḥ ('tā) syāma śaradaḥ śatam, 537  
 aśnāsmādyāsanāma ca ('sanāsmādyā),  
 158  
 aśo dhūmro na godhūmāḥ kuvalair  
 (kvalair) bheṣajam, 782  
 aśoṣā vṛṣabhaṇi patim, 376  
 aśjanti suprayasaṁ pañca janāḥ, 192,  
 339, 617  
 aśjīśakthāya ('śakthāya) svāhā, 580,  
 986  
 aśpāśasya parāḥ putrāḥ, 511  
 ata ū su madhu madhunābhi yodhi,  
 68, 379, 533  
 atandrāso yuvatayo vibhṛtram (vi-  
 bhartram, bi'), 207, 650  
 atas cakṣāthe aditiḥ ditiḥ ca, 853  
 atas cid indra ṇa (na) upa, 950  
 atas tvam deva vanaśpate śatavalśo  
 (tvam barhiḥ śatavalśam) viroha, 817  
 atikiriṣam ('riṣam) atidanturam, 545  
 atikulvaṇi ('kūlvāṇi) cātilomaśam ca,  
 568  
 ati nīho ati śrḍhaḥ (śridhaḥ), 672  
 atirātraṇi varṣan pūrṭir āvṛt (vavar-  
 ṣvān pūrṭa rāvat, vavṛṣvān pūrṭa  
 rāvat) svāhā, 351, 586, 632, 649  
 ati vā yo maruto manyate naḥ, 477, 545  
 atividdhā vithureṇā cid astrā (astāḥ),  
 357, 381  
 ati setuḥ durāvyam (durāyyam), 263  
 atva yo maruto manyate naḥ, 477, 545  
 ato annenaiva jivanti, 94  
 ato jyāyāṇā ca pūruṣāḥ (pur'), 566  
 ato devī prathamānā prthag yat, 68,  
 525  
 ato dharmāṇi dhārayan, 578  
 ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yosṭa (yūdh-  
 vām), 302  
 ato no rudrā uta vā nv aśya, 719, 778  
 aty anyān (anyān) agāṁ nānyān  
 (nānyān) upāgām, 924  
 atra jahimo 'śivā ye asan, 452, 686

atra pitaro mādāyadhvam ('dhvadh  
 yathābhāgam . . .; pitaro yathā'  
 mandadhvam), 301  
 atrā jahāma (jahita, jahimo) ye asann  
 aśvāḥ (aśivāḥ, asan durevāḥ, 'śivā  
 ye asan), 452, 686  
 atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam (bhadrā  
 vṛṣaṇā agrbhāṇā), 292, 665  
 atrā yamaḥ ādanā ('nāt) te minotu,  
 405, 452, 512  
 atrāha tad urugāyasya viśvoh  
 (vṛspah), 640  
 atripā tvā krime hanmi, 668  
 atrivad vaḥ krimayo hanmi, 668  
 atsarābhīḥ kapiñjalān, 26, 184, 365,  
 631  
 atha jivir (jivir) vidatham ā vadāsi,  
 73, 454, 529, 544, 801  
 atha devānām vaśanir bhavāti, 454  
 atha bhava yajamānāya śam yoh, 454  
 atha māsī punar āyāta no grhān, 75, 454  
 atharya pitum me pāhi, 248  
 atharva pitum me gopāya (pāhi), 248  
 atharvyuṣṭā devajūtāḥ, 147, 381, 619  
 atha viśve arapā edhate grhaḥ, 75, 454  
 athā jlvah pitum addhi pramuktāḥ, 75,  
 569, 870  
 athā jlvir vidatham ā vadāsi, 73, 454,  
 529, 544, 801  
 athā te sakhye andhase vi vo made, 73  
 athā te sumnam tmahe, 73  
 athā te syāma varuṇa priyāsaḥ, 73  
 athāditya vrata vayan tava, 74  
 athā devānām vaśanir bhavāti, 454  
 athā devānām apy etu pāthāḥ, 74  
 athā devaiḥ sadhamādaṁ madema, 341  
 athā na indra id viśaḥ, 341  
 athā naḥ śam yor arapo dadhāta  
 ('tana), 74  
 athā no vardhayā girah (rayim), 74  
 athā no viśvasarṣaṇe, 73  
 athā pītṛ suvidatrāṇ upēhi (apīhi,  
 apita), 74  
 athā pośasya pośeṇa, 75  
 athā bhava yajamānāya śam yoh, 454  
 athā mano vaudevyāya kṛṣva, 74  
 athāmṛtena jaritāram aśdhi (aśgdhi),  
 418



- athā vāyam āditya vrāte tava, 74  
 athā śatakratvo yūyam, 73  
 athā sapatnān indrāgaṁ me, 75  
 athā sapatnān ("nān) indro me, 75, 924  
 athā sapatni yā mama, 74, 382  
 athā somasya prayati yuvabhyām, 74, 504  
 athāsmabhyasā sān yor arapo dadhāta, 74  
 athāsmabhyasā sahavitrān ("raṁ) rayiṁ dāh, 505  
 athāsya madhyam ejaṭu, 75, 160  
 athā syāta surabhayo grheṣu, 75, 454, 618, 840  
 athāsyai ("syā) madhyam edhatām ("tu, ejaṭu, ejati), 75, 160  
 athāham anukāmini ("gāmini), 45  
 athemam asyā varā ā prthivyaḥ, 236, 477, 840  
 athemam enam . . ., 810  
 athem ava sya varā ā prthivyaḥ, 236, 477, 840  
 athem enam pari dattāt pitrbhyaḥ, 810  
 athem enam pra hīṣatāt pitrbhyaḥ (pitṛr upa), 810  
 athaitam pitum addhi prasūtaḥ, 75, 569, 870  
 athainam jarimā payet, 341, 952  
 atho adhivikartanam ("cartanam), 126  
 atho annenaiva jīvanti, 94  
 atho amlvacātanaḥ, 386  
 atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam, 75  
 atho ta indraḥ kevaliḥ, 341  
 atho pitā mahatām gargarāpām, 94  
 atho mātātho pitā, 96, 386  
 atho yamasya padhāt ("vāt), 217, 302, 872  
 atho ye kṣullakā iva, 96, 262, 386  
 atho rājann uttamam mānavānām, 94  
 athorāma ulumbaraḥ, 78, 265  
 atho vāyam bhagavantaḥ syāma, 74  
 atho varuṇyād uta, 325  
 atho sthūrā atho kṣudrāḥ, 96, 262, 386  
 adabdhām cakṣur ariṣṭam manah . . ., 179, 802  
 adabdhām manz īṣṛam cakṣuḥ . . ., 179, 802  
 adabdhō gopāḥ (gopah) parī . . ., 493  
 adayo viraḥ (adaya ugraḥ) śtamanyur indraḥ, 471, 489  
 adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhṣi, 68, 379, 533  
 adāyo viraḥ śtamanyur indraḥ, 471, 489  
 adārasṛd bhavata ("tu) deva soma, 611  
 adāsyann agnā uta saṁgrāmi, 45  
 aditiḥ te (aditis te) bilān grbhṣātu (grbhātu) . . ., 116, 958  
 aditiḥ tvā (aditis tvā) devī viśva-devyāvati ("yavati) . . . sadhasṭhe aṅgirasvat ("ṅgi") . . ., 467, 910, 958  
 aditean vā saṁjugara janabhyah, 45, 107, 180, 446, 480  
 adidyutāt sv apāko vibhāvā, 838  
 adikṣiṣṭāyam brāhmaṇo "sāv amasya . . ., 888  
 adivyaṁ rṣam yad ahaṁ cakāra, 702  
 adrūthāḥ śarkarābhis trivṣṭapī (tribhṣṭibhiḥ), 222, 384, 640  
 adṛṣann (adṛṣann) udahāryah, 356  
 adevā devavattaram, 401, 840  
 ado devī (devī) prathamānā prthag yat, 68, 525  
 ado ma āgachatu, 900  
 adomadām annam addhi prasūtaḥ, 110, 569, 870  
 ado māgachatu, 900  
 ado yad devī prathamānā purastāt, 68, 525  
 adbhīr viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ, 677  
 adbhīḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ, 677  
 adbhyaḥ saṁbhūtaḥ ("bhṛtaḥ) prthivyaī ("vyā) . . ., 644  
 adya no deva savitaḥ, 436, 440  
 adyā kṛpuhi vtiaye ("hy ūtaye), 743, 805  
 adyā tvā vanvan (vardhan) surekṣāḥ, 862  
 adyā devān (devān) juṣṭatamo hi gamyāḥ, 930  
 adyā no deva savitaḥ, 436, 440  
 adyā matnān sa byah sam āna (sahyaḥ samānaḥ), 383, 829  
 adroghavācām matibhiḥ śaviṣṭham (yavi?), 857  
 adroghāvitā vācam acha, 52

adveṣe ('eye) dyāvāpṛthivī huvema  
(huve), 319  
adha tvīṣtmān abhy ojaś kṛvīm  
(kṛvīm) yudhābhavat, 673, 925  
adharāścañ parā suva (suvā), 431  
adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā, 235  
adharo vad asau vadā svāhā, 235  
adha vāyuh niyūtaḥ saścata svāh, 454  
adha sma (smā) te vrajanau kṛṣṇam  
astī (astu, 'nam astu kṛṣṇam), 436,  
441  
adha syāma surabhayo (syām asur  
ubhayor) grheṣu, 75, 454, 618, 840  
adhaḥ sapatnī yā mama, 74, 382  
adhā jivī vidātham ā vadāthaḥ, 73,  
454, 529, 544, 801  
adhā jivema śaradāś śatāni, 75  
adhā te viṣo viduṣā cid ardhyaḥ  
(rdhyaḥ), 649  
adhā te sakhye andhazo vi vo mado, 73  
adhā te sumnam imahe, 73  
adhā te syāma varuṇa priyāsaḥ, 73  
adhā devānām apy etu pāthaḥ, 74  
adhā naḥ śach yor arapo dadhāta, 74  
adhā no varihayā rayim, 74  
adhā no viśvaceṣape, 73  
adhā pitṛo suvidatrāḥ aplhi, 74  
adhā poṣasya poṣeṣa, 75  
adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣṇsya, 74  
adhāma sakthyor ava gudam dhehi, 641  
adhā māsi punar ā yāta no gṛhān, 75,  
454  
adhā vayam āditya vrato tava, 74  
adhā vayam bhagavantāḥ syāma, 74  
adhā vāyuh niyūtaḥ saścata svāh, 454  
adhā viśvāhāra pa edhate grhe, 75, 454  
adhā viṣitaḥ pitum addhi pramuktaḥ,  
75, 110, 569, 870  
adhā śatakrato yūyam, 73  
adhā sapatnān indrāgnī me, 75  
adhā sapatnān indro me, 75, 924  
adhā sapatnān māmakān, 74, 382  
adhā somasya prayati yuvābhyām  
(yuva'), 74, 604  
adhāyā madhyam edhatām, 75, 160  
adhi kranda vīrayasva, 260  
adhi kṣami pratarata dūdhyaṇāḥ, 107,  
506

adhi kṣami viśurūpaḥ (kṣamā viśva\*)  
yad asti (asya, āsta), 291, 599  
adhi dātre (dhātre) vocaḥ, 104  
adhi na indraiṣām (indreṣām), 709  
adhi bruvantu te 'vantv (avantv)  
asmān, 907  
adhivāsam (adhi\*) yā hiraṇyāny asmai,  
516  
adhi ekanda vīrayasva, 172, 260, 272,  
853  
adhivāsam . . . , see adhi\*  
adhrṣtaḥ dhṛṣṇvojasam (dhṛṣṇum  
ojasā), 237, 818  
adhorāma ulumbalaḥ, 75, 265  
adho vadādharo vada, 235  
adhyakṣāyānukṣattāram, 321, 491  
adhvanām adhvāpate śreṣṭhaḥ svasty-  
asyādhvanaḥ (śreṣṭhasyādhvanaḥ,  
śraīṣṭhasya svastasyādhvanaḥ)  
pāram sāya, 321, 707  
adhvād eko 'ddhād eko hutād eko  
'hutād ekaḥ . . . anasennād ekaḥ, 181,  
511, 875  
adhvā rajāṇostadriyam, 421  
anakeṣikāya ('śakāya) svāhā, 591  
anaḍvāś ('vāḥ) ca me . . . , 930  
anaḍvāś tapyate vahan (talpate vah-  
ān), 503, 867  
anandho 'Hoṇo 'piścadhīraḥ, 857  
anamitram no adharāt (me adharāk, no  
adharāk), 142, 907  
anamīmāś bijayā (anamivāsa idayā)  
madantaḥ, 224, 544  
anarśarātīm vasudām upa etuhi, 292,  
579, 878  
anasthikāya ('thakāya) svāhā, 591  
anāgaso adham it saṅkṣeyema, 110,  
376, 582  
anāgaso yathā sadam it saṅkṣeyema,  
110, 376, 582  
anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu (gṛham  
naḥ), 849  
anādhṛṣṭuḥ sahasyaḥ (sahasriyath)  
sahasvat, 353  
anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ, 176, 599,  
808  
anādhṛṣṭāḥ śidata . . . dadhatīḥ (dada-  
tīḥ), 104



anābho mṛḍa dhūrte ('ta), 353, 749, 862  
 anāmayaiddhi ('yedhi) mā riṣāma indo, 78, 338, 344, 709, 989  
 anāmi kṣatram ajaram suvīryam (suvīram), 323  
 anārbhava mṛḍa, 353, 749, 862  
 anāhanasyam vasaṇam varīṣu (jariṣpuḥ, jariṣu), 57, 381  
 anitir asi, 371  
 anibhṛtā apasyuvo vasānah, 176, 599, 808  
 anikair dveṣo ardaya ('rdaya), 907  
 anukāśena bāhyam, 371, 550  
 anukṣātre ('khyātre) namaḥ, 190  
 anugrāsa ('grāhaś) ca vṛtrahan, 874  
 anuttam ā te maghavan nakir nu (nu, nakṛpu), 653, 949  
 anu tvā hariṣo vṛṣā (mṛgaḥ), 235  
 anu dha sahamūrān kravyādaḥ (kayādaḥ), 355, 371  
 anu no māreṣu tanvo yad viriṣtam ('vili'), 261, 813  
 anu nau śūra maṣate ('tal), 710  
 anupūrvadh yatamānā yati śha (stha, yatīṣṭa), 86, 826, 967  
 anupahvad (anu po 'hvaḥ) anupahvayet (anuhvayaḥ), 200, 732, 833  
 anumate 'nu (anu) manyasva na idam ('nv idam manyasva, 'nu manyasva), 847, 907  
 anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (yaje hi, yajeha), 578, 849  
 anu māreṣu tanvo (tanuvo) yad viriṣtam, 261, 813  
 anuyā rātryā rātrith jinva, 255  
 anuroham jinva, 550  
 anurohāya tvā, 550  
 anuroho 'ai, 550  
 anuvāya (anuvāsi) rātriyai ('tryai) rātrīm ('trīm, tvā rā') jinva, 255, 770  
 anuvṛtāḥ jinva, 550  
 anuvṛte tvā, anuvṛd asi, 550  
 anuṣṭup ('ṭuk) pañktyā saha, 148  
 anuṣṭup ('ṭuk) pañktyai ('taye), 148  
 anuṣṭub ('ṭum) mītrasya, 241, 412  
 anu sapta rājāno ya utāhhiṣṭāḥ, 63

anu stomah mudimahi (mademahi), 617, 697  
 anukāśena bāhyam, 371, 550  
 anūdha yadi jījanad (yad ajījanad) adhā ca nu (adhā cid ā), 578, 840  
 anūroheṣānūrohāyānūroham (anu?) jinva, 550  
 anūroho 'ai, 550  
 anuvṛtānūvṛte 'nūvṛj jinva, 550  
 anuvṛte tvā, anuvṛd asi, 550  
 aneṣann aya yā iṣavaḥ (asyeṣavaḥ), 813  
 antarā dyāvāpṛthivī apah suvaḥ, ('thivyor apasyuh), 833  
 antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām (uta pāṛthivā yāḥ), 321  
 antarikṣam samam tasya vāyur upadrastā . . ., 833  
 antarikṣam puritatā (puri°, pull°, pull°), 263, 532  
 antarikṣam pṛthivīm aīrāhit, 509  
 antarikṣasamantasya te vāyur uparotā, 833  
 antarikṣe adhy ('dhy) āsate, 909  
 antarikṣe pathibhir tyamānah (hīy°, hīyamānah), 353, 386  
 antarepānukāśam, 371, 550  
 antaḥ śubhrāvātā (śundhyāvātā) pathā, 173, 244, 305  
 antas tiṣṭhatu ('tō) me mano 'mṛtasya ketub, 715  
 antimitrā (antymī?) ca dūre-amitrā ('mītrā) ca gṛgah, 737, 910  
 andha sthāndho vo bhakṣya, 176, 977  
 andhābhin ('he, 'heḥ) sthūlagudayā (sthūra°, 'gudā), 261  
 andho achetaḥ ('chetaḥ), 910  
 annapate 'nasya (annasya) no dehi, 907  
 annam payo reto asmāsu ('smāsu) dhatta (dhehi), 907  
 annam me (no) budhya (budhya) pāhī . . ., 311  
 annam me (no) budhyājugupas (budhyā°) . . ., 311  
 annam me dehi (dhehi), 103  
 anyath te aśman ('śman; aśmat te) ni vapantu aśāḥ (aśyam), 319, 907

anyavratasya (anyadvra<sup>a</sup>) saścima  
(saścira, saścimah), 379, 426, 818  
anyāṇs te sśman nivapantu tāḥ, 909  
anyām icha pitṛpadāḥ vyaktām (vit-  
tām), 139, 738  
anye 'sman nivapantu tāḥ, 909  
anyo-'nyo (-anyo) bhavati varṇo  
asya, 907  
anv agnir uśasāni agram akhyat  
(akṣat), 190  
anv adya no anumatiḥ ('na<sup>a</sup>), 909  
anvādihyāsthām iha naḥ sakhāyā,  
236, 832  
anvāsi, 770  
anvitir asi . . . , 371  
apaḥ pīva, 964  
apaḥ prāgāt . . . , see apa . . .  
apa kṣudhah nudatām arātīm, 201  
apa tasya balah tira, 201  
apa dūrharidīśo ('dviśo) jahi, 410, 869  
apanuttan ('tā) śaṇḍāmarkau (sa<sup>a</sup>)  
saha . . . , 289  
apa (apaḥ) prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti,  
384  
aps bādhatām duritāni viśvā, 201  
apamityam apratittah yad namī, 404,  
465  
aparihvytāḥ ('hrtāḥ) sanuyāma vājam,  
371  
apaśṛjvate tvā, 616  
apaścāddaghvānnasya (apaścāddagh-  
vānnam) bhūyāsam, 403  
apaścāddaghvane (apaścāddaghvane)  
nare (narah), 403  
apa śveta padā jahi (apaḥ śvetapad  
āgahī), 134, 201, 384, 817  
apasedhan ('dhan) duritā soma  
mṛḍaya (no mṛḍa), 849  
apa snehitir (snihitiḥ) nṛmagā a-  
dhatta (adhāt tāḥ, nṛmagām adadh-  
rām), 77, 110, 356, 616, 696, 802, 824  
apas pīva, 964  
apaḥ siṣṭāṇa avar (suvar) apratittah  
(<sup>a</sup>tittah), 404  
apām rasam udvayasam (udayaṇsam,  
udayaṇaan), 310, 371  
apāgne agnīm ('gnīm) āmādan jahi,  
910

apām gambhan sīda, 120  
apām gambhīraḥ gacha, 120  
apānudo janam amitrayantam (ami-  
trā<sup>a</sup>), 478  
apām tvā gahman sādāyāmi . . . , 120  
apām tvā sadhiṣi (sadhriṣu) sādāyāmi,  
353, 627  
apām napātam aśvinā huve dhiyā  
(<sup>a</sup>nā hayantam), 847  
apām napād āśuheman ya ūrmih  
kakudmān (ūrmih pratūrtih kakud-  
mān or kakubhvan) . . . , 178, 239  
apām naptre jaṣah (jhaṣah), 85  
apām na yanty ūrmayah, 829  
apāpāco ('vāco) abhibhūte nudasya,  
202  
apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra, 78,  
98, 205, 344  
apāmityam (apām ittham) iva sam-  
bhara, 832, 877  
apām ojmānah pari gobhir āvṛtam  
(ābhṛtam), 221  
apām ośadhīnām garbham dhāḥ (gar-  
bham me dhāḥ), 104  
apām payaso yat payah, 735  
apām payasvad it (yat) payah, 735  
apālām indra (indras) triṣ (triḥ)  
pūtvī (pūtvā, pūrtvī, pūrtī), 351, 397,  
598a, 967  
apāvāco . . . , see apāpāco . . .  
apāvṛpod duro adhvavrajānām (as-  
madrathānām), 287, 363  
apā vṛdhī parivṛtam ('tīm, parivṛttīm)  
na rādhaḥ, 401, 588  
apāśnuṣām (apāśnyuṣāni) apā rakṣah  
(ragham), 337  
api pūṣā ni śīdatu ('tī), 720  
apīparo mā rātriya (rātryā) ahno mā  
pāhi, 791  
apīparo māhno rātriyai (rātryai) mā  
pāhi, 791  
apūtapā ādhūyamānah, 355, 628  
apūpakṛd aṣṭake (apūpaghṛtāhute), 83  
apo adyānv acāriṣam, 244, 498, 754  
apo anv acāriṣam (acārīṣam), 244, 498,  
754  
apo dattodadhīn bhīnta, 418  
apo divyā acāyīṣam, 244, 498, 754



apo devā madhumatir agrbhān, 116  
 apo devir upasrja ('jā) madhumatib,  
 446  
 apo devir madhumatir agrbhān (agrbh-  
 nām), 116  
 apo nayanā ūrmayaḥ, 829  
 apo mahi vyayanti cakṣase tamaḥ, 529,  
 608  
 apo mahi vṛṇṇte cakṣuṣā tamaḥ, 529,  
 608  
 apo vṛṇānaḥ pavate kaviyaṇ ('yān,  
 kavyaṇ), 786  
 apo su (su) myakṣa varuṇa bhīyasaṇ  
 mat, 987  
 aptubhi rihāṇā vyantu vayaḥ, 96, 152,  
 796, 857  
 aprajastān ('jasyaḥ) pautramṛtyum  
 ('martyam), aprajastvaṇ mātavāt-  
 sam, 368, 494, 650, 652  
 apriyaḥ prati muñcatām, 849  
 apriye prati muñca tat, 849  
 apriye prati muñcatām, 849  
 apriye saṇ nayaṃmaḥ, 511, 878  
 apsarasaṇ anudattāṇṇāni, 237, 823  
 apsarasaḥ anu dattām ṛṇaṇ naḥ  
 (ṛṇāni), 237, 823  
 apsarasaḥ yo gandhaḥ, 395  
 apsarasaḥ ca yā medhā, 395  
 apsarasaḥ ca yo gandhaḥ, 395  
 apsu dhūtasya deva . . . ṇbhī śtut-  
 astotraṇya (ṇbhīḥ sutasya stuta")  
 . . . yo 'āvasanir . . ., 419, 726, 910  
 apsu dhūto (dhautāḥ) ṇbhīḥ sutaḥ  
 (sutam), 726  
 apsu dhautasya te . . . ṇbhīḥ śtut-  
 aṇya . . . yo 'āvasanir . . ., 419, 726,  
 910, 988  
 apsu dhautasya te . . . ṇbhīḥ sutasya  
 . . ., 419, 726, 988  
 apsu dhautasya te . . . ṇbhīḥ stutasya  
 . . . yo 'āvasanir . . ., 419, 726, 910,  
 988  
 apsu dhautasya soma . . . ṇbhīḥ suta"  
 . . . yo bhakṣo 'āvasanir . . ., 419, 726,  
 910, 988  
 abaddhaṇ mano . . ., 179, 802  
 abadhīṣṇa rakṣo . . ., 209

abhayaṇ vo 'bhayaṇ no astu (me  
 'stu), abhayaṇ me astu ('stu), 910  
 abhi kranda vilayasva, 172, 260, 272,  
 853  
 abhikhyā bhāṣā bṛhatā śuśukvaṇib,  
 240, 283, 624  
 abhi tyāṇ devaṇ savitāram oṇyoh  
 (ōṇyoh) kavikratum, 720  
 abhi dyumnasaḥ devabhaktaṇ yaviṣṭha  
 (devahitaṇ yaviṣṭhya), 121, 315, 579,  
 857  
 abhi no vājasātamam, 516  
 abhinne khilye (khille) ni dadhāti  
 devayum, 38, 408  
 abhi pra ṇonumo (no") vṛṇan, 952  
 abhi pra ṇonuvur (nonavur) girāḥ,  
 603, 952  
 abhi priyā divas padā (divaḥ kaviḥ),  
 964  
 abhūbhuvē ('bhve, 'bhave) svāhā,  
 604, 789  
 abhi yo na irasyati (no durasyati), 878  
 abhi yo viśvā bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 220  
 abhiratāḥ amaḥ (ama ha), 379  
 abhiramyatām ('thām), 92  
 abhi rāṣṭrāya vartaya (vardhaya), 97  
 abhivartaḥ savitāḥ, 516  
 abhi vāṇir ṛṣṇāṇi sapta (saptā) nūṣata,  
 436, 447  
 abhi viśvāni bhuvanāni caṣṭe, 220  
 abhiviro abhisatvā ('ṣatvā) sahojāḥ  
 (sahojit), 986  
 abhiṣaster avasparat ('avarat), 198  
 abhiṣikṣa rājābhuvam ('bhūvam), 288,  
 559, 736  
 abhiṣṭir yā ca no ṛṇhe, 292  
 abhiṣāḥ svāhā, 516  
 abhi ṣṭana duritā bādhamānaḥ, 582  
 abhiṣṭir ('ṭir) yā ca me dhruvā (ca no  
 ṛṇhe), 292, 529  
 abhi ṣyāma vṛjane sarvavitrāḥ, 242, 878  
 abhi sumasaḥ devabhaktaṇ yaviṣṭha,  
 121, 315, 579, 857  
 abhi somaḥ mṛdāmasi, 383, 839  
 abhi soma avirṭat ('vṛdhat), 97  
 abhi sprdha uro veditā tatarda, 618  
 abhi ṛtasya dohanā snūṣata, 309, 992

- abhi na ā vavṛtava, 516, 648  
 abhi no vājasātaman, 516  
 abhiṇam (\*māh, \*mān) mahinā (\*mā)  
 divam (divah), 181, 505  
 abhīm ṛtasya dohanā anūṣata, 309, 992  
 abhīm ṛtasya sudughā ghṛtāscutaḥ,  
 309, 992  
 abhivartaḥ saviśāḥ, 516  
 abhiṣāc cābhiṣavi ca, 516  
 abhiṣāt cābhiṣāhi cābhimātihaś . . .,  
 516  
 abhiṣāś (\*śāt) cābhiṣāhyaś ca, 516  
 abhiṣāhe svāhā, 516  
 abhūn mama (nu nah) sumatau viś-  
 vavedāḥ, 849  
 abhūr gr̥ṣṭinām (vaiśnām, v āpīnām,  
 āpīnām, \*pām) abhiśastipāvā (\*pā  
 u), 46, 360, 740, 824, 953  
 abhy arcata (ar̥cata) suṣṭutim gavyam  
 ājūm, 194  
 abhyaṣikṣirājābhūt (\*bhūm, \*bhūvam),  
 288, 559, 736  
 abhy aṣṭhām (aṣṭhūm, aṣṭhād) viśvāḥ  
 pṛtanā arātīb, 983  
 abhy aham tam bhūyāsam yo asmān  
 (\*smān) dveṣṭi . . ., 910  
 abhy ṛtasya sudughā . . ., 309, 992  
 abhyaiti (abhyeti) na ojaś spar-  
 dhamānā, 711  
 amanmahid anāśavaḥ (\*hīt tad  
 āavaḥ), 828  
 amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (ma) indra,  
 78, 205, 344  
 amāyān māyavattaraḥ, 476  
 amāvāye samivasanto (samviśanto)  
 mahitvā, 281  
 amāsi sarvān (sarvān) aśi praviṣṭaḥ,  
 146  
 amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam . . .  
 āvṛṣāyīṣata (\*yīṣata, avīṛṣata), 533  
 amukthā yakemād duritād avadyāt, 60,  
 355, 715  
 amutrabbūyād adha (adhī) yad yam-  
 aya, 578  
 amurā ma iṣāṇa (amurā manīṣāṇa), 829  
 amūham aśmi sā tvam, 723  
 amṛṇmayam (amṛn) devapātram, 954  
 amṛtenāvṛtān puram (purim), 606  
 amṛṣṭam aśi svāhā, 339  
 amoci yakemād duritād avartyai, 60,  
 355, 715  
 amo 'ei sarvān aśi praviṣṭaḥ, 146  
 amo 'ham aśmi sā (sa) tvam, 723  
 amba niṣpara (niṣvara, niṣvara, niṣ-  
 mara), 200, 205, 234, 986  
 ambā ca bulā ca nitatni (ambā dulā  
 nitatnir) . . ., 179, 529  
 ambāyai svāhā dulāyai svāhā, 179  
 ambhaḥ (ambha) sthāmbo vo bhak-  
 śtya, 176, 977  
 ayaṁ yaḥ puro vibhinatty (\*naty)  
 ojaś, 392  
 ayaṁ yo aya yasya ta idam śiraḥ, 738,  
 907  
 ayaṁ yo 'ei yasya ta idam śiraḥ, 738,  
 907  
 ayaṁ śatrūn jayatu jarhiṣāpaḥ (jar-  
 hiṣāpaḥ), 635  
 ayaṁ sa vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam, 612  
 ayaṁ sa śikṅte (śikṅte) yena gaur  
 abhivṛtā, 418  
 ayaṁ sahasram ānavo dṛṣaḥ . . . vi-  
 dharma (\*mā), 460, 833  
 ayaṁ sahasram ā no dṛṣe . . . vidhar-  
 maṇi, 833  
 ayaṁ su vām aśvinā bhāga ā gatam, 612  
 ayanath mā vivadhīr (viba\*) vikram-  
 asva, 209  
 ayann arthāni kṛṇavann apāsi, 482  
 ayaṁ no agnir varivaa (\*vaḥ) kṛpotu,  
 964  
 ayavānām ādhipatyam, 485  
 ayaś manasā dhṛtaḥ, 401, 402, 502  
 ayaś havyam ūhiṣe, 502, 729  
 ayaśthūgam (ayaḥ\*, ayaś\*, ayaśthū-  
 gāḥ) uditā (\*tau) sūryasya, 92, 188,  
 237, 824  
 ayaṁmayam viortā (viṣṭā) bandham  
 etam, 195  
 ayaṁmayān vi oṛtā bandhapāśān, 195  
 ayād indrāgnyoś (agnir indrāgnyoś)  
 . . ., 792  
 ayā no yajñam vahāsi, 739  
 ayāvānām ādhipatyam, 485  
 ayāś cāgne 'ay anabhiśastīś (\*tā) ca,  
 529



ayā (ayāh, ayāa) san (ayāsā) manasā  
hitāh (kṛtāh, kṛttāh), 401, 402, 502  
ayā (ayāh, ayāa) san (ayāsyam)  
havyam ūhiṣe, 502  
ayāsā manasā (vaynās) kṛtāh, 401,  
402, 502  
ayā somaḥ (soma) sukṛtyayā, 380  
ayuktāso abrahmatā vidadāma (yad  
asan), 255  
ayupitā yoniḥ, 113  
ayebhyaḥ kitavam, 253  
ayoddhova (ayodhyeva) durmada ā hi  
julve, 347  
arāṅgamāya jagmaye (jagmaye), 248  
araṇyāya sṛmarāh, 316, 490  
arāddhya edidhiṣūpatim (arādhya  
didhiṣūpatim), 381, 474, 554  
arāyo asmān abhiduchunāyate, 248  
arālag udabhartsata, 90  
arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate, 248  
aristya avyathyai . . . abhibhūtyai  
svāhā, 644  
arejetān (arejayatān) rodasī pājasā  
gīrā, 745  
arejatā manasā devān gachā (gamyāt,  
manasā tac chakeyam), 269  
arepasāh . . . manyumastamā (‘man-  
tas’) eite goḥ (eitā goḥ, cidākoḥ), 47,  
61, 826  
arghaḥ, arghyam, arghyam bhob, 123,  
321  
arciṣātriṇo nudatān pratīcāh, 156  
arciṣā āstrūn dahatān pratītya, 156  
arthaṁ rihāṇā vyantu vayah, 96, 152,  
796, 857  
arthaś ca mā emā (ca mā ema, ca me  
yāmas) ca me, 803  
ardhamāsyam prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ,  
559  
aryamā te hastam agrabhīt, 116  
aryamāyātī vṛṣabhaḥ tuviṣmān, 509  
aryamā hastam agrabhīt (agrahīt), 116  
aryo naśanta (naḥ santu) sanīśanta  
(‘tu) no dhiyah, 287, 829  
arvāā ehi somakāmāni tvāhuh, 512  
arhanīyā āpaḥ, 123, 321  
arhann iduḥ dayase viśvam abhivam  
(abbhuvam), 392, 790

alarṣirātim vasudām upa stūhi, 202,  
579, 878  
alivandāya avāhā, 579, 637, 862  
alubhitā yoniḥ, 113  
avarṣyāi badhāyopamanthitāram, 209,  
919  
avakrakṣiṇam vṛṣabham yathājuram  
(yathā juvam), 267, 835  
avakro ‘vithuro (‘vidhuro, ‘vithuro  
(‘hath) bhūyāsam, 77  
avajihva nijihvika, avajihvaka nijih-  
vaka, 505  
ava jyām iva dhanvanāh, 24, 150, 504  
avaśasya visarjane, 25, 164  
avatatya dhanuḥ tvam (dhanuḥ tvam),  
938  
ava tura nadīṣv ā, 401, 833  
ava tasya balaṁ tira, 201  
avataśya visarjane, 25, 164  
avattaram nadīṣv ā, 401, 833  
avattaro nadīmā, 401, 833  
ava dikṣām asṛṣata (adāstha) svāhā,  
201  
ava devānām yaja heḍo agne (yaje  
hidyāni, yaje heḍyāni), 325, 696  
ava devān yaje heḍyān, 325, 690  
ava dyām iva dhanvināh, 24, 150, 504  
ava dropāni gṛhṭavānti sīda (‘vanti  
roha), 501a  
avadhiṣma rakṣaḥ, 209  
avanty asya pavitāram (pavi\*) āśavaḥ,  
531  
ava bādhatām . . . , 201  
avabhṛtha nicumpuṣa (nicāṇkuṣa, ni-  
cūṇkuṣa), 150, 805  
avabhṛthasāca avagākāras (sugā\*) ca, 741  
avamaśa ta ūvāśa te . . . , 750  
ava rudram adīmahi, 535  
avarṣyāi vadhāyopamanthitāram, 209,  
919  
avavyayann asitān deva vasma (vas-  
vaḥ), 240  
ava śveta padā jahi, 134, 201, 344, 817  
ava sedim tṛṣṇāni kṣudhaḥ jahi, 201  
ava somatī nayāmasi, 388, 830  
avasphūrjan didyud (vidyud) varṣan  
bhūtar āvṛt (varṣas tveva rāvat,  
varṣas tveva rāvat) svāhā, 869

ava sma durhaṅgāyataḥ (durhṅg°), 4, 39, 631  
 avasyur asi duvasvān, 554  
 avasyuvātā bhṛatī ('tīr) na (nu, tu) śakvari ('rīḥ), 381, 614  
 avasyūr asi duvasvān, 554  
 avāḍ dhavyāni surabhīṇi kṛtvā (kṛtvī), 598a  
 avātīratam branyasya (prathayasya) śeṣaḥ, 69, 658  
 avā no devyā dhīyā (krpā), 421, 824  
 avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān, 138  
 avāmba rudram adimahi (adī°), 535  
 avāra iṣṣavaḥ pāryebhyaḥ (pārye-bhyaḥ) . . ., 325, 786  
 avārīya kevarṭam, 41, 325, 708  
 avāryāṇi pakṣmaṇi pāryā iṣṣavaḥ, 325  
 avāryāya mārgāram, 325  
 avāṣṛjo apo ('po) achā samudram, 907  
 avikṣobhāya ('kṣodhāya) paridhin dadhāmi, 176  
 avidahanta ('taḥ) śrapayata, 980  
 avinaṣṭān avikrutān ('hṛtān), 683  
 avimuktacakra ('rā) śāṣṭraṇ, 139, 235, 643, 861  
 aviraghuir ud ajantv (acantv) āpaḥ, 53  
 aviragho ('nī) vīrataraḥ ('tamah, vīravataḥ) suvīrān (suśevān), 123  
 avīvarata vo hi kam (hikam), 817  
 avebhyaḥ kitavam, 253  
 avocāma kavaye medhyāya, 109, 230  
 avo devasya sāsasi, 421  
 avyo (avyā) vāre (vāraiḥ) pari priyaḥ (priyam), 381, 706  
 avradanta vīlītā, 271  
 aśīlikṣuḥ śīlīkṣate (śīlīṭṭu śīlīṣate), 195  
 aśīmahi tvā, 617  
 aśīrṣāṇā ahaya ('po 'haya) iva ('na ivāhayaḥ), 512  
 aśūśubhanta yaḥṣīyā rtena, 174, 286, 292  
 aśmaṇḥ (aśman) te kṣut, 932  
 aśrathnan drdhāvradanta vīḍitā, 271  
 aśtrāṇ (aśllāṇ) cit kṛpūthā ('thāt) supratikam, 261

aśtrā (aśllā) tanūr bhavati, 261  
 aśrubhīḥ prāvām (pruśvām), 40, 680  
 aśroṇā, see aśloṇā . . .  
 aślīṭṭu . . ., see aśīlīkṣuḥ . . .  
 aśllāṇ, and aśllā, see aśtr° . . .  
 aśleṣā nakṣatram, 265, 473  
 aśloṇā (aśro°) aṅgair ahṛtāḥ (aśloṇ-āṅgair ahṛtā, ahṛutāḥ) svarge, 261, 683, 819, 980, 990  
 aśloṇo 'piśācadhitaḥ, 857  
 aśvāḥ jajñānaḥ sarirasya (salilasya) madhye, 264  
 aśvavat soma vīravat, 467  
 aśvasya vāje (krande, krandyo) puruṣasya māyau, 315  
 aśvān anaśāto (anaśyato, anaśato, anaśvato) dānam, 255, 408  
 aśvā bhavata ('tha) vājinaḥ, 90  
 aśvāvat soma vīravat, 467  
 aśvinā gharman pātam hārdvānaḥ (hārddivānam, pātam aharvyānam, pībatam hārdvānam), 267, 704  
 aśvinā bhīṣajāvataḥ ('tam, 'ta), 379  
 aśvinendram na jāgrvi ('vī), 525  
 aśvinau dyakṣareṇa ('kṣarayā) prā-pāpānāv ('nā) ud ajayatām, 886  
 aśvibhyaḥ tirohnyānām (tirohny-ānām) somānām anubrūhī, 787, 910  
 aśvibhyaḥ tirohnyān somān presthī-tān preya, 787, 910  
 aśvibhyaḥ pradhāpaya (pradhāpaya), 104  
 aśāḍghuḥ (aśāllāḥ) yutsu . . ., 474  
 aśāḍgham ugrath sahamānam ābhīḥ, 474  
 aśāḍhāya sahamānāya vedhase (mi-ḍhuse), 170, 235, 696  
 aśābhyaḥ ('yaḥ śatebhyaḥ) svāhā, 495  
 aśāsthūpo daśapakṣaḥ, 495  
 aśāpakṣrū daśapakṣām, 495  
 aśābhyaḥ ('yaḥ śatebhyaḥ) svāhā, 495  
 aśtrāṇ tādāṇi pratīnāḥ (tālāṇi prati-nāham), 271  
 aśauhheyas parābhavan, 23, 121, 124  
 aśadan mātaraḥ purāḥ, 853, 861  
 aśanan nīṭaraḥ punaḥ, 853, 861  
 aśapatnaḥ kilābhuvam, 602  
 aśapatnā kilābhuvam ('bhavam), 602



asapatuā sapatnaghnī ("nighnī), 588  
 asaribādhaib badhyato (ma") māna-  
 vānām ("veṣu), 241  
 asaribādha yā madhyato mānave-  
 bhyah, 241  
 asaribhavyaṁ parābhavan, 23, 121, 124  
 asamṛpto jāyase mātroh (mātṛvoh)  
 śuelh, 368  
 asāv (asā) anu mā . . . , 888  
 asā (asāv-asāv) upahvayaṣva, 886  
 asikny ("kniy) asy oṣadhe, 777  
 asiknyā ("kniyā) marudṛdhe vīta-  
 tayā, 791  
 asuṁ gharman divam (avar) ātiṣṭhānu,  
 360  
 asuṁtāya ("thāya) vadhava, 93  
 asūrtā ("te) sūrtā ("te) rajaso ("si)  
 vināne (nisatte, "tā, na sattā), 293,  
 578, 828  
 asṇudanta yajñiṣṭā rtena, 174, 286, 292  
 asṛmukho rudhīreṣābhyaktāh ("āvy-  
 aktāh), 220  
 astabhnādyām vṛṣabho (dyām rea")  
 antarikṣam, 359  
 asti hi smā (astu sma) te śuṣmīnu  
 avayāh, 436, 442, 987  
 astro nāmāham . . . ni dadhe (pari-  
 dade), 104  
 asṭhabhyah (asṭhi") svāhā, 591  
 asṭhūri paṇ (naṁ, no, no) gārhapatyah  
 ("tyāni) . . . , 732, 950  
 aspārṣam ("śam) enaṁ āntaśārādāya,  
 292  
 asmadrātā (samaddātrā, "rātā ma-  
 dhumatī, "tir) devatrā gachata  
 (gacha), 357, 800  
 asmadryak ("driyak) sath mimihī śra-  
 vāṁsi, 784  
 asmadryag ("driyag) vāvṛdhe vīryāya,  
 784  
 asmaḥbhyam dattām (dhattām) varuṣā  
 ca manyub, 105  
 asmaḥbhyam indra varivah (variyah)  
 sugam kṛdhi, 249, 541a  
 asmaḥbhyam mahi varivah sugam kab,  
 249, 541a  
 asmā u devā avatā haveṣu, 742, 924  
 asmāś cakra mānyaṣya medhā, 930

asmākaṁ yonā (yonāv) udare sudevāh,  
 836  
 asmākam aśuṁ (aśāṁ) maghavan  
 puruṣprham, 618  
 asmākam abhūr haryaṣya medh, 231,  
 263  
 asmāś cakra mānyaṣya medhā, 930  
 asmāś (asmāś) citrābhūr avatāś abh-  
 iṣṭibhīb, 930  
 asmān u devā avatā bhareṣv ā, 121, 267,  
 742, 924  
 asmān devāso 'vatā haveṣu, 121, 267,  
 512, 742  
 asmān eṣte payasābhyāvartava, 849  
 asmāsu nṛmanā dhāh, 509  
 asmin kṣayē pratarām didyāśah, 107,  
 506  
 asmin goṣṭhe kariṣiṣṭh ("gob, puri-  
 ṣiṣṭh), 152, 617  
 asmiṁ (asmiṁ) chūra savane mādā-  
 yaṣva, 937  
 asmin nara indriyaḥ dhattam ojaḥ, 105  
 asmin brahmaṇy ("mann . . . ) asmin  
 karmay (karmān) . . . , 928  
 asmin rāṣṭram adhi śraya, 704  
 asmin vayanā amkasuke ("kusuke),  
 605  
 asme indrābhraspati, 704  
 asme karmaṇe jātah, 704  
 asme kṣatrāṇi dhārayer anu dyūn, 704  
 asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata, 704  
 asme dehi . . . , see asme dēhi . . .  
 asme dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam, 704  
 asme dhatta vasavo vasūni, 704  
 asme dhārayatah ("tām) rayim, 704  
 asme dēhi (dehi) jātavedo mahi  
 śravah, 105  
 asme prayandhi maghavan rjāṣin, 704  
 asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhārāya (rāṣṭram adhiś-  
 rayā), 704  
 asme rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachataṁ,  
 704  
 asmai indrābhraspati, 704  
 asmai karmaṇe jātah, 704  
 asmai kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam agne, 704  
 asmai dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmam, 704  
 asmai dhatta vasavo vasūni, 704  
 asmai dhārayatani rayim, 704

- asmai prayandhi maghavann rjgin, 704  
 asmaī rāstrāya mahi śarma yachatam,  
 704  
 asya kurmo (kulmo, kṛavo, kṛamo)  
 harivo medinam tvā, 231, 263  
 asya te sakhye vayan, 340  
 asya pītā (pītṛā) svarvidah, 367  
 asya sutasya svar na (ga), 949  
 asya suṣā śvaśurasya prāśīṣtim, 857  
 asya hotuḥ pradiśy (prāśīṣy) ṛtasya  
 vāci, 292  
 asyā avāta vīryam, 449  
 asyāḥ devā abhi samviśantaḥ, 340  
 asyai nāryā upastare (\*stire), 573  
 asredhanta itana vājam aha, 52  
 aham āstrūn jayāmi jarhṛṣṇaḥ, 635  
 aham by ugras (ūgras) taviṣas tuviṣ-  
 mān, 567  
 aham by ugro (ūgro) maruto vidānaḥ,  
 507  
 aham dāpdenāgatam, 580  
 aham id dhi pītuḥ (pītūḥ) pari, 967  
 aham prātarna manmanā (janmanā),  
 850  
 ahar-ahar aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ, 117  
 ahar-ahar balim it te harantaḥ, 117  
 ahar divābhīr ūtibhīḥ, 165, 272, 272a,  
 324, 360  
 ahalag (ahalam) iti vañcati, 511  
 ahaścārebhyaḥ, 488, 690  
 ahā anadātā hate, 888  
 ahā arātim avidaḥ (avartim avidat)  
 syonam, 806  
 ahā neta sann (ned asann, netar asann,  
 ahād eta sann) avicetanāni (apuro-  
 gavāni), 62  
 ahā yad dyāvo (devā) asuntim ayan  
 (āyan), 482, 803  
 ahāv anadātā hate, 888  
 ahāḥ śarīraḥ (ahāc char\*) payasā  
 sameti (sametya), 737  
 ahīḥ dāpdenāgatam, 580  
 ahīḥ budhnyam (\*niyam) anu rīya-  
 mānāḥ (suharantīḥ, anu iyamānāḥ)  
 353, 784  
 ahir aśi budhnyah (\*niyah), 787  
 ahir jaghāna kiṁ (kaṁ) eana, 578  
 ahir dadarāz kaṁ eana, 578  
 ahir na jirṇām (ahir ha jirṇām) ati  
 sarpati tvacām, 628  
 ahirbudhnyā mantrah me 'jugupaḥ  
 ('jū\*) . . ., 548  
 ahirbudhnyā mantrah me pāhi, 787  
 ahir budhnyo (\*niyo) devatā, 787  
 ahīś ca sarvān (sarvāḥ) jambhayan  
 (\*ya), 936  
 aheḍatā manasā devān gacha, 269  
 aheḍatā (\*latā) manasedam juṣasva,  
 269  
 ahe budhniya mantrah me gopāya, 787  
 ahorātrayor vṛetyā . . ., 803, 840  
 ahorātrābhyāḥ puruṣaḥ samena  
 (kṣaṇena), 420  
 ahorātre ūrvaṣṭive (\*ṣṭhive) . . ., 86,  
 803, 840  
 ahnāśi rātryai . . ., 255  
 ahnā yad enaḥ kṛtam aśi pāpam (kiṁ-  
 cit; enaś cakṛmeha kiñcit), 849  
 ākarāye karāyo yathā, 290  
 ākūtīm (\*tam) agniḥ prayujam svāhā,  
 587  
 ākūtīḥ (\*tīḥ) devīḥ manasaḥ (\*sā,  
 subhagām) puro dadhe (prapadye)  
 529  
 ākūtyai prayuje 'gnāye (agnaye)  
 svāhā, 910  
 ākramamaḥ kuṣṭhābhyām, 49  
 ākrayāyā ayogūm (ākrayāyāyogūm,  
 ākram\*), 990  
 ākrān samudrah . . ., 508  
 ākhuḥ kaśo mānthālas: (\*lavas, mān-  
 dhālas) te pitṛām, 77, 459, 507  
 ākhuḥ tvā ye dadhīre devayantaḥ,  
 193, 298, 835  
 ākhuḥ erjayā śayandakas te maitrāḥ  
 (śayandakās te maitryāḥ), 315, 489  
 āgann apāna . . ., 506  
 āganma mitrāvaruṣā vareṇyā (vareṇa,  
 vareṇyam), 326  
 āganma viśvavedasam, 505  
 āganma vṛtrahantamam, 508  
 ā garbho yonim etu te, 711  
 ā galgā dhavantaṁ (galgās dhamanī-  
 nām), 144, 235  
 āgnis ca dahataḥ prati, 512  
 āgne yāhi suśastibhīḥ, 509



- āgrayaṇāś (āgrā°) . . . , and °yaṇas, °yaṇāḥ, °yaṇo . . . , 492  
 ā gharṇo agnim ṛṭayann asādi ("diti), 533, 840  
 ā gharṇo agniṣ amṛto na sādī, 533, 840  
 āgūṣṭhāṇāṃ avāśanta vāṇīḥ, 490, 599, 720  
 āgūṣṭhāṇāṃ pavamānaṃ sakhāyāḥ, 490, 720  
 āchettā te (vo) mā riṣam (riṣat, māṛṣam), 753  
 ājagan rātri sumanā iha syām, 508  
 ājīm tvāgne . . . , 360  
 ājīm na girvavāho jigyur sāvāḥ, 810  
 ājīm na jagmur girvāho sāvāḥ, 810  
 ā juhotā ("ta) duvasyata, 442  
 ājynsya kūlyā upa tām keśarantu, 565  
 ājjanena sarpiṣā sam viśantu (sṛpāntāḥ, mṛśantām), 200, 205, 235, 375, 640  
 ātapati varṣan virāḍ āvṛt svāhā, 168  
 ā tasthāv (tasthā) amṛtam divi, 888  
 ātir vāhaso darvidā te vāyave, 325, 529  
 ā tiṣṭha mītravardhana ("naḥ), 380  
 āti vāhaso darvidā te vāyavyāḥ, 325, 529  
 ā te garbho yonim etu (aitu), 711  
 ā te yonih garbha etu, 711  
 ā te suparṣā aminanta ("taḥ) evaḥ, 308  
 ātmann ("many) evānupaśyati, 928  
 ātmam indrāya pyāsaava, 224, 831  
 ātmānaḥ ta āgrāyaṇāḥ (āgra°) pātu, 492  
 ātmāsy ātmann ātmānaḥ (ātmanāt-mānaḥ) me mā hiṁsīḥ, 401, 836  
 ā tvam (evam) indrāya pyāsaava, 224, 831  
 ā tvā pariśritāḥ ("ṣṛtāḥ, "ṣrutāḥ) kumbhāḥ ("kḥ), 275, 626, 682, 831  
 ā tvā prāpann aghāyavāḥ (adyā°), 832, 868  
 ā tvā vahantu harayāḥ succetaḥ (sacc°), 612  
 ā tvā subhava (subhava) sūryāya, 119  
 ā dadhnaḥ kalasāḥ ("āṛ, "śam) aguh (ayan, gaman, upa, ayann iya, air-ayam), 701  
 ā darśati (darśate) śavnaḥ bhūryojāḥ (aspta dānūn), 292  
 ādāyo vīrah śatamanyur indrah, 471, 489  
 ādityaṃ garbhāṃ payasā sam āṇdhi (āndhi, āñjan), 418  
 āditya nāvam āruṣaḥ (āroṣam), 715  
 ādityasya vratam upakṣiyantaḥ (kṣy-antaḥ), 795  
 ādityāś chmaśrabhiḥ ("yāś śma", "yāś śma°), 937  
 ādityānāṃ patvānv (patmānv) ihī (ehi), 240, 694  
 ādityānāḥ praśtir ("ṣṛtir) hetir ugrā, 637  
 ādityā rudrā vasavaḥ tvedate (tvel°, tenute), 271  
 ādityeṣaḥ sumahasāḥ (sa°) kṛṣṭana, 612  
 ādityāḥ te citim (citam) āpūrayantu, 567  
 ādityāḥ tvā pravṛhantu (pravṛ°) jāga-tena chandasā, 212  
 ādityebhyaḥ preṣya (ādityebhyaḥ) pri-yebhyaḥ . . . mahasvasarasya (mah-aḥ sva°) . . . , 960  
 ādityebhyas tvā pravṛhāmi . . . , 212  
 ād id antā adadhanta pūrve, 341, 835  
 ād id dyāvāpṛthivī aprathetām, 341  
 ād id dhotāraḥ ny asādāyanta (asā°), 963  
 ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (bhuvanā vipaśyan), 840  
 ādhyakṣyāyānukṣattāram, 325, 491  
 ā na indo mahīm iṣam, 353  
 ā na indo śatagvinām (śā°), 512  
 ā na indra mahīm iṣam, 353  
 ānandā modāḥ pramudāḥ, 713  
 ānando modāḥ pramodāḥ, 713  
 ā naḥ śṛṇvaṇ ṭīḥhīḥ śīda sādānam, 376  
 ā na (naḥ) stuta upa vājebhīḥ ūti, 977  
 ā nu tac (tyac) chardho divyath vṛṇimabe, 345  
 ā no agne succetunā (suketunā), 126  
 ā no goṣu viśatv auśadhīṣu (oṣ°, ā tanūṣu), 730

- ā no yāhi tapasā janeṣu (janiṣva, janeṣv ā), 693, 742, 826  
 ā no viśva śakrā (viśve śakrā) gāmantu ('ta) devāh, 473  
 antarikṣam prthivīm adāhāt, 509  
 āntrīmukhaḥ . . ., 386, 511  
 ānyāvākṣid (ānyā vakṣad) vasu vāry-  
 āqi, 481  
 āpataye tvā grhāmi, 867  
 āpataye tvā . . . tanūnaptre śākvarāya  
 śakvānu ('tre śakmane śākvarāya  
 śakmann) ojiṣṭhāya, 240  
 āpaprivān (āpaprvān) rodasī antarik-  
 ṣam, 671  
 āpaḥ śundhantu mainasah, 173  
 āpas tad ghnantu sarvadā (te sadā),  
 842  
 āpas tvā sam ariṣan (ariṣvan, āpaḥ  
 sam ariṣan), 366  
 ā pitarān vaiśvānaram avase kaḥ  
 (kuḥ), 611  
 āpura stā . . ., 90, 319, 568  
 ā puṣtam etv ā vasu, 309, 992  
 āpūryā sthā . . ., 90, 319, 568  
 ā pūṣā etv ā vasu, 309, 568, 992  
 āprṇo 'si samprṇah (āprṇosi sam-  
 prṇa) . . ., 293, 380, 827  
 āpo agre viśvan āvan, 253  
 āpo adyānu acāriṣam, 244, 498, 754  
 āpo asmān (mā) mātaraḥ śundhayantu  
 (śūdayantu, śundhantu), 109, 286, 302  
 āpo grheṣu jāgrata, āpo jāgrta, 662  
 āpo devīḥ pratigrbhīta ('grbhīta)  
 bhasmaitat, 116  
 āpo devīr agrepuvo agreguvo . . ., 910  
 āpo devīḥ avadantu (sadantu) . . ., 371  
 āpo deveṣu jāgratha, 662  
 āpo malam iva prāṇaikṣit (prāṇijan),  
 700  
 āpo mā . . ., see āpo asmān . . .  
 āpo me hotrśśāśināḥ ('nyah), 328  
 āpo ha yad brhatir (van mahatir)  
 viśvam (garbham) āyan, 253  
 āpo haviṣu jāgrta, 662  
 āptam manah, 874  
 āptye aśi nayāmasi, 511, 878  
 āpyāyadhvam aghniyā (aghnyā) . . .,  
 787  
 āprā (āprād) dyāvāprthivī antarikṣam,  
 392  
 ābhīṣ tvāham . . . sūtavai ('ve), 705  
 ābhur anyo 'pa ('va) padyatām, 201  
 ābhur (ābhūr) aśya niṣatgadhīḥ  
 ('thīḥ), 77, 93, 98, 554  
 ā mā gantāhi ('tam) pitarā mātara ca  
 (yuvam), 482  
 ā mā goṣu viśatv ā tanūsu, 730  
 ā mā varco 'gninā dattam etu, 907  
 ā mākṣiṣo (ām ākṣiṣo) dohakāmāḥ, 836,  
 837  
 ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (gamet),  
 357, 713, 803  
 ā mā stotraya stotram gamyāt, 357,  
 713, 803  
 āyataye tvā grhāmi, 867  
 ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvasānāḥ ('nuḥ),  
 507  
 ā yauh (āyan) narah sudānavo dadā-  
 śuṣe, 413, 831  
 āyann arthāni kṛpavann apānsi, 482  
 ā yāta pitarah somyāsaḥ (somyāḥ), 747  
 ā yā dyāni (divan) bhāsy ā prthivīm  
 orv (urv) antarikṣam, 718  
 ā yāhi tapasā janeṣu (janiṣva, janeṣv  
 ā), 693, 742, 826  
 ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (hariba, harī  
 itā), 545  
 ā yāhy arvāḥ upa vandhureṣṭhāḥ  
 (ban<sup>o</sup>), 213  
 āyuhpati rathastarāḥ (āyuh pratira-  
 thastarāḥ) . . ., 354, 840  
 āyukṛd āyuhpatni svadhā vah, 962  
 āyukṣī sarvā oṣadhīḥ, 140, 255, 805  
 āyur dadhad yajñapatāv ('tā) avihru-  
 tam, 883  
 āyur dadhānāḥ prataram navlyah, 575  
 āyurdā agne jarasam vṛṣānah, 196, 267,  
 643, 854  
 āyurdā agne 'si, 100  
 āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣāṣah (haviṣā  
 vṛdhānah), 196, 267, 643, 854  
 āyurdā aśi, 100  
 āyurdā deya jarasam vṛṣānah (gru<sup>o</sup>),  
 196, 267, 643, 854  
 āyur dehi, 103  
 āyurdhā agne 'si, 100



āyurdhā asi, 100  
 āyur dhehi, 103  
 āyur no dehi jīvase, 105, 106  
 āyur no viśvato dadhat, 105  
 āyur bṛhat tad aśīya tan māvatu  
 (mām avatu), 812  
 āyur mayi dhehi, 100, 102  
 āyur me dehi (dhehi, dāḥ, dhattam),  
 100, 102, 103  
 āyur vasāna upa vetu (yātu) śeṣaḥ  
 (śeṣam), 803  
 āyus ca prāyus ca cakṣus ca vicakṣas  
 (cakṣus ca vicakṣus) ca prān cāpān  
 (cāvān) ca, 202, 608  
 āyuskrte svāhā, 716  
 āyuskrd āyuspatni svadhāvantau, 962  
 āyus te viśvato dadhat, 105  
 āyusmān ("raśn, "mān, āyusyam) jara-  
 daṣṭir yathāsat ("sam, "sāni), 936  
 āyusmān agne haviṣā vṛdhānah, 196,  
 267, 643, 854  
 āyu (āyuh) stha, 977  
 āyoh patmane svāhā, 240, 967  
 ā yonim garbha etu te, 711  
 āyobhavyāya catuṣpadi, 319, 421  
 ā yo viśvāni śavasa (śravasā) tatāna,  
 349  
 āyuskrte svāhā, 716  
 āyos patmane svāhā, 240, 967  
 āraṇāya śrmarah, 316, 490  
 ā raśmim (raśmim) deva yamase (yuv-  
 ase) svaśvān ("vah), 235, 617  
 āradhyai didhiṣṭipatim, 381, 474, 554  
 āruroha tve sacā (tvayy api), 747  
 āre asman (asmin) nī dhehi tam, 578  
 āre śatrūn (āreśatruḥ) kṛpuhi sarva-  
 vīrah ("ram), 820  
 ā robantu janayo yonim agre, 863  
 ārtavā adhipataya śan, 652  
 ārtavā arjyanta, 652  
 ārtavo 'dhipatir āst, 652  
 ārtayi janavādinam, 652  
 ārdrah prathasnur (prthasnur) bhuv-  
 annaya gopāḥ, 609, 658  
 āryamā yāti vṛjabhas turāṣāt, 509  
 āryān ehi somakāman tvābuh, 512  
 ālikhano animiṣaḥ . . . hantrimukhaḥ  
 . . ., 388, 511

ālebhānād ṛṣibhir yātudhānāt, 262  
 ā va indrah kriviṁ (kṛviḥ) yathā, 673  
 āvat tam indrah śacyā dhamantam,  
 407, 826, 873  
 ā vateo jagatā (jāyatān, jagadāḥ)  
 saha, 60  
 āvartam indrah śacyā dhamantam,  
 407, 826, 873  
 ā vah somam nayāmasi, 383, 830  
 āvitte dyāvāpṛthivi ṛtāvṛdhau, 97, 466,  
 665, 871  
 āvittau mitrāvaruṇau dhṛtavrate, 466,  
 665, 871  
 āvitsi sarvā oṣadhīḥ, 140, 255, 805  
 āvinne dyāvāpṛthivi dhṛtavrate, 97,  
 466, 665, 871  
 āvinṇau mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvṛdhau, 466,  
 665, 871  
 āvie (āviḥ) kṛṇuṣva daivyāny agne, 967  
 ā vitraṁ pṛtanāgaham ("saham), 984  
 ā vṛṣeyantām (vṛṣeantām) aditaye  
 durevāḥ, 334  
 āvo yudhyantau vṛṣabham daśadyum,  
 873  
 āvyuṣam jāgrīd (jāgryām, "yāmy)  
 aham, 674  
 āstikāḥ kṛmaya (kri?) iva, 668  
 āśiṣe rādhasse mahe, 627  
 āśir pa (nā, ma) ōrjam uta saupra-  
 jāstvam (supra?), 724, 949  
 ā śirṣaḥ śamopyāt (sam?), 277  
 āśuh kṛṣṭhām (gā?) ivāśaran ("ram),  
 45  
 āśun jayantam anu yāsu vardhasse,  
 287, 339, 618, 840  
 āśun tvāḥau dadhire devayantaḥ, 193,  
 296, 835  
 ā śuṣe rādhasse mahe, 627  
 āśūn iva suyamān śhva ūtaye, 843  
 āśūn huvo suyamān ūtaye, 843  
 āśreṣā nakṣatram, 265, 473  
 āśādhām yuteu . . . āśādhām ugram  
 . . ., 474  
 āśā (āśāḥ) pratiṣṭhām avided dhi  
 (avido hi, avide ["da"] nu) gādham, 86  
 āsannā udabbhir yathā, 90  
 āsann ā (āsan naḥ) pātraḥ janayanta  
 ("tu) devāḥ, 383, 837

āsanniṣṭūn hr̥tsvaso mayobhūn, 180, 298,  
 380, 634, 693, 820  
 āsann eṣām apsuvāho mayobhūn, 180,  
 298, 386, 634, 693, 820  
 ā samudrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829  
 āsam manah, 874  
 ā stm ugrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829  
 ā sutrāvce sumatim āvṛṇānāh, 60, 287,  
 294, 355, 854  
 ā soma suvāno (svāno) adribbih, 794  
 āstām jālma (jalma) udarām śraṇ-  
 śayitvā (śraṇśayitvā), 277, 489  
 āsam āgṛvann āsāh, 873  
 āsamāsu nṛmṇam dhāt, 509  
 āsminn ugrā acucyavuh, 144, 600, 829  
 ā svam indrāya . . . , see ā tvam . . .  
 āhalag ("lum) iti vañcati (sarpati), 511  
 āhṛārasaya parasyādah, 511  
 indikārāya ("kṛtāya) svāhā, 386, 544  
 ichanto "paridāktān, 159, 186  
 iḍa (iḍā) chī, 272  
 iḍaprajaso (iḍā") mānavih, 475  
 iḍā manuṣvad ("yad) lha cetayanti, 248  
 iḍāyā ("yāh) padam . . . , 964  
 iḍāvati dhenumatī hi bhūtam, 272  
 iḍāvān ("vān) eṣo asura prajāvān, 925  
 iḍāmān anu vastān ghṛtena, 271, 665,  
 924  
 iḍito devair harivān ("vañ) abhiṣṭih,  
 539  
 iḍaivāsmān (iḍaiva vām) anu vastān  
 vratena (ghṛtena), 271, 665, 924  
 iti cid dhi tvā dhanā jayantam, 68, 735  
 itidam viśvam bhuvanam sam eti (vi  
 yāti), 803  
 ito dharmāṇi dhārayan, 578  
 idam rādhaḥ prātī gr̥bhāḥ (gr̥bhāḥ)  
 āgiraḥ, 116  
 idam rādho agnīnā dattam āgāt, 907  
 idam vatsyāmo bhoḥ (vatsyāvah), 237  
 idam varco agnīnā dattam āgāt (āgan),  
 907  
 idam ta ekam para ū ta (uta) ekam,  
 547, 831  
 idam tam adhitisthāmi (abhi"), 172  
 idam te tad vi syāmy āyuso na ma-  
 dhyāt, 614

idam devānām idam u naḥ (idam naḥ)  
 saha, 971  
 idam ahañ rakṣo 'bhi (rakṣobhiḥ)  
 sam dahāmi (sam ūhāmi), 383, 826  
 idam ahañ sarpaṇām . . . grathnāmi  
 (kṛṇāmi, kṛtānāmi), 47, 665  
 idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyaṇsya pāp-  
 mānam ava (apa) gūhāmi, 201  
 idam brahma pipṛhi (pipṛhi) sau-  
 bhagāya, 649  
 idam me prāvātā vacah, 449  
 idāhna īī āharam ātīya, 709  
 idhuṣayeva prakṣāyataḥ (prakhyāya-  
 taḥ), 27, 191  
 inatamam āptyam (āptam) āptyānām,  
 315  
 ino viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāh, 693  
 indur indum avāgāt ("gan, upāgāt,  
 apā"), 201  
 indra ivāriṣṭo akṣataḥ (akṣitaḥ), 576  
 indra ukthebhair mandisthaḥ (bhand"),  
 242  
 indra r̥bhukṣā marutaḥ pari khyan  
 (kṣan), 190  
 indra r̥bhubbir brahmaṇā samvidānāh,  
 108, 640, 919  
 indra eṇam (enam) prathamō adhy  
 atisthat, 950  
 indra enam (eṇam) parāśarit, 702, 950  
 indrah karmasu no 'vatu, 380  
 indrah kṛtvā maruto yad vaśāma, 380,  
 664  
 indrah patis tuviṣtamo (taviṣtamo)  
 janoṣv ā, 596, 604, 742, 904  
 indrah pāśena siktā vaḥ (vaḥ siktā),  
 387, 383, 819  
 indram yajñe prayaty ahvetām (āh"),  
 509  
 indram vājam vi mucyadhvam, 52  
 indram sa rchatu yo maitasyai ("ayā)  
 diṣo 'bhidāsatī, 910  
 indram sa diṣān devān devatānām  
 rchatu yo maitasyai diṣo 'bhidāsatī,  
 910  
 indra karmasu no 'vata, 380  
 indra kratvā maruto yad vaśāma, 380,  
 664



- indra darta purām asi, 107  
 indra dhartā purām asi, 107  
 indrapāśena sitvā, 367, 383, 819  
 indram agniḥ ca voḍhave, 694  
 indram ślṣṭiyavantam . . . bhāspati-  
 mantam ('vantam) . . ., 239  
 indratubhīr brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānāḥ,  
 108, 640, 919  
 indravanta ('taḥ) stuta (studhvam),  
 977  
 indravanto maruto viṣṇur agniḥ, 467  
 indra vājeṣu nō 'va (ava, vaha), 907  
 indravān bhāḍ bhāṣa svāhā, 467  
 indravān evavān bhāḍ bhāḥ, 467  
 indravāhāv ('hā) ṛbhavo vājaratnāḥ,  
 888  
 indraś ca mṛḍayāti (mṛḍ') naḥ, 271  
 indra (indrah) śrutsaya mahato mah-  
 āni, 380  
 indra sayugbhīr . . ., 364  
 indra suteṣu someṣu, 380  
 indra somam imān piba (somam pibā  
 imam), 432, 444  
 indra somasya pitaye, 380  
 indra stomena paścadaśena . . ., 380  
 indras patis tavastamo janeṣu, 596, 964  
 indrasya tvā bhāgaru somenā tanaemi  
 (tanakmi), 127  
 indrasya nu vīryāpi prā vocam (nu  
 prā vocam vīr'), 437, 449  
 indrasya priyam pātha upehi (pātha  
 apīhi, 'pīhi), 910  
 indrasya vaimṛdhasyāham . . ., 699  
 indrasya śuṣmam trayann apasyubhīḥ,  
 699  
 indrasyāham vimṛdhasya . . ., 699  
 indrasyāham devayaḥyayendriyāḥ  
 ('vān, 'yāvān) bhūyāsam, 467, 598  
 indra svadhām anu hi nō babbūtha,  
 380  
 indra svayugbhīr . . ., 364  
 indrah suteṣu someṣu, 380  
 indrah sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā, 820  
 indrah somasya pitaye, 380  
 indrah stomena paścadaśena . . ., 380  
 indrah svadhām anu hi nō babbūtha,  
 380  
 indrāgnīyor ('gnyor) ahaḥ devayaḥy-  
 ayendriyāvy annādo ('driyavān vīr-  
 yavān) bhūyāsam, 467, 702  
 indrāgnīyor ('gnyor aham) ōjītim  
 anūjjeṣam, 702  
 indrāgnīyor ('gnyor) bhāgadheyi  
 ('yih, 'yis) stha, 702  
 indrāṇyai kirāḥ (kirāḥ), 290  
 indrādhipatīḥ ('patyāih) pīptād ato  
 naḥ, 700  
 indrāpāśya phaligam, 46, 545, 811, 867  
 indrāya ṛṣabhepa, 919  
 indrāya tvā bhāgaru somenā tanaemi,  
 127  
 indrāya tvā suṣuttamam, 397  
 indrāya tvā ṣṛmo 'dadāt (śramo dadat),  
 277, 664  
 indrāyayāsyā śephām alikam . . ., 46,  
 545, 811, 867  
 indrāyayāśbhepāśvibhyām saramvat-  
 yai, 919  
 indrāya vācam vi mucyadhvam, 52  
 indrāya suṣuttamam (suṣuttamam), 397  
 indravantaḥ karmaṇā (kāvyair) daṣ-  
 sanābhīḥ, 77  
 indravāthuh ('dhuh) kāvyair daṣan-  
 ābhīḥ, 77  
 indravanto maruto viṣṇur agniḥ, 467  
 indravaruṇā algābhyām, 888  
 indravān svāhā, 467  
 indrasūrā janayan viśvakarmā, 820  
 indrepa devir (devair) vīrudhaḥ sam-  
 vidānāḥ, 701  
 indreṣa mā indriyam dattam ojaḥ,  
 105  
 indrepa yujā (sayujā) pramṛṣṭa (pra-  
 mṛṣṭa) śatrūn, 90  
 indremam prataram ('rām) kṛdhi  
 (naya), 506  
 indre svānāsa (svānāsa) indavah, 794  
 indro jyeṣṭhānām (jyaisṭhyānām,  
 'jhyāya), 321, 707  
 indro nāma śruto grāḥ (grāḥ), 633  
 indropāśayakehamanaso . . ., 699  
 indro balad rakṣitāram dughānām, 210  
 indro marudbhīr ṛtuthā ('dhā) kṛnotu,  
 75

indro me śarīna yachatu, 234  
 indro yajvane prpate ca śikṣate (grpate  
 ca śikṣate), 153  
 indro yad abhinad valam (balam), 210  
 indro valam rakṣitāram dughnām, 210  
 indro vah śarīna yachatu, 234  
 indro vidyāt saha ṣibhiḥ (sabar-  
 ṣibhiḥ), 919  
 indro vo 'dya parāśarait, 702  
 indhāna enam jarate (jarite, janate)  
 svādhī, 861  
 invakā ('gā) nakṣatram, 48  
 ima udvāsikāriṇa ime durbhūtam  
 akran, 59, 126, 520a, 875  
 imam yajñam svadhayā ye yajante  
 (dadante), 159, 741  
 imam yajñam juṣamāṇā ('ṇāv) upetam,  
 886  
 imam yajñam avantu (avatu) 'no (yā)  
 ghṛtāśeḥ ('et), 281  
 imam logarū (lokarū) nidadhan mo  
 aham riṣam, 46  
 imam ca yajñam sudhayā dadante, 159,  
 741  
 imam tam abhitiṣṭhāmi, 172  
 imam tam punar ādade 'yam ('ham),  
 256, 845  
 imam agne camasaḥ mā vi jihvarah  
 (ji'), 519  
 imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyam me  
 (kṣatriyāṇām), 826  
 imam ū (u) ṣu tvam samākam (tyam  
 samabhyam), 252, 547  
 imam me agadam kṛta (kṛdhi), 849  
 imam me varuṇa śrudhi ('dhi), 518  
 imā uddhāsicāriṇa ime durbhūdam  
 akran, 59, 126, 520a, 875  
 imāḥ su nāvam āruham, 817  
 imām khaṇāmy oṣadhīm ('dhīm), 529  
 imām narūḥ (narah) kṛta vedim etya  
 (eta, etat), 328, 401, 494  
 imā brahma pipihī saubhagāya, 640  
 imā brahma brahmavāhaḥ ('ha), 381  
 imā yā devīḥ pradīśaḥ cataśrah, 707  
 ime jivā vi mṛtalir āvavṛtran (āvavart-  
 tin), 648  
 ime 'rātsur ime subhūtam (eūdam)  
 akran, 59

ime vāsantikā ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ,  
 888  
 ime śaisirā ṛtū abhikalpamānāḥ, 888  
 imau te pakṣāv (pakṣā) ajarau patatri-  
 ṇau ('ṇah), 676, 732, 888  
 imau bhadrau dhuryāv ('yā) adhi, 888  
 imau etām anupakṣitau (anapekṣitau),  
 618  
 iyaṁ vah sā satyā samdhābhūd (sam-  
 vāg abhūd) yām indreṇa samadhad-  
 dhvam ('dadhvam), 104, 391  
 iyaṁ vai pitre rāṣṭry ety agre, 321, 803  
 iyaṁ te yajñiyā tanūḥ (tanuḥ), 554  
 iyam apa (ava) dikṣām ayaṣṭa, 201  
 iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat  
 (vyuchat), 724  
 iyam oṣadhe ('dhi) trāyumaṇā, 695  
 iyaṁ pitryā (pitre) rāṣṭry ety (etv)  
 agre, 321, 803  
 iyānah kṛṣṇo daśabhiḥ sahasraiḥ, 538  
 ira ehi, 272  
 irām u ha (irām aha) prasāṇsati, 613,  
 830  
 irāvatī dhenumatī hī bhūtam, 272  
 iryatīyā akitavam, 544  
 ita ehi, 272  
 ituvardāya svāhā, 579, 627, 862  
 itva vām anu vastām vratena, 271  
 iṣam ūrjam yajamānāya dhehi (duh-  
 rām, dattvā), 105  
 iṣaḥ corjaś ca śaradāv ('dā) ṛtū, 888  
 iṣum na viro asti, 840  
 iṣur nāviraśtāram, 840  
 iṣe pipihī (pipihī), 545  
 iṣe rāye (rayayai) ramaśva aśhase  
 dyumnāyorje ('yorja-, dyumna ūrje)  
 'putyāya (patyāya, apa'), 37, 396,  
 705, 910  
 iṣkartā vihrutaḥ punah, 650, 683  
 iṣkṛtābhvam avatam, 164  
 iṣṭam vitam abhigṛtaḥ vaṣaṭkṛtam,  
 153  
 iṣṭam ca vitam (vittam) ca (cābhūt),  
 398  
 iṣṭam pūrtam abhipūrtam vaṣaṭkṛtam,  
 153  
 iṣṭena pakvam upa te huve svāham  
 ('sā aham), 362



- iṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā . . . , 690  
 iṣṭo yajña bhṛgubhir draviṇodā yatī-  
 bhīr (yattibhīr) āśrēdā vasubhīr (āśīr-  
 vān atharvabhīr, vasubhīr āśīrvān  
 atharvabhīr), 401, 625  
 iha kṛmo (kurmo, kulmo) harivo  
 medinam (vedinan) tvā, 231, 263  
 iha gatir vāmaśya, 694  
 iha pūṣā ni śidatu, 720  
 iha prasatto (prasakto, prasapto) vi  
 caryat kṛtam naḥ, 139, 152  
 iha rama (ramah), 379  
 ihetthā ('tha) prāg apāg udag adharāk,  
 455  
 iheha yaḥ svatavaśaḥ (svatapaśaḥ), 200  
 ihaiva san (śaśa) tatra santam tvāgne  
 (sato vo agnayah), 932  
 ihaiva stam mā vi yaustam (yoṣtam),  
 729  
 idākārāya ('kṛtāya) svāhā, 386, 544  
 idito (il") devair harivān abhiṣṭib,  
 539  
 idīṣva hīmahe (maht) vṛṣan, 695  
 idē agniḥ svavaśaḥ (svāvasaḥ) nam-  
 obhīr, 466, 618  
 idē (ilē) dyāvapṛthivī pūrvacittaye, 271  
 idenyaokratūr aham, 272, 360, 383, 554,  
 600  
 idenyo (il") namasyah, 271  
 ipeantah pariśākrāt, 159, 186  
 iyānah kṛṣṇo deśabhīr sahaarnih, 535  
 iryatāyā akitavam, 544  
 il", see id"  
 lamṛdā āyuryudhaḥ, 165, 241, 271  
 māna imā bhuvanāni vīyase (iyase),  
 300  
 mānāḥ jagadāḥ saha, 60  
 māno jagatas patib, 60  
 māno vī syā (arjā) dṛtim, 192, 640  
 mā yo asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ, 907  
 mān khṛgalyaḥ śavam (khagalyaḥ  
 śapham), 199, 631  
 uktham vācindrāya, 322  
 ukthapattira ('patra) idyo grbhītaḥ,  
 390  
 uktham avācindrāya, 322  
 uktham indrāya śaśasyam, 322  
 ukthas te 'āgāni pātva asau, 322  
 ukthebhyas tvokthāvyam grhāmī,  
 322, 805  
 ukthyaḥ vācindrāya śṛṇvate tvā, 322  
 ukthyam indrāya śaśasyam, 322  
 ukthyebhyas ukthyaśyuvam, 322, 805  
 ukṣantūdnā maruto ghṛtana, 183, 411  
 ukhātā aravantim agādām aganma  
 (akarma), 46, 862  
 ugradhanvā pratihitābhīr astā, 569  
 ugram oṣiṣṭhaḥ tavasaḥ (tarasaḥ)  
 tarasvinam, 268  
 ugrampaśyā (ugrah paśyāc) ca rāṣ-  
 ṭrabhṛc ca tāni, 405, 820  
 ugrampaśye ugrajitan tad adya, 820  
 ugrampaśye (ugrah paśyed) rāṣṭrabhṛt  
 kilbiṣāṇi, 820  
 ugras tanticaro vṛṣā, 144  
 ugro virājann apa vṛkṣva (madha)  
 śatrūn, 138, 569, 616  
 uccairvāji pṛtanāṣāt ('nāsāham; "vādi  
 pṛtanāji), 159, 984  
 uc chuṣmā oṣadhīnām (chuṣmausa"),  
 989  
 ucchañcamānā (uccumañc") pṛthivī  
 su tiṣṭhatu (hi tiṣṭhasi), 224  
 uc olvañcasva (chmañc") pṛthivī mā  
 ni bādhatāḥ (vi bādhitāḥ), 29, 224  
 uchantūdnā maruto ghṛtana, 183  
 uta gnā vyantu (viyantu) devapatniḥ,  
 796  
 uta trātā śivo bhavā (bhuvō) varā-  
 bhyah, 602  
 uta tvā gopā adṛṣan, 356  
 uta no brahmann aviṣah (brahman  
 haviṣah), 386  
 uta padyābhīr yaviṣṭhaḥ, 192  
 uta prajāta bhaga id vaḥ syāma, 641,  
 818  
 uta prahām atidivya jayāti ('divā  
 jayati), 327  
 uta rājānām uttamam mānavānām, 94  
 uta vām uṣaso budhi (budhīr), 381  
 uta śravasā ('sa ā) pṛthivīm, 991  
 utā no mītravaruṇā ihāgatam, 180, 437,  
 440, 888  
 utānyo amasā yajate vi cāvah (vic-  
 āyah), 254, 840  
 utāyam pitā mahatām gargarāṇām, 94

utārebhāpān ṛṣtibhīr yātudhānān, 262  
 utālabdham (utārabdhān) spruḥi  
 jātavedaḥ, 262  
 utāla parimīdho 'si, 568  
 utem amunamauḥ (uteva namnamauḥ),  
 236, 840  
 utem arbhe havāmahe, 569, 693, 831  
 utem (uto) āsu mānam piparti (bi-  
 bharti), 112  
 utśinuh gopā adṛśan (adṛśan), 356  
 uto aranyānāḥ (\*nis) sāyam, 971  
 uto padyābhīr javiṣṭhaḥ (yav\*), 192  
 utkūlanikūlebbhyaḥ triṣṭhinam (utkū-  
 lavikūlābhyāḥ triṣṭhinam), 986  
 uttamah nākam (uttamē nāke) adbi  
 rohayemam (rohayainam, rohemam),  
 712, 745  
 uttarayān devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ  
 (\*tā), 487  
 ut tiṣṭhata (\*tā) pra taratā sakḥāyāḥ,  
 433, 442  
 ut tiṣṭha puruṣa harita piṅgala lohi-  
 tākṣi (puruṣāharitapiṅgala lohi-  
 tākṣa) . . ., 591  
 ut te stabhnāmi (tabhnomi) prthivīm  
 tvat pari, 374  
 ut tvā (u tvā) mundantu somāḥ, 392  
 ut parjanyaśya dhāmabhiḥ (śuṣmeṣa,  
 dhāmānā, vṛṣṭyā, dṛṣṭyā), 869  
 ut sakthyā (\*yor) ava gudam (\*yor  
 ḡdām) dhehi, 641  
 utasā juṣasva madhumantam ūrva  
 (ūrmim, arvan, juṣasva śatadhāram  
 arvan), 223, 621  
 ut satvanān māmakānān manāṁsi  
 (mahāṁsi), 857  
 udādāya prthivīm jivadānum (jira-  
 dānuḥ, \*num), 266  
 ud it te vasuvittamāḥ, 345, 627  
 udleyān tvā diśi viśve . . . abhiṣi-  
 cantv . . ., 512  
 ud trayathā (\*tā, \*ta) mṛutaḥ samud-  
 rataḥ, 90, 443  
 ud u tye (ud-ut te) madhumattamāḥ,  
 345, 498, 627  
 ud usiyāb sṛjate (sacate) sūryaḥ sacā,  
 3, 57, 634  
 ud enam uttaraḥ (\*rān) naya, 599

udgātar devayajanam me dehi (dhehi),  
 104  
 udgrābhepod agrabhit (ajigrabhit,  
 ajigrabham, ajigrbham), 519, 657  
 udno dattodadhiu bhintta (deby uda-  
 dhiu bhindhi), 418  
 udno divyasya no dehi (dhātah), 106,  
 569  
 ud balasyābbhinā tvacam, 210  
 uśbhinnam rājānāḥ, 724  
 udyatām iva sūryaḥ, 743  
 udyan nakṣatram arcivat (\*mat), 239  
 ud vaṣām iva yemire, 110, 296, 354,  
 569, 840  
 ud valasyābbhinat (\*nas) tvacam, 210  
 un nayāmi svān (svān) aham, 924  
 unnetar un non (no) nayonnatar vasvo  
 abhy un nayā naḥ, 243  
 unnetar vasiyo na (nā) un nayābhi  
 (vasyo 'bhy un nayā naḥ), 243, 789  
 unmāsi (unmā asi), 993  
 upa ṛṣabhaśya (uparṣa\*) retasi (yad  
 retah), 919  
 upa jmann upa vetaṣe, 159  
 upa tvā kāma imahe sasṛgmahe, 131  
 upa tvā kāmān mahah sasṛjmahe, 131  
 upa dyām upa velasam, 159  
 upa drava payasā godhug oṣam (oṣum;  
 payasā goṣam), 618  
 upa naḥ (nas) sūnavo girah, 971  
 upa no mītrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam, 180,  
 437, 440, 888  
 upa prakṣe (upaprakṣe) madhumati  
 kṣiyantaḥ, 817  
 upapravada (upapla\*) maṇḍūki, 263  
 upa preta jayatā narah, 441  
 upa mā jakṣur (ea\*) upa mā manīṣā, 55  
 upa mā (mām) dhenuḥ saharṣabhā  
 (saharṣa\*) hvayatām, 919  
 upa mādhi dyaus (dyaub) pitā hvaya-  
 tām, 967  
 upa yajnam asthita (astṛta, astu no)  
 vaiśvadevi, 96, 627, 640, 643, 849  
 upayāmam adharegausṭhena (\*goṣ-  
 ṭhena, adharogṣṭhena), 731  
 uparṣabhaśya . . ., see upa ṛṣ\*  
 upavir asi, 465  
 upakṛvate tvā, 616



upa śravat (śruvat) subhagā yajñe  
asmā, 603  
upaśrito (upaśrutī, 'śrito) divaḥ pṛthi-  
vyoḥ, see agne tvam sūktavāg . . .  
upa śreṣṭhā na dāṣaḥ (dāśraḥ), 837  
upaśtutyadh ('stutam) janima tat  
(mahī jātām) te arvan, 327  
upa stuhī (stuhī) tam nṛmanām  
(nṛmanām) athadrām, 77, 110, 350,  
610, 696, 802, 824, 871  
upaśthāvarābhyo dādam, 597  
upaśthāvarābhyo bai(n)dam, 597  
upaśthe mātuh surabhā ('bhāv) u loka,  
856  
upaśthe soma āhitaḥ (ādhitah), 122  
upa stuhī, see upa stuhī  
upahūtā gāvaḥ saharṣabhāḥ, 919  
upahūtā dhenuḥ saharṣabhā (sahaṣṣ'),  
919  
upahūtā saptahotrā ('tāḥ saptahotrāḥ),  
351  
upahūto dyaus (dyaḥ) pitā, 907  
upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarane (hav-  
iḥk'), 902  
upahūto 'yam yajamāna uttarasyām  
devayajyāyām ('yājyāyām), 487  
upākṛtāḥ śaśamānuḥ yad asthāt (sa-  
dhaasthāt, sad asthāt), 110, 829  
upānasah saparyan, 383, 614, 832  
upāyava ('vas, 'vaḥ) stha, 977  
upāvīr asi, 465  
upo nu as saparyan, 383, 614, 832  
upo ha yad vidatham vājino guḥ  
(gūḥ), 558  
ubhayebhyaḥ pra cikitsā gaviṣṭau  
(gaviṣṭau), 889  
ubhayor ārtayor (ārtiniyor, ubhayo  
rājhor) jyām, 791, 837  
ubhā(ubhāv) upāśu prathamā pibāva,  
886  
ubhā dātārāv ('rā) iṣāḥ rayīṣām,  
888  
ubhāv indrā (indro) udithaḥ sūryaś ca,  
92, 188, 824  
ubhāv upāśu . . ., see ubhā . . .  
ubhe id asyobhayaḥ (asyobhe asya)  
rājataḥ, 832, 911

ubhe ca no (caṇuḥ) dyāvāpṛthivi  
anhasaḥ ('asa) pātām (syātām, etc.),  
867, 964  
ubhe pṛakṣi rodasi, 718  
ubhe yatete ubhayaḥ (ubhe asya)  
pusyataḥ, 832, 911  
ubhau lokau sanem (sanomy) aham, 331  
uruka urukasya . . ., 49  
uru kṣayāya naś (naḥ) kṛdhi, 904  
uruga urugasya . . ., 49  
urupasāv . . ., see urū'  
urudraso vīśvarūpa indub, 291, 421,  
742  
uru prathavorgamradam avāastham  
devebhyah, 475, 493  
urugya rāya ego (rāyo 'vego, rāyah  
sam iḥo) yajasva, 361  
urugyā go (no) aghāyataḥ samasmāt,  
950  
urūpasāv (uru') asutpā ('pāv) udum-  
balau (ulu'), 273, 551, 886  
uror ā no deva riṣas pāhi, 371a, 716, 821  
uro vā padbhīr (padbhīr) āhate ('ta),  
166  
urva iva papasthe kāmō asme, 564  
urv antarikṣam vihi, 564  
urvi gabhīrā (gambhīrā) sumatiḥ je  
astu, 305  
urvīm gavyām pariśadam no akran, 46,  
564, 824  
urvi rodasi varivas ('vaḥ) kṛṣṭam  
(kṛṣṭam), 984  
urvy antarikṣam vihi, 564  
ulūkhālā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata  
(akurvata), 724  
ulena pariśito 'si, 568  
ulokam u dve upa jānīm tyatuḥ, 392,  
627  
ulo halikṣo vṛśadāśas te dhātore  
(dhātuh), 532, 568  
uśmahī tvā, 617  
uśasa śreyasi-śreyasīr (uśasaḥ śreya-  
sīh-śreyasīr) dadhat, 960  
uśā apa avasus tamah (svasus tamah),  
956  
uśo dadṛkce na punar yatīva, 565  
uśīrayoḥ pīlwayoḥ (pīl'), 544

uṣṭro ghr̥ṣvān vārdhr̥nāsas (ghr̥ṣvā-  
vān vārdhr̥nāsas) te matyai, 597,  
952  
uṣṣena vāya udakenehi (\*kenaidhi,  
vāyav udakenehi, vāyur udakeneṭ),  
122, 712, 887  
uṣṛā etaṁ dhūr̥bādā avīrahaṇā anaśśū  
(\*rū) brahmacodanau, 122, 207, 407,  
888  
uṣṛā (uṣṛiv) etaṁ dhūr̥sāhan (dhūr-  
vāhan) [yujyethām] anaśr̥n avīra-  
haṇau brahmacodanau, 122, 207, 407,  
870, 888  
ūtim arbhe havāmabe, 509, 693, 831  
ūti sa (sa) bhato divaḥ, 987  
ūdhno divyasya no dhātāḥ, 106, 569  
ūmalḥ pitrbhir . . ., 750  
ūrubhyāṁ te aṣṭhivadbhyām (\*ṣṭhī\*),  
909  
ūrvor ojaḥ, 792  
ūrjāṁ sadhūdēna (\*sīdena), 628  
ūrjāṁ ca tatra āmatir̥i ca pinvata  
(\*tha), 90  
ūrjāṁ bibhrad vāsuvaṇiḥ (vaḥ sum-  
anāḥ, vaḥ suvaṇiḥ, vāsumanāḥ)  
sumedhāḥ, 227, 383, 828  
ūrjāṁ mayi dbehi, 103  
ūrjāṁ me dbehi (dehi), 103  
ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (rājasūyāya, rāja-  
sūyāś) citānāḥ, 326  
ūrjasvatir̥ oṣadhir̥ ā riśantām (viś\*),  
267  
ūrjasvatir̥ svadhāvinir̥ (svadhāyir̥),  
247  
ūrjā pr̥thivīn gachata (yach\*), 853  
ūrjo pipihī (pipihī), 545  
ūrṇamradasām (ūrṇā\*) tvā stṛṇāmi  
(ūrṇamradāḥ) [\*dath] prathasva)  
svānasthāḥ (\*sthāḥ) devebhyāḥ, 475,  
493  
ūrṇamradā yuvatir̥ (\*mradāḥ pr̥thivī)  
dakṣiṇāvate (\*vatī), 695  
ūrdhvaṁ kham iva menire, 110, 296,  
354, 569, 840  
ūrdhvacitāḥ śrayadhvam (\*may\*), 195,  
355, 865  
ūrdhavadhanvā pratibhābhir̥ astā, 569

ūrdhvaṁ manahsvargyam (svargam),  
315  
ūrdhvaśritāḥ śrayadhvam, 195, 355, 865  
ūrdhvā yasyāmatir̥ bhā adidyutat  
(atidyutat), 63  
ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (\*dhvara śs-  
thāt, \*dhvare sthāḥ, adhware sthāt),  
508, 910  
ūrdhvo vir̥jāṇn apa sēdha śatrūn,  
135, 569, 616  
ūrva iva paprathe kāmo asme, 564  
ūrvaḥ gavyaḥ pariśadanto agman, 45,  
564, 824  
ūrvaiḥ, 725  
ūrvor ojaḥ, 792  
ūrvy antarikṣaṁ vihi, 564  
ūlena parimīdho 'si, 568  
ūlo halikṣo vṛṣadaśśas te dhātūḥ,  
532, 568  
ūṣā dadṛṣe na punar̥ yativa, 568  
ṛkṣalābhīḥ kapibjalān, 26, 184, 265, 631  
ṛkṣo jatūḥ sugilīkṣā (śuśulīkṣā) ta  
itaraṇānām, 279, 290, 624, 628  
ṛksamācē (\*samācē) chukrah, 985  
ṛco akṣare (\*kṣare) parama vyoman, 907  
ṛjite pari vṛdhi nāḥ, 360  
ṛṣān no nar̥ṣam erteśmānāḥ, 180, 694,  
698, 919  
ṛtapra]ṣṭā bhaga id vaḥ ayāma, 641, 818  
ṛtava (\*vas) stha ṛtavṛdhāḥ (stharīś\*),  
ṛtavāḥ stha . . ., 919, 977  
ṛtavo 'dhipataya āsan, 652  
ṛtavo 'sr̥jyanta, 652  
ṛtaśthā sthartāvṛdhāḥ, 919  
ṛtasya goptr̥i tapasāḥ paraśvī (par-  
asvī, tarutr̥i), 196  
ṛtasya tantuḥ vitatāḥ vivṛtya (viev-  
tya, dṛṣe kam), 866  
ṛtasya tv enam āmutāḥ, 383, 627, 838  
ṛtasya dhūmno amṛtasya yoneḥ, 421  
ṛtasya nābhāv adhi (abhi) sar̥ḥ punāmi  
(\*ti), 172  
ṛtasya brahma prathamota jajñe, 460  
ṛtasya yonir̥ mahiṣasya dhār̥ām, 421  
ṛtasyar̥tana mām uta (ita), 383, 627,  
838  
ṛtān mā muścatāśāṇāḥ, 421



rtur janitrī tasyā apas (apasas) pari,  
810  
rtusṭhā (\*stṭhā, \*stṭhā) stha rtāvṛdhāḥ  
(sthartusṭṭhāḥ), 919  
rtūn (rtūn) anyo vidadhā jāyate  
punah (jāyase navah), 927  
rtūn (rtūn) utarjate vaśī, 927  
rtūn prstibhīḥ (prstī), 639  
rtena (rte 'va) sthūnām (\*pāv, \*pā)  
adhi roha vanśa (vanśah), 237, 380,  
824, 888  
rtvai janavādinam, 652  
rūhag ayā (ayāḍ) rūhag utāsamiṣṭhāḥ  
(\*miṣṭa), 86, 234, 835  
rūhyāsam adya mahasya śirah, 659  
ṛabhaḥ naryāpasam, 359  
ṛabhāya gavayī (\*ya rājne gavayah),  
359  
ṛabheṣa gāh (vraṣṭā), 359  
ṛabho gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 359  
ṛabho 'si svargo lokah, 359  
ṛair ha (hi) dirghaśrutamah, 578  
ṛaipāh ca stutir (\*nām saṣṭutir) upa,  
293, 850  
ṛipām putro adhirāja eṣah (avirāja  
eṣah, abhiṣastipā u, abhiṣastipāvā,  
abhiṣastipā ayam), 172, 234, 740, 824  
ṛi bodhapratibodhan, 516  
ṛvāḥ satīḥ kavayāḥ (kavayah) śun-  
bhamānāḥ, 577  
ekayā ca daśabhiḥ ca svabhūte (cā  
suhūte), 119, 434, 446, 741  
eko devo apy atisṭhat, 909  
eko bahūnām asi manyasv iditah  
(manya iditah), 889  
eko vo devo apy (\*py) atisṭhat, 909  
eko ha devah pradiśo 'nu sarvāḥ, 578  
etat jānātha (jānītāt, jānīta) parama  
vyoman, 90  
etat tān pratimanvāno asmin, 227, 365  
etat te agne rūdha aīti (eti) somacyu-  
tam, 711  
etat tvam deva soma (tvam soma) . . .  
devān (devān) upāgāh (upāvrtaḥ),  
924  
etat tvātra pratimanvāno (\*vanvāno)  
asmi (asmin), 227, 365

etad brahmam upavalhāmasi (apa\*,  
upabalihāmasi) tvā, 214, 762  
eta pitarah somyāsah, 747  
etām sanikṛeya (\*kṛeya, \*kṛeya) juh-  
udhi, 4, 605, 631, 641  
etā te aghnye nāmāni, 787, 910  
etāni te aghniye (\*ghaye) nāmāni, 787,  
910  
etena tvam śrṣṇyām (\*yām) edhi  
(tvam atra śrṣṇvām edhi), 248  
etam barhir ai śidata (śida nah), 849  
ed u madhvo (madhor) madintaram,  
368  
enam parisrotah kumbhāḥ, 275, 682, 831  
enat cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām, 592  
enā viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ, 693  
enāhsadam ahar aśīya svāhā, 709  
eno mahue cakṛvān baddha eṣa, 592  
endrah vagnuṇā vahata, 256, 346, 800  
endram agniṁ ca voḍhave, 694  
endram neucyavuh . . ., 712  
emā agmann āśo dohakāmāḥ, 836  
emām anu sarpata, 379  
emām parisrotah kumbhāḥ, 275, 682,  
831  
em enad adya vasavo rudrā ādityāḥ  
svadantu (sad?), 371  
erum tundānā patyeva jāyā, 159, 421  
evam vapāmi hāmyam, 491  
evā vapāmi hāmyam, 491  
eṣa iṣāya māmāhe, 640  
eṣa u sya vṛṣā rathah, 325, 491  
eṣa ṛṣaye māmāhe, 640  
eṣa te yajño yajñapate . . . suvirah  
(suviryah, sarvaviras . . .), 323  
eṣa me 'muṣmīn (\*muṣmīn) loka prak-  
āśo 'sat, 943  
eṣa sya rūthyo vṛṣā, 325, 491  
eṣa hi devah pradiśo 'nu sarvāḥ, 578  
eṣā te agne sanit tayā (tayā tvam)  
vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva, 808  
eṣā vas aṣa atyā aśhvāg ahhūd yām  
indreṇa asmadaahvam, 104, 391  
esu dyumnas svar yamat, 711  
eṣo ha devah pradiśo 'nu sarvāḥ, 578  
eṣa gatir vāmasya, 694  
aidamṛdā yavyudhah, 165, 241, 271, 828

- aindrah prāṇo aṅge-aṅge nīdīdhyat (nī  
 dedhyat, nīdīhītaḥ), 696  
 aindram acuecyavub . . ., 712  
 aindrah śuśmo viśvarūpo na āgan, 699  
 aindrāsūrāḥ (\*saurāḥ) śyetalalāmās  
 (śyāmāla\*) tūparāḥ, 725, 818  
 aindropānasyakehamanaso . . ., 699  
 ailaḥyā (ailamṛjā) āyuryudhaḥ (yav-  
 yudhaḥ, vo yudhaḥ), 165, 241, 271,  
 828  
 aiṣu dyumnāḥ svar yamat, 711  
 okhāḥ dadhātu (dadātu) hastayoḥ,  
 101  
 ojaś pītṛbhyah pītṛn jinva, 936  
 ojaśā nāmāsi, ojaśvīni nāmāsi, 248  
 ojo dehi (dhatta), 103  
 ojo mayi dṛeḥi (me dāḥ), 103  
 ottarād adharād (\*rāḡ) ā purestāt, 145  
 obhe aprā rodasi vi (vi) ṣa āvaḥ, 515,  
 516  
 obhe prāṇai rodasi, 718  
 ośadhayaḥ prati gr̥bhīta, 116  
 ośadhayaḥ prati gr̥bhītāgnim (gr̥bhīṣṭ\*)  
 etam, 116  
 ośadhayaḥ prāvata vācam me, 449  
 ośadhībhyah (\*dhībhyah), 529  
 ośadhībhyah paśave no (paśubhyo me)  
 janāya (dhanāya), 160  
 oṣiṣṭhadāvne sumatīm gr̥ṣṇāḥ, 60,  
 294, 355, 854  
 oṣiṣṭhahanam śingnikośyābhyām  
 (\*kośābhyām), 293, 347, 618, 804, 816  
 o ṣu (eḥ) varita (varta) maruto vipram  
 aha, 389, 547  
 audbhīdyam rājāḥ, 724  
 aurvaiḥ, 725  
 aulaba it tam upā hvayatha (aulava  
 . . . hvayata), 90, 219  
 aulōkhalā grāvāṇo ghoṣam akrata, 724  
 aulōkhalāḥ sampravādanti grāvāṇaḥ,  
 724  
 kakup (kakuc) ehanda ibhendriyam, 178  
 kakup (kakuc) ehandaḥ, 178  
 kakubhaḥ (kakubam) rūpaḥ vṛṣabh-  
 aya (rūpam ṛṣa\*) rocate br̥hat  
 (br̥han), 23, 120, 359  
 kati kṛtvah prāṇati cāpānati ca (prā-  
 ṇiti cāpa cāniti), 382  
 kati dhāmāni kati ye vivāśāḥ, 739  
 kad va ṛtam kad anṛtam (amṛtam),  
 181  
 kanātkābhāḥ na ābhara, 79, 151  
 kanīkhanad iḥa sāpayan, 126  
 kapota (\*tā) ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai  
 (nairṛtāḥ), 699  
 kam agāḥ (agāḥ) janayopanaḥ, 936  
 kara ād (id) arthayāsa it, 599  
 karapam aśi, karupam aśi, 606  
 karṇābhyām chubukād (eubukād)  
 adhi, 84  
 karma kṛpvantu (\*to) mānuṣāḥ, 719  
 kalpantām te dīśah sarvāḥ (me dīśah  
 āgāmāḥ), 235, 285  
 kalpayataḥ mānuṣāḥ, 316, 490  
 kavaṣyo kośadhāvanāḥ (kośa\*, 'koṣa\*),  
 289  
 kavir gīrbhīḥ kāvyenā (\*na) kaviḥ san,  
 458  
 kavir yaḥ putrah sa im ā (imā, aś imāḥ)  
 ciketa, 383, 545, 831  
 kavīḥ chavyā, 128a  
 kavīḥ prchāmi vidvane (vidvano) na  
 vidvān, 240  
 kaṣotkāya svāhā, 33, 81, 295  
 kas te gātrāpi śamyati (śim\*), 372  
 kaḥolaḥ kaṣṭtakim (\*kam), 590  
 kā ūrū pādā ucyeṭe, 886  
 kāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (\*ṣa  
 ārpitāni), 590  
 kā prātā va āhutiḥ, 365  
 kāmam duhātām iha śakvaribhīḥ, 91  
 kāmaya māno vanā tvam, 312  
 kāmāyai svāhā, 319  
 kāmena kṛtaḥ (kṛta) śrava icchamānaḥ,  
 380  
 kāmāyayai svāhā, 319  
 kāmāno vanā tvam, 312  
 kāv ūrū pādāv ucyeṭe, 886  
 kāṣṭhā ajmegv (yajñeṣv) atnata, 339  
 kim it te viṣṇo paricakṣyam bhūt  
 (\*cakṣi nāma), 737  
 kim ūrū pādā ucyeṭe, 886  
 kiyāmbv atra rohatu, 782  
 kikasābhyo anūkyāt (\*nūkyāt), 907  
 kukūnanāśch tvā patmann ādhūnami,  
 151, 720, 810



kumbhinasah (kaum<sup>o</sup>) puṣkarasādo  
lohitāhīa te tvāgrāh, 724  
kuyavah (kū<sup>o</sup>) ca me 'kṣitā ('kṣitah)  
ca me, 552, 587  
kurkuraḥ sukurkuraḥ, 568  
kurkuro nīlabandhanah, 568  
kurvāṇo anyān adharān sapatnān, 907,  
924  
kulikā devajāmibhyaḥ, 149  
kulpāny āvapantikā, 151, 568, 800, 867  
kulyābhyah svāhā, 565  
kuvayah ('yih) kutarur . . ., 596, 782  
kuvit su no gaviṣṭaye (gaviṣṭaye), 889  
kuvīn no asya sumatir naviyasī  
(bhavi<sup>o</sup>), 857  
kūsmāṇḍāḥ, 'ḍāni, 'ḍyah, 290, 568  
kuṣṭayā te kṛipāni, 86  
kuṣṭhah ko vām aśvinā, 553, 831  
kuṣṭhayā te kṛipāni, 86  
kūsmāṇḍāḥ, 'ḍāni, 'ḍyah, 290, 568  
kubūm ahaḥ (kubūm devān) svartam  
(sukṛtāni, subhagāni) vidmanāpa-  
sam, 857  
kuhvai ('ve) trayo 'rupaitāḥ, 705  
kūtanānān tvā patman ā dhūnami,  
151, 720, 810  
kūyavah, see ku<sup>o</sup>  
kūrkurah ('ras) sukurkurah, 568  
kūrkuro bālabandhanah (vāla<sup>o</sup>), 214,  
215, 568  
kūlyābhyah svāhā, 565  
kūsmāṇḍ (kūṣ<sup>o</sup>) chakapiṇḍāḥ (śaka<sup>o</sup>,  
chakabhiḥ), 290  
kūsmāṇḍāḥ, 'ḍāni, 'ḍyah, and kūṣ<sup>o</sup>, 290,  
568  
kūṣṭho devān aśvinā, 553, 831  
kūṣ-, see kūṣ-  
kṛkalāṣah . . ., kṛkalāṣah . . ., 596  
kṛpūtam nah aviṣṭim ('tam), 45, 587  
kṛpūtam tāv adhvarā jātavedasau,  
885 b,  
kṛpūtu so adhvarā ('rā) jātavedāḥ,  
907  
krāvāno anyān (anyān, 'nyān) adharān  
sapatnān, 907, 924  
kṛtām cid enah prā mumugdhy (mu-  
muktam) aśmat (aśmat), 510  
kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah (enah), 421

kṛte yonau (kṛto yonir) vapateha  
bijam (vijam), 216  
kṛtyaṣṭā padvatī bhūtvā (bhūtvī), 598a  
kṛtvī (kṛtvā) devaīr nikilīṣam, 598a  
kṛtvī (kṛtvā) savarnām adadur (ada-  
dbur) vīvasvate, 105, 568a  
kṛdhi sv (sv) aśmān aditer anāgān  
(gāh), 987  
kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe (lalāṭe) pur-  
astāt, 265  
kṛṣṇagrīvah śitikakṣo 'ājisakthas  
('ājisakthas) te mindrāgnāḥ, 986  
kṛṣṇo 'ay ākhareṣṭhah ('ṣṭhāḥ), 493  
krayai tvā susasyāyai (sumanasyāyai),  
867, 870  
kevalāgbo ('lādyo) bhavati kevalādi,  
868  
ko ambādadate dadat, 907  
ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyusṭh, 739  
kotanāsu, 151, 720, 810  
ko nu vām mitrāvaruṇāv ('nā)rtāyan,  
888  
ko 'mbādadate dadat, 907  
kauberakā viśvavāṣah, 235, 267  
kaumbhinasah, see kumbhi<sup>o</sup>  
kyāmbūr atra rohatu (jāyatām), 782  
kratūdakṣābhyām me varcodā varcase  
pavasva, 556  
kratvā varigṭham vara āmurim uta,  
293, 529, 691, 840  
kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta,  
293, 529, 691, 840  
krāṇā śīsur mahinām, 132  
krāṇā sindhūnān kalāśān avīśat, 152  
kriyanta ā barhiḥ aśa, 152, 825, 971  
krīdantau (krī<sup>o</sup>) putnair naptṛbhiḥ, 271  
krīḍī (krīḍī) ca śāki cojjeṣī (śāki cor-  
jiṣī, 'jiṣī, ca), 278, 407, 693  
krōram ānāśā (ānāśā) martyah (mar-  
tah), 301, 315  
kva pratnā va śhutīḥ, 365  
kvayih kutarur . . ., 596, 782  
kṣatrasayolbam ('vam) aśī, 219  
kṣayasyāśī vidhataḥ (vidhātā), 350  
kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny (devo ati-  
duritāny) agniḥ, 908  
kṣipreṣave devāya svadhāvne ('dhāmi-  
ne), 240

kṣumāsi (kṣupāsi), 205  
 kuro bhrajaś (bhṛjvāś, bhṛjaś, bhṛājaś)  
 chandaś, 486, 668  
 khakholkāya svāhā, 33, 81, 295  
 khajāpo 'jopakāśinī, 21, 60, 151, 381  
 khaṇvakhāṣi khaimakhāṣi madhye tad-  
 uri, 124  
 khanyābhyaś (khalyā?) svāhā, 878  
 gaudharvāya janavide (jani?) svāhā,  
 388  
 gandharvo dhāma paramaś guhā yat  
 (dhāma vibhṛtaś guhā sat), 118, 639,  
 855  
 gaudharvo nāma nihitaś guhāsu, 118,  
 639, 855  
 gabhram (gambh?) imam adhvaram  
 kṛdhi, 305  
 gambhṛbhiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvebhiḥ  
 (pūrvebhiḥ), 315  
 gambhīraḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvyaiḥ (pūry-  
 āpaiḥ), 315, 388  
 garga vācakanvi, 490  
 garbha iva (ivet) subhṛto garbhīḥbhiḥ  
 (sudhito garbhīḥ), 175, 639  
 garbhāni śravantīm agadām akarma, 46  
 garbhaś ca sthāitāḥ garbhaś carantām  
 ('tām?), 93  
 garbhāḥ samjāyase punaḥ, 829, 936  
 garbhe saṁ (nan, san-) jāyase punaḥ,  
 829, 936  
 garbho asy (sy) ośadhīnām, 909  
 garbho jarāyuh pratidhuk pīyūṣaḥ, 381  
 gavayam te śug rchatu (te kṣut), 145  
 gātum vittvā gātum ibi, 360  
 gāyatri ('tri) chandasām mātā  
 (mātā), 525  
 gāyatriyai ('tryai, 'tryā) gāyātram,  
 791  
 gārgi vācakanvi, 490  
 gārhapatiyaḥ ('tyūt) prajāyā (prajā-  
 vān) vasuvittamaḥ, 250  
 gāva upāvatāvatam (upa vadāvate),  
 60, 164, 511, 835  
 gāvo gulgulagandhayaḥ (guggulu?),  
 409  
 gāvo bhago gāva indro me achān  
 (achāt, ma ichāt), 580  
 gira stomān pavamāno manīṣāḥ, 419

gira (giraḥ) stomāsa īrate, 977  
 giraḥ somaḥ pavamāno manīṣāḥ, 419  
 girā-girā ca dakṣase (cakṣase), 158  
 girā ca śruṣṭiḥ sabharā asan naḥ, 57,  
 363, 865  
 girir na viśvatas ('taḥ) prthuh patir  
 divaḥ, 964  
 giḥ kośvosaṇur yadā giraḥ, 290  
 guhā satīḥ gahane gahvareṣu, 299  
 guhāhitān nihitām gahvareṣu (guhā-  
 hitān gah?), 299, 808  
 grnatā naḥ svisṭaye, 45  
 grnānāḥ śravase (śa?) mahe, 349  
 grdhraḥ śitikakṣi vārdhrāgasas te  
 divyāḥ (vārhiḥgasas, vārdhri?, te  
 'dityāḥ), 23, 122, 597, 952  
 grbhāmi te saubhagatvāya (supra-  
 jāstvāya) haṣtam, 116  
 grhāḥ jugupataḥ yuvam, 548, 935, 936  
 grhāṇāṅgāny apve (aghe) pareḥ, 875  
 grhān ajugupataḥ yuvam, 548  
 grhā naḥ santu sarvadā (sarvataḥ), 65  
 grhān aīmī (emī) manasā . . ., 711  
 grhān jugupataḥ yuvam, 548, 935, 936  
 grhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (vep-  
 idhvam), 168, 584  
 grho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ (mithaḥ; grho  
 mito hiraṇyayaḥ), 96  
 grhāmi te saubhagatvāya (supra-  
 jāstvāya) haṣtam, 116  
 grhyopagryho . . ., 646  
 godānāc chubukād adhi, 84  
 godhāyasaḥ vi dhanasair adardaḥ  
 (atardat), 63  
 godhūmā ca me masūrūś (masurāś)  
 ca me, 568  
 gopāya mā (mān) śevadhī te ('dhiḥ  
 te), 958  
 gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā (gā?), 952  
 gomān id (yad) indra te sakṣā, 735  
 gośaphe śakulāv ('lā) iva, 888  
 goṣad aśi, 83  
 gosy aśveṣu śubhriṣu ('uṣu), 622  
 gohya upagohyo marūko (mayūkho)  
 manohāḥ, 81, 244, 646  
 gauram te śug rchatu (te kṣut), 145  
 gaurir (gauri, gaur in) mīmāya sālilāni  
 takṣati, 357, 545, 824, 862



- gaur dhenubhavyā (dhenur bhavyā), 357, 818
- gnāś tvā devir viśvadevyāvatih (\*vy-  
avatih) prthivyaḥ sadhasthe aṅ-  
girasvat . . . (\*āgirasvac . . .), 467,  
910
- graha viśvajanta niyantar viprāyāma  
te (nyantar vipra ā antī), 342, 605,  
770, 838, 870
- grāmaṁ sajanāyo gachanti (grāmān  
sajātayo yanti), 871
- grāme vidhuram (vikhuram) ichanti  
svāhā, 147
- grāmyamañjiradāśakau (grāmyaṁ  
mañjiradāśakau), 49, 279, 824
- grāvāśvādīd (grāvā vaded) abhi soma-  
yāśūdam (\*śunā), 481, 697, 836
- grivāyām (grivāsu) buddho apikakṣa  
śaani (apipakṣa śaani), 151
- gharmaṁ śocantaḥ (\*ta, \*taḥ) prava-  
ṇṣu (prapavṇṣu) bīhīrataḥ, 354, 802
- gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata (\*tā,  
\*trā) vāt (vet, va), 357, 448, 511
- gharinas triśug vi rājati (roante), 57
- ghaśinā (ghaśinā) me mā sampṛkthāḥ,  
545
- ghṛtaṁ yavā madhu yavāḥ, 503
- ghṛtaṁ ghṛtayone (ghṛtavane) piba,  
255
- ghṛtaṁ duhata (duhrata) śīram, 356
- ghṛtaṁ dukhānā viśvataḥ praptāḥ (pra-  
ptāḥ, pravṛptāḥ), 170, 198, 871
- ghṛtapratikam va (ca) ṛtaśya dhūr-  
śadam (dhūruśadam), 759, 866
- ghṛtapruṣas tvā surito vahanti (harito  
vahantu), 299
- ghṛtapruṣo haritaś tvāvahantu, 299
- ghṛtam eva madhu yavāḥ, 803
- ghṛtaṁ mimikṣe (\*kṣire) ghṛtam aśya  
yonih, 356
- ghṛtavati savitar (\*tur) adhipatyē  
(\*tyaib), 381, 610, 706
- ghṛtaścuto madhuścutaḥ (\*cyuto,  
\*cyutaḥ; \*cyuto, \*cyutaḥ), 336
- ghṛtaśya dhārām amṛtaśya panthām,  
421
- ghṛtaśya dhārām mahiṣaśya yonim,  
421
- ghṛtāhutaḥ somapṛṣṭhaḥ (stoma\*) sur-  
iraḥ, 419
- ghṛteṇa dyāvāpṛthivī prapuvāthām  
(prapuvā\*, prapuvāthām), 91, 797
- ghṛteṇa no (mā) ghṛtapvaḥ (\*puraḥ)  
punaṁtu, 789
- ghṛte śrito ghṛtam v (uv) aśya dhāma,  
774
- ghora ghoratarebhyaḥ, 816
- ghorā ṛṣayo namo aśtv ebhyaḥ (aśtv  
adya yebhyaḥ), 340
- ghoṣeṇāmivāśāñ cātayata (\*mivāñ cāta-  
yadhvam), 930
- cakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi, 866
- cakṣaṣi sāmavedaśya, 608
- cakṣurdā (\*dhā) aśi, 100
- cakṣurdā varodā varivodāḥ, 104
- cakṣur dehi (dhehi), 103
- cakṣur ma urvyā (uruyā, urviyā) vi  
bhāhi, 743, 791
- cakṣur mayi dhehi, 100, 103
- cakṣur me dāḥ (dehi, dhehi), 100, 103
- cakṣur yad eśāṁ manasaś ca satyam,  
340
- cakṣur yeśāṁ (hy eśāṁ) tapa uccabhi-  
mam, 340, 396
- cakṣuṣa eśāṁ manasaś ca saṁdhau, 340
- cakṣuṣi sāmavedaśya, 608
- cakṣuḥ (cakṣu) aśha . . ., 977
- catuspadām uta yo (ca) dvipadām, 499
- catuspāda uta ye dvipadāḥ, 499
- catvāri māyobhāvāya, 319, 421
- caniṣṭhad agne aṅgiraḥ, 54
- canikḥdudat yathāśapata, 126
- candrega jyotir amṛtaḥ dadhānāḥ  
(\*nā), 381
- capyam (cappaṁ) na pāyur bhiṣag  
aśya vālaḥ (vāraḥ, bālaḥ), 214, 261,  
408
- cami mā hīaśir amuyā śayānā, 57, 181,  
512, 824
- carnevāvādhus (\*bādhus) tamo apv  
antaḥ, 207
- cikītvāñ (\*vāñ) anu manyatām, 925
- cita (citāḥ, citas) aśha . . ., 977
- cittim (citiḥ) jūhomī . . ., 399
- cittim acittim (cittim acitiḥ) cinavad  
(\*vo) vi vidvān, 399

- cittiḥ (citti) aruk, 980  
 citra ādityānām, 195, 369  
 citraḥ śiśuḥ (śiśuḥ) pari tamāṁśy  
 aktūn (aktah), 967  
 citrā etagvā (eda<sup>2</sup>) anumādyāśaḥ, 21,  
 59  
 citrebbhir abhraiṛ upa tiṣṭhato ('tho)  
 ravam, 91  
 citro rakṣitā, 195, 369  
 cec-cec chunaka sṛja . . ., 84  
 corasyānām (caur<sup>2</sup>) navaśrāddham,  
 728  
 chad apebī . . ., 84  
 chendonāmānām (chandomānām,  
 chandomānām) sāmrājyaṁ gacheti  
 (gachatād iti, gached iti) . . ., 802,  
 808  
 chaviṁ chavyā, 128a  
 chlilipu chlilṣate, 195  
 jakṣivāśaḥ papivāśaś ('pāśaś) ca  
 viśve, 200  
 jagatā sindhum divy astabhāyat  
 (aśka<sup>2</sup>), 137  
 jagatyā rksamam (rkṣa<sup>2</sup>), 985  
 jagatyainam ('tyenam) vikṣv ā vaś-  
 nyāmaḥ ('yāmi, 'yāni), 709  
 jagad asi, 491  
 jagāma sūro adhvare vimadhyam (vi  
 madhyam), 816  
 jagrhmā (jagrhmā, jagrhmā) te dak-  
 ṣiṇam indra haṣtam, 116  
 jagdhā vicaṣṭir (vitṣṭir) . . ., 156, 634  
 jagdho māśako jagdhā vicaṣṭir  
 (vitṣṭir) . . ., 634  
 jagdho vyadhvare jagdhā vicaṣṭir  
 (. . . jagdhā vitṣṭi svāhā) . . ., 634  
 jajñā neta sann apurogavāśaḥ, 62, 192  
 jananta uṣaso bhagam, 366  
 janayas tvāchinnapatrā devir viśva-  
 devyāvatiḥ ('vyavatiḥ) . . ., 467  
 janiyanti nāv agravaḥ, 534  
 janiṣṭa hi jenyō agre aḥnām, 441  
 janiṣṭhad agre aṅgirah, 54  
 janiṣvā ('ṣva) hi jenyō agre aḥnām, 441  
 janiyanto nv agravaḥ, 534  
 jambhābhyāḥ (jambhyaia, jambhye-  
 bhis) taśkarāḥ ('raḥ, 'rān) uta, 315,  
 924  
 jayam (jayan) kṣetrāṇi sahasāyam  
 indra, 941  
 jarām gachāsi (gacha, au gacha) pari  
 dhateva vāśaḥ, 839  
 jari cetid abhiṣiṣaḥ, 193, 353, 676, 802  
 jāgatam asi (jāgatāsi), jāgato 'si, 491  
 jāgaritāya (jāgrtāya) svāhā, 649  
 jāgrtayas tripañcāśiḥ, 28, 47, 185, 192  
 jātavedo nayā hy (nayāy) enaṁ  
 sukṛtām yatra lokah, 298, 825  
 jātavedo maruto adbhīs ('dbhis) tama-  
 yitvā, 908  
 jātavedo vahemaṁ (vahasvainam)  
 sukṛtām yatra lokah (lokāḥ), 298, 825  
 jātānām janayāś ca yān (janayāśai  
 ['yāsi] ca), 393a  
 jātena jātam ati sa pra saraṣte (ati  
 sṛt pra sṛṣate), 633  
 jānita smāinam (jāntiād enaṁ) parame  
 vyoman, 90  
 jānim iha pitṛsadarā nyaktam ('tām),  
 139, 738  
 jānim itvā mā vivitai lokān, 198, 579,  
 637, 840, 871  
 jānim itvā māva patai lokāt, 198, 579,  
 637, 840, 871  
 jāmini mā hīṣiṛ amuyā (anu yā)  
 śayānā, 57, 181, 512, 824  
 jinva gā jinvarvataḥ, 852  
 jinventa uṣaso bhagam, 366  
 jīhvā pavitram sāvindāsan ('nā sarā)  
 sarasvati, 835, 938  
 jīmūtān hrdayaupāśābhyām ('śena,  
 'sena), 278  
 jivam rudanti vi mayante (mayanty)  
 adhware ('ram), 181  
 jivann eva pratidatte (prati tat te)  
 dadāmi ('ni, dadhāmi), 61, 106  
 jivasūr devakāmā (vīrasūḥ) syonā, 633  
 jivām rudanti vi mayante adhware, 181  
 jivāstave na mṛtyave (mārtave), 327,  
 650  
 jivāstave pratarām ('ram) sādhyā  
 dhiyaḥ, 506  
 jivām riebhyah (mṛt<sup>2</sup>) pariṇya-  
 mānām, 311, 492  
 jivebhyas tvā samude (samūde)  
 vāyur indrah, 401



- juṣantām soṃyam (sau<sup>o</sup>) madhu, 728  
juṣetām (°thām) yajñam iṣṭaye, 91  
juṣtaṃ devebhyo havyam ghṛtāvat  
(ghṛtāvat svāhā), 467  
juhota (°tā) pra ca tiṣṭhata, 433, 441  
jaitrāyā (jaitryāyā) viśatād u mām  
(°tām mām, ° tām mām), 315  
jyesṭhasya dharmam dyukṣor anike,  
840  
jyesṭhasya vā dharmāṇi kṣor anike, 840  
jyok kṣatre 'dhi jāgarat, 909  
jyok śrotre 'dhi (adhī) jāgarat, 909  
jyog ajitā (jitā, jivā) ahatah (°tā)  
syāma, 980  
jyog jivema sarvavirā vayan tama, 224  
jyog rāṣṭre adhi jāgarat, 909  
jyotiḥ paśyantiā (°ta) uttaram, 967  
jyotiḥ paśyanti vāsaram, 967  
jyotiṣaṃ na prakāśate, 278  
jyotiḥ paśyanta uttaram, 967  
jyotiḥ paśyanti vāsaram, 967  
tekaś ca sasaramaṇkaś ca, 135, 185  
nāsatyā . . . , see nāsatyā . . .  
ta ā vahanti kavayaḥ purastāt, 342  
taṃ vai manyet pitarāṃ mātaraṃ ca,  
849  
taṃ vo grhṇāmy uttamam, 116  
taṃ sakhāyaḥ purorucam (purū<sup>o</sup>), 721  
taṃ sadhrīcīr ūtayo vṛṣṇyāni (vṛṣṇi-  
yāni), 784  
taṃ sma jānīta (°tha) parame vyoman,  
90  
taṃ hed agnir vidhāvati, 123, 637  
taṃ gopāya (°yava), 365  
taṃ ghed agnir vpdhāvati, 123, 637  
tataḥ pāvakaś āṣiḥ no juṣantām, 811  
tataḥ me apas (ma āpas) tad u tēyate  
punaḥ, 485  
tataś cakṣāthām (cakrāthe) aditiḥ  
ditiḥ ca, 853  
tato jyāyās ca pūruṣaḥ, 506  
tato dharmāṇi dhārayan, 378  
tato na vicikitsati (vijugupsate), 45,  
56, 68, 180  
tato no dehi jivase, 105  
tato no mitrāvaruṇāv avīṣtam, 533, 858  
tato no rudrā uta vā nuv (°nv) aya,  
719, 778  
tato no vardhaya rayim, 74  
tato yajñas tēyate viśvadānīm, 157  
tato yajño jēyate viśvadānīb, 157  
tato vākāś āṣiḥ no juṣantām, 811  
tato viṣvaḥ vyakrāmat, 94  
tato ha jajñe (°haṃ yajñe) bhuvanaṣya  
gopāḥ (goptā), 192, 307  
tat tvendragraha . . . , see tat tvē<sup>o</sup>  
tatra indro bṛhaspatiḥ, 452, 992  
tatra cakrāthe aditiḥ ditiḥ ca, 853  
tatra no brahmaṇas patiḥ, 452, 992  
tatra pūṣābhavat (°bhuvat) sacā, 602  
tatra yamaḥ sādānā te kṛnotu, 405,  
452, 512  
tatra yonim kṛpavase, 452  
tatra rayiṣṭhām anu asūbhharaitam  
(°retām, sambhavaratām), 267, 712  
tatra śiśriye 'ja ekapādah, 907  
tatra havyāni gāmaya (gam<sup>o</sup>), 479  
tatrā no brahmaṇas patiḥ, 452, 992  
tatrā sadah kṛpavase, 452  
tat satyam yad viram bibhṛthah  
(°tah), 91  
tathā viṣvaḥ vyakrāmat (tathā vyak-  
rāmad viṣvaḥ), 94  
tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (vanu-  
tām), 606  
tad aya priyam abhi pātho aśyām  
(aśhām), 287, 577  
tad ahah nihnavē (nihnuve) tubhyam,  
603  
tad āyuh, 360  
tad āharanti kavayaḥ purastāt, 342  
tad indrāgnī jivataḥ (pīvatām)  
sūgtāvat, 852  
tad vāyuh, 360  
tad viprāso vipanyavaḥ (°yuvah), 604  
tad vipro abravīd udak (u tat), 65, 142,  
830  
tad vo astu sucetanam (°tunam, sajo-  
ṣam), 607, 612  
tanuvam . . . , see tanvam . . .  
tanūnapāc ca saraṣvati, 195, 810  
tanūnaptre śakmanē śakvarāya śak-  
manā ojiṣṭhāya, 240  
tanūnaptre śakvarāya śakmann (śak-  
vana) ojiṣṭhāya, 240  
tanūpāc ca saraṣvati, 195, 810

tanŭpā bhīṣajā sute, 867  
 tanŭpā ye naa (tanŭpāvānaa) tanvas  
 tanŭjāh (tapojāh), 254, 723, 833  
 tanŭpā ca sarasvatī, 105, 810  
 tanŭyā bhīṣajā sute, 867  
 tanūr me tanvā saha, 793  
 tanūr varṣiṣṭhā gahanesthā, 368, 861  
 tanūs tanvā (tanuvā) me saha, 793  
 tam te gr̥bhāmy uttamam, 116  
 tam te duścakṣā māva khyat, 100  
 tam te vi ṣyāmy āyuso na madhyāt  
 (nu madhye), 614  
 tam tvam viśvebhyo devebhyah kratūn  
 (\*bhya rtūn) kalpaya, 420, 665  
 tam tvā gr̥bhāmi tavasam atavyān  
 (ataviyān), 786  
 tam tvā ghṛtaśnav (\*śna) imahe, 889  
 tam tvā pra viśāmi . . . saha yan me  
 \*ati tena, 910  
 tam tvā bhrātaraḥ suvr̥dhā (\*dho,  
 suhr̥do) vardhamānam, 109, 269  
 tam tvā vayan sudhyo (sudhiyo)  
 navyam agne, 789  
 tam tvā viśve \*vantu (avantu) devāh,  
 907  
 tam (tat) tvendragraha . . . saha yan  
 me \*sti (asti) tena, 910  
 tan naḥ parṣad (pariṣad) ati diviṣah,  
 43, 758  
 tan naa trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato (tan  
 no viśvato) mahat, 410  
 tan no danti (\*tiḥ) pracodayāt, 529a  
 tan no durgih (durgā) pracodayāt, 599  
 tan no brahmā (\*ma) pracodayāt, 460  
 tan naa smhvananam kṛtam, 593  
 tan ma (mā) āpyāyatām punah, 992  
 tan mā jinva, 354, 829, 871  
 tan mā devā avantu śobbhāyi, 414, 700  
 tan mā puṇai kartary arayadhvam, 414  
 tan mārjitvā, 354, 829, 871  
 tan māvatu (mām avatu), 812  
 tan māvīt (mām āvit), 812  
 tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato  
 bṛhat, 410  
 tan me rādhyatām, 659  
 tan me samṛdhyatām (samṛddham),  
 659  
 tanvaḥ (tanuvah) me pāhi, 793

tanvo adya (\*dya) dadhātu me, 909  
 tapati varṣan virād rāvaḥ (rāvat)  
 svāhā, 168  
 tapate svāhā, 329  
 tapatyai svāhā, 248, 329  
 tapas ca tapasyas ca śaisirāv (\*rā)  
 rtū, 888  
 tapasārṣayah (\*sarṣayah) auvar (avar)  
 anuvindan, 781, 918  
 tapasas tan mahinājyataikam, 204  
 tapur yayastu carur agnivān (\*mān)  
 iva, 239  
 tapūṣy agne juhvā patarigān, 723  
 tapojām vācam aame niyacha devā-  
 yuvam, 61  
 tapobhir agne juhvā patarigān, 723  
 tapyste svāhā, 329  
 tapyatvai (\*tyai) svāhā, 248, 329  
 tam agne pṛtanāgaham (\*aaham), 984  
 tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhis tava (tapa)  
 svaiḥ, 200  
 tam abhi śoca yo \*smān (asmān)  
 dveṣṭi . . . , 910  
 tam arciṣā sphūrjayaḥ (\*yaḥ) jāta-  
 vedaḥ, 936  
 tam ardhāmāsam prasutān pitryā-  
 vataḥ, 559  
 tamasaḥ tan mahinājyataikam, 204  
 tam ahaṇ punar ādade, 250, 845  
 tam ahve vājasātaye, 613, 798, 828  
 tam ā pr̥ṇa (pr̥ṇā) vasupate vasūnām,  
 442  
 tam āhutaḥ naśimahi (\*tam aśimahi),  
 311  
 tam id arbhe haviṣy ā samānam it,  
 305, 826  
 tam in mahe vṛpate nānyam tvat, 365  
 tam u tvam māyayāvadhīḥ, 252  
 tam u nir vāpayā punah, 365  
 tam u me agadaḥ kṛdhi, 849  
 tam u śucih śucayo dīdivānsam, 547  
 tam u huve vājasātaye, 613, 798, 828  
 tam u śucih śucayo dīdivānsam, 547  
 tam pīpṛhi daśamāsyō 'ntar udare, 112  
 tam priyāsam (bhri\*) bahu rocamānaḥ,  
 112  
 tam manyeta pitarah mātaram ca, 849  
 tam mātā daśa māso bibhartu, 112



- tam mā devā avantu śobhāyai, 414, 700  
 tam mā puṇai kartary erayadhvam, 414  
 tam mā mṛdhaḥ, 98, 225  
 tayā gr̥gantaḥ sadhamādeṣu, 325  
 tayānantam kāmam (lokam) ahaṁ jayāmi, 365  
 tayā naś tanvā (tanuvā) śāntamayā, 793  
 tayā prattam svadhayā madantu, 365  
 tayā madantaḥ sadhamādyegu ("mādeṣu, "mādhyeṣu), 110, 325  
 tayāvahante kavayaḥ purastāt, 342  
 tayāham śāntya . . ., 365  
 tayā hatena pāpēna, 365  
 taylor anu bhakṣam bhakṣayāmi, 315  
 taylor (taylor nāv) asthūri ("ri pau) gārhapatyam . . ., 950  
 taylor aham anu bhakṣam ("syam) bhakṣayāmi, 315  
 taylor ahaṁ bhakṣam anubhakṣayāmi, 315  
 taylor devā adhīśahvasantaḥ, 172, 281  
 taylor nāv, see taylor asthūri . . .  
 tarakṣuḥ ("kṣaḥ) kṛṣṇaḥ śvā caturakṣo ("kṣya) . . ., 335, 609  
 tari mandrāsu prayakṣu, 374, 381, 830, 839, 861  
 tava-tava rāyaḥ, 42, 748  
 tava tyan māyayāvadhiḥ, 262  
 tava praśastayo mahiḥ ("taye maha), 695  
 tava vāyav (vāya) ṛtaṣpate, 880  
 tavā śravāṇasy upamāny ukthyā ("ya), 460  
 tava syāḥ śarman trivarūtha udbhit, 932  
 tava syāma śarmaṇs trivarūtha ud-bhaḥ, 932  
 tavāham nāma bibharāṇy agne (agre), 864  
 tavāham agne bibharāṇi nāma, 864  
 tasthur gr̥gantaḥ sadhamādyāsaḥ, 325  
 tasthau nākasya śānavi (śarmaṇi), 287  
 tasmā u adya samanā (savane) sutam bhara, 233  
 tasmā u rādhaḥ kṛṇuta praśastam (kṛṇuhi supraśastam), 845  
 tasmād āpo anu śhāna (sthāna), 987  
 tasmād vār nāma (nāma) vo hitam (vaḥ priyam), 932  
 tasmiṇ tad, see tasmīn tad . . .  
 tasmiṇ chīriye aja ekapāt, 907  
 tasmīn (tasmiṇs) tad eno vasaṇo ni dhetana (dhattana), 932  
 tasmīn ā tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā, 386  
 tasmīn ārpitā bhuvanāni viśvā, 386  
 tasmīn mā indro rucim ā dadhātu, 596  
 tasmīn vayam upahūtāḥ tava smaḥ (sma), 379  
 tasmīn śidāṁṛte pratitiṣṭha (śidāṁṛte pratitiṣṭhan), 638  
 tasmīn soma rucam ā dadhātu, 596  
 tasmīn ha tasthur bhuvanāni viśvā, 386  
 tasmai devā adhi bravat (bruvan), 602  
 tasmai no devāḥ paridatteha ("dhatta, "dhatteha) sarve (viśve), 106, 844  
 tasmai brahma ca brāhmāś (brahmā) ca, 491  
 tasmai mā devāḥ pari dhatteha sarve, 106, 844  
 tasmai soma adhi bravat (bruvat), 602  
 tasya ṛkāmāny . . ., 910  
 tasya tārksyaś cāristanemiś ca senā-nigrāmanyau (senāni"), 523  
 tasya te bhaktivāśaḥ syāma ("vāno bhūyāma), 377  
 tasya te vājipitasyopahūtasypahūto (vājapitasyopahūta ["hata] upahū-tasya) bhakṣayāmi, 594  
 tasya te vājipitasyopahūto bhakṣayāmi, 594  
 tasya te vājibhir . . . vājipitasya . . ., 594  
 tasya doham aśmahī (aśya, aśya te), 849  
 tasya nāmā . . . yo 'amān (amān) dvesti . . ., 910  
 tasya no dhehi jivaso, 105  
 tasya no rāva tasya no dhehi (dāh), 106  
 tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvaḥ (bhīravo nāma), 604  
 tasya yad āhuḥ pippalaḥ svādv agre, 746

tasya rathagriṣaś (\*kṛtsnaś, \*kṛtsaś)  
 ca rathaujṣś ca senānigrāmaṇyau  
 (senāni\*), 46, 311, 523  
 tasya rathaprotāś (rathe\*) cāsamara-  
 thaś ca senānigrāmaṇyau (senāni\*),  
 523  
 tasya rathasvanaś . . . senānigrāma-  
 ṇyau (senāni\*), 523  
 tasyarksāmāny . . ., 919  
 tasya senajic . . . senānigrāmaṇyau  
 (senāni\*), 523  
 tasyāṁ devaḥ savitā dharmam saviṣat,  
 142, 307  
 tasyāṁ devā adhi sahvasantaḥ, 172,  
 281, 340  
 tasyāṁ devaiḥ sahvasanto mahitvā,  
 231  
 tasyāṁ no devaḥ savitā dharmam  
 (\*ma) saviṣat (\*sak), 142, 307  
 tasyāpo apsarasa (\*psarasa, \*sā) ōrjo  
 nāma (\*psaraso mudāḥ), 910  
 tasyāś te bhakṣivāṇaḥ syāma (bhak-  
 tivāno bhūyāma, bhāgam aśmahī),  
 377  
 tasyāś te sahasrapoṣaṁ puṣyantyāś  
 caramaṇa paśunā kriṣāmi, 162  
 tasyed āhuḥ pippalaṁ svādv agre, 746  
 tā ubhau caturāḥ . . . praśārāyāvahai  
 (\*yāva), 379  
 tā ekamūrdhniḥ abhi lokam ekam, 172  
 tā eva vivahāvahai, 269, 578, 694, 888  
 tā ehi saṁ rabhāvahai, 269, 694, 888  
 tāḥ prācyā (\*yāḥ, prācīr) ujjiḡāhire  
 (\*hīre, saṁjiḡāhre), 387, 540, 581, 737  
 tāṁ vidyāṁ brahmayoniṁ svarūpām  
 (brahmayonīśva\*), 818  
 tāḥ śāśvantā upayanti vājāḥ, 365  
 tāṁ ha jaritar na (naḥ) pratyagrthṇan,  
 384  
 tā te dhāmāny ūsmasi gamadhyai, 705  
 tāditāś (\*knā) śatrum (\*ōn) na kilā  
 vivītee (vivatse), 141, 580  
 tāni brahmā tu (brahmota) śundhati  
 (śumbhati, śaṁsati), 173, 616  
 tāṁ dhīrāś kavayo 'nudiśyāyanta,  
 637, 909  
 tāṁ dhīrāś anudīśya (\*dīśya) yajante  
 (\*dīśyāyanta kavayaḥ), 637, 909

tāṁ naḥ pūṣaṁ chivatamām erayasva,  
 937  
 tāny antaḥ puruṣe arpitāni (\*śa ārp\*),  
 309  
 tābhīr yāsi dātūyāṁ (\*yam) sūryasya,  
 494  
 tābhīḥ śāntibhīḥ sarvaśāntibhīḥ śam-  
 nyāmy aham, 365  
 tābhīś tvam (tābhīś tvam) ubhayibhīḥ  
 sahvidānaḥ, 958  
 tābhīyāṁ (\*yām vayarḥ) patema sukr-  
 tāṁ u lokam (pathyāma sukrtaśya  
 lokam), 96  
 tā mandasānā manuṣo duroga ā, 609  
 tāṁ u dhīrāś anudiśya yajante, 637,  
 909  
 tāṁ airayaś candrumasi svadhābhīḥ,  
 930  
 tāṁ pūṣaṁ (pūṣaṁ) chivatamām era-  
 yaśva, 937  
 tāṁ pūṣānu yachatu (pūṣābhi rakṣatu),  
 184, 244  
 tā yā devā . . . śāśva (śāśva) . . ., 391  
 tā vām vāstūny ūsmasi gamadhyai,  
 705  
 tā vām gīrbhīr vipanyavaḥ (\*yuvāḥ),  
 604  
 tāv imā upa sarpatāḥ, 379  
 tāv iha saṁ bhavāva, 269, 578, 694, 888  
 tāv ehi vivahāvahai (eha saṁvaha-  
 vai), 269, 578, 694, 888  
 tāv ehi saṁrabhāvahai, 269, 694, 888  
 tāv ehi saṁbhavāva, 269, 694, 888  
 tāśām viśiṣṇānām (\*ānyānām), 315, 876  
 tāśāṁ svasṛ (svar, svasūr) ajanayat  
 (ajanan) pañca-pañca, 644  
 tāśām māno bhagavaḥ (maghavan), 83,  
 242  
 tāśām ekā harikṛkṣā (\*kṛkṣā), 273  
 tāś tvā viśantu manasā śivena (mahasā  
 svena), 287, 857  
 tāśv adhvaryav ādhāvendrāya . . .  
 bṛhaspatimate . . ., 239, 890  
 tāśv adhveryo indrāya . . . bṛhaspati-  
 vate . . ., 239, 890  
 tigman āyudham vīḍitam (\*dham  
 īḍitam, anikam viditam) sahasvat,  
 169, 360, 545



- tigmāyudhāya bharaṭā śṛṇotu naḥ  
 (śṛṇotana), 323, 327  
 tiraścīrāṇi (tiraścīnarāṇi) rakṣitā, 542  
 tirohṇiyan somān prasthitān preṣya,  
 737, 910  
 tiro rājāṅgy asṛptaḥ ("tam, asṛptaḥ"),  
 150  
 tilvilāstām irāvatiṃ, tilvilā sthājirā-  
 vati, tilvalā sthirāvati, tilvilā syād  
 irāvati, 590, 828  
 tiṣṭhā ratham (rathe) adhi tath (yath,  
 yad) vajrahasta ("taḥ"), 380  
 tīraḥ kṣapṣa ("pāś") trīr abhātivrajad-  
 bhīḥ, 494  
 tīraś ca rājabandhavīḥ ("vaiḥ"), 490,  
 701  
 tiro jihvasya samidhaḥ pariṃmanah,  
 192, 579  
 tiro dadhur (dadur) devatāḥ suh-  
 rarāṇāḥ, 105  
 tiro bhūmir dhārayan ("yaśa") trīr  
 uta dyūn, 927, 932  
 tiro yāvasya samidhaḥ pariṃmanah,  
 192, 579  
 tiro ha prajā atyāyam āyan (tyuḥ), 598  
 tuce tanāya (tunāya) tat su naḥ, 605  
 tuje janā (jane) vanach evaḥ, 207, 357  
 tujo yujo vanach (balaṃ) sahaḥ, 207,  
 357  
 tutho vo . . . vareṣṭhe adhi ("dhi")  
 nāke, 910  
 tutho 'ai janadhāyāḥ ("yaḥ"), 54, 93, 375  
 tubhyam sūtāḥ somāḥ, 846  
 tubhyam somāḥ sūtā ime, 846  
 tubhyam agne (agre) pary avahan, 864  
 turaś cid viśvam arṇavat tapasvān,  
 64, 578, 826  
 turlyāditya (turyā") savanah (ha") ta  
 indriyam, 299, 786  
 turo na yāman etāśasya nū rape, 561  
 tuvidyumnah vibhvasāham (vibhā"),  
 371  
 tuviśvagaṣaṇ ("yogaseṇi") suyajah  
 ghrīśāriyam, 236  
 tūrpiḥ devāsa iha suśriyah dadhuḥ,  
 177  
 tūrvan na yāman etāśasya nū rape,  
 561  
 tṛṇaḥ vasānā ("nāḥ") sumanā asaś (asi)  
 tvam, 381  
 tṛta enaḥ (enan) manusyeṣu mamrje,  
 414, 463, 679  
 trītyasya savanasya r̥bhunato ("sy-  
 arbhū") . . . bṛhaspatimato ("vato")  
 . . . , 239, 919  
 trītye dhāmāny abhy (dhāmān adhy)  
 airayanta, 172, 928  
 trīte devā amṛjātātad enaḥ, 679  
 tr̥ṇcyavaso juhvo nāgnah, 40, 667  
 tr̥ṇu yad annā verisad vitiṣṭhase, 667  
 tr̥ṇaḥ pīṣitam asyate (as"), 278  
 te arṇantu te varṇantu te kṛvantu, 360  
 te aśmat pāśān pra mukṣantv enaḥ,  
 907  
 te aśmā agnaye ("yo") draviṇam dattvā,  
 909  
 te aśmīn (aśmīn) javam ādadhuḥ, 936  
 tekaś ca saśaramataṇḍaś ca, 135, 165  
 tegūn dāṇṣṭrābhyaṃ, 374  
 tejo mayi dhehi, tejo me dāḥ (dehi,  
 dhāḥ), 103  
 tejo yaśaḥsvi sthāvirah samidhāham  
 (samṛddham), 39, 635  
 te te dhāmāny ūśmasi gamadhye, 705  
 te dakṣiṇāḥ dubate (te duhrate dak-  
 ṣiṇāḥ) saptaṃśtaram, 356  
 te na śtmasu jāgrati (jāgrta), 662  
 tens r̥ṣiḥ . . . , 919  
 te naḥ pāntv aśmīn brahmaṇy . . .  
 aśmīn karmay asyām . . . , 928  
 tena kṛjantīś carata ("tha") priyeṇa  
 (vaśān ann), 90  
 tena tvam agna iha vardhayemam, 835  
 tena dasyūn vy aśhanta devāḥ, 983  
 tena devā vy aśhanta śatrūn, 983  
 tena no mītrāvaruṇāv ("pā") aṣṭam,  
 533, 858  
 tena mām abhiṣiṣcatam, 293, 835  
 tena mā saha śundhata (śumbhantu,  
 "atu"), 173  
 tena yo 'śmat samṛchātai (samṛt-  
 sātām), 183, 811  
 tena rādhyāsam (tenardhyāsam), 806  
 tenar̥ṣiḥ . . . , 919  
 tena vayah sahaaravalēna, 459  
 tena vayah bhagavantaḥ syāma, 458

tena vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva (vardhasva cāpyāyasva), 808  
 tena sarivaninān svake, 593  
 tena sahānān kṛmāsi, 47, 386, 840  
 tena sann anugṛhāsi, 47, 386, 840  
 tena sahasrakāṇḍena, 458  
 tena somābhi rakṣa naḥ, 516, 950  
 tenāgne tvam uta vardhayemam (vardhaya mām), 835  
 tenānyo 'smat samrēhātai, 811  
 tenārātsyam ('tsam), 333  
 tenā vayah bhagavantah ayāma, 458  
 tenā sahasrakāṇḍena, 458  
 tenemam agna (agra) iha varcasā samaṅgdhi, 864  
 tenemām upa sīkṣatam, 293, 835  
 te no 'gnayah paprayah pārayantu (pāla\*), 260  
 te pāyavah sadhryaṇco (sadhriyaṇco) niśadya, 784  
 te brahmalokeṣu ('loke tu) parānta-kāle, 824  
 tebhīḥ {vām putrah} janaya, 958  
 tebhīḥ somābhi ('bhi) rakṣa naḥ (naḥ), 516, 950  
 tebhyo ghr̥tasya kulyaitu (dhārayitum), 747  
 tebhyo namo astu ('stu), 910  
 te mat prātaḥ prajāniṣyethe ('te), 91  
 te mā prajāte prajāniṣyathah ('taḥ . . .), 91  
 te varṣanti te varṣayanti, 360  
 teṣāḥ yo 'ajyānim ('jyānim) ajitim āvahāt (ajl̥im . . .), 588, 907  
 teṣāḥ viśipriyāṇām . . ., 878  
 teṣāḥ sam hanmo akṣāṇi (sam dadhmo akṣāṇi), 598  
 teṣām ajyāniḥ ('nam) yatamo vahāti (na āvahāt), 588  
 teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam, 988  
 teṣv ahahī sumanāḥ sam viśāmi ('ti, 'ni, vasāma), 281  
 te 'smat pāsān pra muñcantv aśhasah, 907  
 te 'smā agnaye draviṇāni dattvā, 909  
 te ha jāṇte bhuvanasya gopāḥ, 192, 307  
 tais tvam putrah ('ān) vindasva, 958  
 to-to (to te) rāyah, 42, 748

toyena jivān vi sasarija (vya ca sarja, vyasaasarja) bhūmyām, 736  
 tau te krodhanā nayāmasi, 98  
 tau te bhakṣaḥ (bhakṣyaḥ) cakratur agra etam, 315  
 tau saha caturah . . . prasārayāvahai ('yāvah), 379  
 tyam hy agne againā, 252  
 trayiḥ sad urvīr uru pas kṛota, 517, 950, 964  
 trīṣṭāram indram akṛor avadhyam (ayudhyam), 255  
 trīṣṭad asyā jaghanam yojanāni, 340  
 trīṣṭad dhāma (trīṣṭaddhāmā) vi rājati, 400  
 trīṣṭad yasyā jaghanam yojanāni, 340  
 trikakue ('kup) chandah, 178  
 trikadrakebhiḥ patati (pavate), 853  
 trigave marutah ('ta) stutāḥ (stutam), 977  
 trita etan manusyescu māmṛje, 414, 468, 670  
 trite devā smṛjānaitad enah, 670  
 tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roraviti, 687  
 tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā (yā ca ṣaṭpadāḥ), 381  
 tribandhureṣa trivṛtā rathena, 213  
 tribandhuro manasā yātu yuktah, 213  
 triyavi-, see tryavi-  
 trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre ('hīre), 810  
 trivandhureṣa trivṛtā rathena, 213  
 trivandhuro manasā yātu yuktah, 213  
 trivṛd bhuvanah yad rathavṛt ('vṛk; trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt), 142  
 trisug gharṇo vibhātu me (gharṇasadam in me vibhāti), 145, 355  
 trisrud gharṇo vibhātu me, 145, 355  
 triṣaptāso marutah svādusahmudah, 986  
 triṣucyavaso juhvo nāgneḥ, 40, 667  
 triṣu yad annā vevīḍad vitiṣṭhase, 667  
 triṣṭub (triṣṭug) graṣmi, 145  
 triṣaptāso marutah svādusahmudah, 986  
 triṣṭi padāni (padā) nihitā guhāyā (guhān), 808, 826



- triṇi padāni rūpo anv arohat, 569  
 triṇi śatā tri sahaśrāṇy (śa\*) agnim, 988  
 tredhā baddho vṛṣabho roraviti, 687  
 tryavir (triyavir) . . ., nad tryaviś (tri-yaviś) . . ., 776  
 tva eṣaḥ sarādhadhur bhūrivarpasah, 292, 360, 694  
 tvam rājāsi pradiyaḥ (pratipat) sūtānām, 64, 200  
 tvam rāya ubhayāso janānām, 507  
 tvam radhīnaḥ (roh\*) vyāsyah, 728  
 tvam valasya gomataḥ, 210  
 tvam vettha yati te jātavedaḥ, 60  
 tvam hi rādhaspata (\*ayata) eka śāise, 867  
 tvam hy agne agnīnā, 252  
 tvam gopāya, 365  
 tvam no devatātaye (deva dātave), 61, 248, 832  
 tvam u nirvāpaya punaḥ, 365  
 tvam etāñ (etāñ) janarājño dvir daśa, 936  
 tvam balasya gomataḥ, 210  
 tvayāgne kāmam abam jayāmi, 365  
 tvayā jvasena sam aśmahī tvā, 421, 835  
 tvayā prattam svadhayā madanti (\*tu), 365  
 tvayā bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ, 831, 911  
 tvayāyam vṛtram vadhyāt (badhet, badhyāt), 209, 803  
 tvayāvasena sam aśmahī tvā, 421, 835  
 tvayāham śāntya . . ., 365  
 tvayā halena pāpema, 365  
 tvaṣṭar devebbis sahasāma indra, 380, 870  
 tvaṣṭā turīpo (\*yo) adbhutaḥ, 867  
 tvaṣṭā devaib sahamāna indrah, 380, 870  
 tvaṣṭā no atra varivaḥ (varityaḥ) kṛpotu, 240, 541a  
 tvaṣṭā no atra vi dadhātu rāyaḥ, 849  
 tvaṣṭā rūpāpi dadhati (dadati) sarasvatī, 105  
 tvaṣṭā eudatro vi dadhātu rāyaḥ, 849  
 tvaṣṭmatī te sapeya, 357, 641  
 tvaṣṭur varutrīm varuṇasya nābhīm, 528, 562  
 tvaṣṭrimantas (tvaṣṭri\*, tvaṣṭu\*) tvā sapema, 39, 357, 641, 667  
 tvaṣṭrimatī te sapeya, 357, 641  
 tvām rāya ubhayāso janānām, 507  
 tvām śaśvanta upa yanti vājāḥ, 365  
 tvām agne samidhānam yaviṣṭha (\*īhya), 315  
 tvām adya ṛṣa (adyarṣa) āṛṣeya ṛṣiṇām (āṛṣeyarṣi\*) . . . 919  
 tvām abhi pra gūnumaḥ (uo\*), 952  
 tvām arbhasya haviṣaḥ samānam it, 365, 826  
 tvām maho vṛpate (\*te naro) nānyam tvat, 365  
 tvisim indre na (indrapa) bheṣajam, 826  
 tvisir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu, 849  
 tvisir aśveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu, 849  
 tve ā bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ, 831, 911  
 tve iṣaḥ (viśve) sam dadhur bhūrivarpasah (bhūriretasah), 292, 360, 694  
 tve kratum api vṛṇjanti viāve (prā-canti bhūri), 57, 200  
 tveṣam cakṣur dadhire codayanvati (\*matī), 239  
 tveṣas te dhūma ṛvati (ūṛpotu), 655  
 dakṣakratubhyām . . ., 556  
 dakṣam ta ugram ābhāriṣam (te bhadram ābhāṛṣam), 758  
 dakṣam dadhāsi (dadāsi) jivase, 105  
 datto asmabhyam (dattvāyāma\*, dat-tāyāma\*, dattāma\*) draviṇeha bhadram, 90, 342, 367  
 dadhatha no draviṇam yac ca bhadram, 90, 342, 367  
 dadhad yo dhāyī sute vayānsi, 272a, 592, 612  
 dadhad ratnaḥ (\*nā) dakṣam pitṛbhya (dakṣapit\*) āyuni (āyūṇāsi), 555, 819  
 dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vāryāpi (ratnāni dāśuṣe, ratnā vi dā\*), 849  
 dadhad vidhākṣyan paryāṅkhayātai, 145, 332, 634, 710  
 dadhanvān (\*vā, \*vān) yo naryo apsv antar ā, 942  
 dadhi mantham pariśrutam (mantham pariśrutam), 275

dadhir yo dhāyi sa te varāṇai, 272a,  
 592, 612  
 dadhiṣa ehi, 635  
 dadhrg vidhaksyan paryasākhayāte  
 (vidhaksan parīśākhayātai), 145, 332,  
 634, 710  
 dadhrgy ehi, 635  
 dame-dame suṣtutir (\*tyā, \*itr, \*il)  
 vām iyānā (vāyṛdhānā, \*nau), 236,  
 544, 640, 828  
 daridra (\*draṇ) nilalobita, 401  
 darbhaiḥ śrīṣṭa haritaiḥ suparṣaiḥ  
 (suvarṣaiḥ), 200  
 daśasyantāmṛtāya (\*tvāmṛtāya) kam,  
 367  
 dahraṇ (daharaṇ) vipāpmavaraveś-  
 mabhūtam (vipāpmah varam veś-  
 mabhūtam, vipāpmā . . .), 763, 819  
 dātum cec chikṣān sa (chaknuvāṇaḥ,  
 \*vān sa) svarge eva (eṣām), 381, 571,  
 826  
 dātrasyāgno svarpatih (svaḥ?), 968  
 dāma grīvāṣav avimokṣam yat (grīvāṣav  
 avicartyam), 649  
 dāmno-dāmno rājan, 107  
 dāsyann adāsyann uta santi grāhni  
 (uta vā kariṣyan), 45  
 digbhyaś cakravākāḥ (cakr?), 655  
 digbhyaḥ vajraḥ (\*va), 219  
 dīteḥ putrāṇām aditer akārṣam (\*ri-  
 ṣam), 758  
 diva oṣadhayaś (\*yaḥ) pari, 964  
 divaḥ parjanyaḍ antarikṣāt prthivyāḥ,  
 964  
 divaḥ prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt, 964  
 divaḥ prthivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam,  
 964  
 divaḥ prsthau svar (suvar) gatvā,  
 964  
 divaḥ prsth-, see divas etc.  
 divam skabbhāna, 137  
 divam agreṇāṣprkṣaḥ (\*ṣat, agreṇā-  
 prāt), 375  
 divaś cid antāḍ upamām (upa mām,  
 antāḍ upamāḥ) ud ānaṣ, 824  
 divaś chadmāsi, 324  
 diva (divas, divaḥ) akambhanir (\*nir,  
 \*ny) . . . 529, 977

divas parjanyaḍ antarikṣāt prthivyāḥ,  
 964  
 divas prthivyāḥ pary antarikṣāt, 964  
 divas prthivyāḥ pary oja udbhṛtam,  
 964  
 divas prsthau svar gatvā, 964  
 divas (divaḥ) prsthau adhi tiṣṭhanti  
 (rohanti) cetasa (tejasā), 57, 802,  
 964  
 divas (divaḥ) prsthau (\*the) bband-  
 amānaḥ (mand?) sumanmabhiḥ, 242,  
 964  
 divas (divaḥ) prsthāny āruhan (\*hat),  
 964  
 divaḥ saṁspṛśas (saṁspṛśas) pāhi, 195,  
 375  
 divācarebhyo (\*cāribhyo) bhūtebhyah,  
 488, 690  
 divi jyotir ajaram (uttamam) āra-  
 bhetām (\*thām), 91  
 divi mūrdhānaḥ dadhiṣe svarāṇam  
 (suvarāṇam), 780  
 divi ṣaṣ (ṣaṣ, saṣ) chakra āstataḥ, 937,  
 987  
 divi sad (ṣad) bhūmy ā dade, 987  
 dive jyotir uttamam ārabhetām, 91  
 divo antebhyas (\*nte?) pari, 907  
 divo jyote (jyotir) vivasva āditya te no  
 devā . . ., 337, 686, 720, 818  
 divo dhārām bhāndhi, 324  
 divo vābhiṣṭhām ann yo vicaṣte, 156,  
 170, 220  
 divo vā viṣṇav (viṣṇa, divo viṣṇa) uta  
 vā prthivyāḥ, 887  
 divo viśvasmāt eim aghāyata uruṣyaḥ,  
 379  
 divo vṛṣṭim varṣayatā puriṣiṇaḥ, 90  
 divyaḥ koṣaḥ samukṣitaḥ, 196, 686, 699,  
 707  
 divyūm suparṣam vāyasaḥ (payasaḥ,  
 vayasah, \*sā) bṛhantam, 200, 490  
 divyanā chadmāsi . . ., 324  
 divyā āpo nannamyadhvam . . ., 413,  
 686  
 divye dhāmān (\*many) upahūtaḥ  
 (\*tā), 928  
 divyo gaudharvaḥ ketapūḥ (\*pāḥ)  
 . . ., 619



dīśān devy (tevy) avatu no ghṛtāci,  
21, 66  
dīśān patir abbavad vājīnīvān, 809  
diśo abhy abhūd ayam, 910  
diśo 'bhy ayam rājābhūt, 910  
diśo yajñasya dakṣiṇā, 161, 579  
diśo viśvā anu prabhuh, 381, 869  
diśāya rajjusrjam ("sargam), 132  
dikṣayodan (dikṣāy\*) havir āgachataṁ  
na, 507  
dikṣāya tapase 'gnaye (agnaye) avāhā,  
910  
dikṣito 'yam aśā āmuṣyāyana, 898  
dirgham āyuh pratirad bheṣajāni, 576  
dirgham anu prasitum (prasṛtīm, sam-  
tīm) āyuse dhām (tvā; samspṛśo-  
thām), 78, 292, 787, 910  
durā ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāh, 64,  
578, 826  
duritāni yāni kani ca cakṛma, 808  
duritā yāni cakṛma, 808  
durmitrā ("triyā, "tryā) tasmai  
santu (bhūyāsur) yo 'smān (asmān)  
dveṣti . . ., 315, 787, 910  
duvāyave (duvāsvate) tvā vātāya  
svāhā, 248  
duścakṣā te māvakāt ("kaat, "khyat),  
190  
duścyavanah pṛtanāśā ("śāl) ayu-  
dhyah (ayo\*), 713  
duṣvapnahan (duṣva\*, duṣva\*)  
durūyaha (durūṣaha, durūṣahā),  
255, 408, 980, 986  
duṣvapnyam duritam niḥ (ni) gṛāmat,  
980  
dūredhām gṛhapatim atharyum  
(atharyum), 267  
dūrepāyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛe ca tāni, 820  
dūrehetir indriyāvān ("yavān) patatri  
("trih), dūrehetih patatri vājīnīvān,  
467, 529a  
dūrṇā rohatu puṣpī (rohantu pu-  
spīh), 381  
dūṣkābhīr hrādunim (hra\*), 488, 528,  
543  
dṛghantām daivir viśah kalpantām  
manuṣyāh, 316, 490

dṛghasva vidayasva (vira\*) su, 272  
dṛghā cid yamayīṣṇavaḥ, 857  
dṛvāsi (dṛbāsi), 219, 679  
dṛṣā ca bhāṣā bṛhatā suśikmanā, 240,  
283, 624  
dṛṣāno rukma urvyā (urviyā, uruyā)  
vy adyaut (vi bhāti), 743, 791  
dṛṣe ca bhāṣā bṛhatā suśukrabhīh  
("vaniḥ), 240, 283, 624  
devakoṣah samubjitah, 190, 686, 699,  
707  
deva gharma rucitas tvaḥ deveṣv ā, 713  
devajūte vivasvann āditya . . ., 337,  
686, 720, 818  
devatrā havyam ūhiṣe (oh\*, ohire), 722  
deva tvaṣṭar vāu rama (raṇva, raṇa,  
raṇe), 225, 366  
deva purāśasa saghyāsam (devapuraś  
carasa ṛdhyāsam) tvā, 147, 634, 817,  
838, 861  
devabarhīh (deva barhī) śatavalāṣam  
vi roha, 817  
devam manah kuto (kṛto) adhi pra-  
jātam, 642  
devayuvam (devā\*) viśvavārām  
("vāre), 478  
devayor dharmē ("mā, dhāman) as-  
thīran, 350  
deva viṣa (viṣṇav) urv . . ., 887  
devaśrīh śrīmanāh ("manāh) śatapayāh  
("pāt), 953  
deva sarisphāna sahasrapoṣasyeṣe  
(sahasrā\*), 466  
deva savitah suśāvitram (suṣā\*) adyā-  
mān . . ., 986  
devas te savitā hastam gṛhṇātu, 116  
devas tvā savitā punātu vāsoḥ . . .  
supvā (supuvā), 789  
devas tvā savitotpunātu . . . supvo-  
punāmi, 789  
devasya ("yāham) savituh . . .  
rubeyam (robeyam), 715  
devā akṛvann uśijo amartyave, 182,  
643, 650  
devā etasyām avadanta pūrve, 810  
devāh pāntu yajamānaṁ nyarthāt  
(nirṛthāt), 650

devāṁśo yasmāi tveḍe tat satyam  
 upariprutā (apariprutā) bhaṅgena  
 (bhaṅgyena), 261, 315, 616  
 devā gātuvīdo (\*vīdo gātum vītvā,  
 gātum itvā) gātum yajñāya vindata  
 (gātum ita), 360  
 devāḥ jigāti sumnayah, 936  
 devā devebhyo adhvaryanto (adhvari-  
 yanto) aathuh, 786  
 devānām viṣṭhām anu yo vitasthe,  
 156, 170, 220  
 devānām tvā patnir devir viśvadevy-  
 āvatih (\*devya\*) prthivyāḥ sa-  
 dhashe aṅgirasvad (\*āgi\*) . . ., 467,  
 910  
 devānām devatamā śaviṣṭhā (śaciṣṭhā),  
 866  
 devānām niṣṭhām anu yo vitasthe, 156,  
 170, 220  
 devānām agneyāny asī, 357, 692, 818  
 devānām patnibhyaḥ pulikāḥ, 140  
 devānām patnir (patnyo, patnayo)  
 diśaḥ (viśaḥ), 809  
 devānām bhāgadā asat, 105  
 devā no yajñam rtuthā (rjudhā)  
 nayantu, 75, 157  
 devān jigāti sumnayah, 936  
 devān devayate (devā\*) yaja (yaja-  
 mānāya svāhā), 478  
 devān mā bhayād iti, 707  
 devān yajñiyan iha yān yajāmahi  
 (havyāmaha), 710  
 devān sendrān upa te huve savāham  
 (\*sā aham), 362  
 devā brahmāṇa āgachata āgachata  
 (āgachatāgachatāgachata), 995  
 devā bhavata vājinaḥ, 90  
 devāyuvam . . ., *see* deva\*  
 devā vā etasyām avadanta pūrve, 810  
 devī uśāśv (\*śā) sāvinā, 888  
 devī dvārau mā mā sam tāptam, 357,  
 732  
 devīm nāvam svaritrām anāgasam,  
 707  
 devīm ahah nirṛtū vandamānaḥ (bā-  
 dhamānaḥ), 207  
 devir āpo agreguvah . . . (agreguvo  
 . . . devayuvam [devā\*]), 478, 910

devir āpo apām napād . . . dhatta  
 (datta, dāta), 104  
 devir āpo 'greguvo . . ., 910  
 devir āpo (āpo apām napād) yo va  
 ōrmih pratūrtih kakunmān vājasās  
 tenāyazh vājam set, 178, 239  
 devir devir (devair) abhi mā nivar-  
 tadhvam, 701  
 devir devaiḥ samāhrtāḥ (\*bhrtāḥ), 118,  
 639  
 devir dvāro mā mā samāhrtam, 357, 732  
 devih ṣaḍ urvir (ṣaḍurvīr) uru naḥ  
 (naḥ) kṛpota, 707, 817, 950, 964  
 devebhir aktam (yuktam) aditih sajo-  
 ṣāḥ, 339, 617  
 devebhyas tanūbhyas svāhā, 695, 707  
 devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (devāyuvam)  
 prajami (prajmi) . . ., 55, 803  
 devebhyas tvā devāyuvam (devāyuvam)  
 grhāmi . . ., 803  
 devebhyo bhavata (\*tha) supṛayaṣāḥ,  
 90  
 devebhyo bhāgadā (\*dā) asat, 105  
 devebhyo havyam vahatu prajānan,  
 849  
 devebhyo havyam vaha (vaha naḥ)  
 prajānan, 849  
 devebhyo havyavāhana (\*naḥ), 380  
 devebhyo havyā vahatu prajānan, 849  
 deveṣu havyavāhanah, 380  
 devair uktā (nyuptā, nuttā) vyasarpo  
 mahitvam (\*tvā), 139, 152, 180  
 devair devih samāhitāḥ (\*hrtāḥ), 118,  
 639  
 devair nuttā (nyuptā) . . ., *see* devair  
 uktā . . .  
 devo narāśaṇso 'gnau ('gnā) vasuvane  
 . . ., 910  
 devo vah savitā hiraṇyapāṇih prati-  
 grbhātv (savitā pratigrbhātu . . .)  
 . . ., 116  
 devo vah savitā hiraṇyapāṇih prati  
 (\*pāṇir upa) grhātu, 116  
 devya āpo nannamyadhvam . . . (nān-  
 namyadhvam . . .), 413, 686  
 devyo vamryo (vamriyo) bhūtasya . . .,  
 791  
 daivam mānuṣā yujā, 132, 317



- daivān mā bhayāt pāhi, 707  
 daivā hotāra ūrdhvam adhvaram naḥ, 317  
 daivā hotārah sanīṣan na etat, 317, 411, 623, 825  
 daivīn nāvam svaritrām anāgasam ('sah), 707  
 daivibhyas tanūbhyah svāhā, 695, 707  
 daivīḥ saḍ urvīr uru naḥ kṛpota, 707, 817, 950, 964  
 daivo yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ, 317  
 daivyaḥ koṣaḥ samubjītaḥ, 196, 686, 699, 707  
 daivyaṁ mānuṣā yugā, 132, 317  
 daivyaḥ adhvaryū ā gatam, 888  
 daivyaḥ mīmāṇā manuṣaḥ (manasā) purutrā, 293, 609  
 daivyāya dhartre joṣtre (dhātṛe deṣṭṛe), 159, 350  
 daivyāv adhvaryū ā gatam, 888  
 daivyaḥ hotārāgnā ('gna, hotārā agna) ājyasya vītām, 888, 992  
 daivyaḥ hotārā ('rāv) ūrdhvam (hotār-ūrdhvam) . . . , 317, 886  
 daivyaḥ hotārā ('ro) vanuṣanta (vaniṣanta, vanīṣan na) pūrve (etat), 317, 411, 623, 825  
 daivyo yo mānuṣo gandhaḥ, 317  
 dyām varṣayatho ('to) asurasya māyayā, 91  
 dyām stabdhāna, 137  
 dyāvāprthivī uro (urv) antarikṣa ('kṣam), 912  
 dyutadyubhīr namasyair iyaṇā, 953  
 dyutāno vājibhīr yataḥ (hitaḥ), 256, 579  
 dyumattamā supratikṣasya sūnoḥ ('tīkaḥ sāsūnoḥ), 189, 716, 840  
 dyumad vibhāti bhāratebhyah śuciḥ (śuci), 331  
 dyumantam śuṣṇmā ā bhārā (bhara) svarvidam, 446  
 dyumnān sudatra (dyumnā sukṣatra) mādhaya, 857  
 dyumnī śloki (śukli) sa somyaḥ (sau'), 714, 728  
 dyusmantasya ta śidityo 'nukhyātā, 724, 833  
 dyauḥ pitā prthivī mātṛ adhruk, 967  
 dyauḥ pitā prthivī mātā prajāpatir bandhub, 967  
 dyauḥ prajāṁ . . . , 967  
 dyaur naḥ pitā pītṛyāc (pītṛyāc) chaṁ bhavāti ('ai), 674  
 dyaur yataḥ cyutaḥ agnāv eva tat, 336  
 dyauḥ (vā pitā prthivī mātā, 958  
 dyauḥ pitā prthivī mātṛ adhruk, 967  
 dyauḥ pitā prthivī mātā, 967  
 dyauḥ prajāṁ . . . , 967  
 dyauḥ te pitā prthivī mātā, 958  
 dyauḥ samā tasyāditya upadrasṭā . . . , 724, 833  
 drapaś cakanda prthivīm anu dyām (prathamā anu dyūn), 235, 619, 665  
 drāghīya āyuh prataram ('rām, prati-ram) . . . , 506, 575  
 druṇā sadhaṣṭham sēnuṣo, 713  
 druṇā sadhaṣṭham āsadat, 713  
 drubāsi, 219, 679  
 drubaḥ pāśān (pāśam) prati sa (śā) muṣṭiṣṭa (prati muṣṭiṣṭam saḥ), 921, 987  
 droṇe sadhaṣṭham sēnuṣe, 713  
 droṇe sadhaṣṭham āsadat, 713  
 dvā yantārā bhavataḥ tatha ṛtub (tathartub, tathā ṛtub), 918  
 dvārapāya . . . , dvārapopa . . . , dvā-ropy . . . , dvārapyaī . . . (dvārā' . . . ), 466  
 dvipac catuṣpad (dvipāc catuṣpād) arjunī, 499  
 dvipac catuṣpad (dvipāc catuṣpād) asmākam, 499  
 dvigate asthāyāmasi, 878  
 dviṣato badho (vadho) 'ai, 209  
 dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muṣcāmī pāśam (pāpam), 857  
 dviṣantam spa bādhasva, 201  
 dviṣantam me 'vabādhasva, 201  
 dviṣa tad adhy arṇaveṣeyase, 244, 272a, 651, 838  
 dviṣas taradhyā ('yai) ṛṇayā na iyase (trase), 244, 272a, 651, 838  
 dve aruṭi (ṛṇi) āṣṇavam pītṛṇam, 682  
 dvyuṣam jāgriyād aham, 674

- dhatañ ratnāni dśuṣe, 849  
 dhananājayañ dharuṇaṁ dhārayiṣṭu,  
 177, 208, 381, 857  
 dhanan me śaśayājugupaḥ, 545  
 dhanasātāv ('iā) ihāvaṭu, 838  
 dhanasprtan śūśuvāśanaṁ sudakṣam,  
 609  
 dhanāni śakro dhanyab (dhanib)  
 surādhaḥ, 734  
 dhanus tanvanti (dhanuṣ ṭa\*) pañ-  
 ayam, 956  
 dhanusprtan śūśuvāśanaṁ sudakṣam,  
 609  
 dhamanti bākuraṁ (vā\*) dṛtim, 216  
 dhartāras te (te subhage) mekhale  
 mā riśāma, 176  
 dhartā vidhartā paramota samdṛk,  
 350, 835, 869, 871  
 dhātā śyantu sarvadā (sarvataḥ  
 svāhā), 68  
 dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) dśuṣe, 106  
 dhātā dadātu dśuṣe vasūni, 106  
 dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) no rayim,  
 105  
 dhātā dadhātu (dadātu) sumanasy-  
 amānaḥ, 105  
 dhātā vidhātā paramota samdṛk (par-  
 amo na sañvṛk), 350, 835, 869, 871  
 dhātā viśvā vāryā dadhātu, 106  
 dhātā samudro apa ('va) hantu pāpam,  
 201, 907  
 dhātā samudro abhayaṁ kṛpotu, 907  
 dhātuh kakṛtaḥ (kakṛtaḥ), 139  
 dhānāśomān manthina indra (indrah)  
 śukrāt, 380  
 dhāman ('mañ) te viśvaḥ bhuvanam  
 adhiśritam, 932  
 dhāmno-dhāmna iha muñcatu, 107  
 dhāmno-dhāmno rājan, 107  
 dhārāvarā maruto dhṛṣṇvojaṇaḥ  
 (dhṛṣṇuvojaṇaḥ), 777  
 dhik tvā jāraṁ (jāmi puñcali, 'ti)  
 . . ., 200  
 dhipyañ vā samcakra janebhyaḥ,  
 45, 56, 107, 180, 446, 480  
 dhiya invāno dhiya in no avyāt, 336  
 dhiyā na (no) vājāñ upa māsi (māhi)  
 śāsvataḥ, 298  
 dhiyā manotā prathamō manṣi (pra-  
 thamaṁ manṣā), 598  
 dhiyā martah śaśamate (martasya  
 śamataḥ), 189, 840  
 dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāt  
 (avyāt), 396  
 dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyavati . . .  
 aṣgiraśvad abhiṇddhām (abhiṇdhā-  
 tāṁ) ukbe, 467  
 dhiṣaṇāsi parvati (pār\*, parvatyā),  
 316, 490  
 dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevyavatiḥ  
 . . . sadhashe aṣgiraśvad ('ṣgi\*)  
 abhiṇddhātām ukbe, 467, 910  
 dhiṣaṇe tṛite tṛethām, 169, 360  
 dhiṣaṇe vīdū (vīdvi, vīte) . . . vīja-  
 yethām (vī\*), 169, 360, 743  
 dhinām antaḥ sabardughāḥ, 696  
 dhitrā deveṣu sumnayā (śā\*, sumna-  
 yau), 563  
 dhukṣmahi prajāṁ iṣam, 176, 618  
 dhuñkṣāgnevi (dhuñkṣvā\*, dhuñkṣvā\*),  
 255, 311, 335, 370, 568  
 dhūmrā babhrunīkṣāḥ pitṛāṁ soma-  
 vatām, 628, 742  
 dhūrta ('te) namas te astu ('stu),  
 910  
 dhūrte namante astu, 910  
 dhūrva tañ yo 'smān dhūrvati, 910  
 dhenām antaḥ sabardughām, 696  
 dhenus cānaḥ/vānā ca, 930  
 dhruvañ yonim ā sīda sādhyā (sā-  
 dhyā), 505  
 dhruvam ayā (ayo) dhruvam utāśam-  
 iṣṭhāḥ (utā śaviṣṭha), 86, 234, 836  
 dhruvam aśi dhruvata ('taḥ) sthitam,  
 977  
 dhruvas tiṣṭhāvīcāliḥ ('lat), 592  
 dhruvām yonim āsīda sādhyā, 505  
 dhruvāya bhūmāya (bhaumāya) evāhā,  
 725  
 dhruvāṇaḥ (dhruvā ha) parvatā ime,  
 298, 824  
 dhruvā strī patikule iyam ('kuleyam),  
 989  
 dhvaśaso vī vṛhāmi te, 176, 222  
 dhvara dhvarantaṁ yo asmān dhvarāt,  
 910



dhvāntam vātāgram anusahecaranta  
(abhisam"), 864  
dhvāntā vātā agnīm abhi ye sam  
caranti, 864  
na kir (ki) devā minīmasi (inī"), 311,  
357  
nukih sa dabhyate janah, 126, 621  
naktamcarebhyah ("cāribhyo bhūte-  
bhyah), 488, 690  
nakṣatrāṇāṃ sukāśān mā yausaṃ, 306  
nakṣatrāṇāṃ mā samikāśaḥ . . ., 306  
nagnahur dhīras (vīras) tasaram na  
vema, 857  
na ced avedī ("dī, "dir, "dīa) mahatt  
vinasīti, 525, 530  
na jyotiṣi cakāśati, 278  
na tato vijugupsate, 45, 56, 68, 180  
na tadā vicikīṣati (vijugupsate), 45,  
56, 68, 180  
na tad raksāṃsi na piśācā caranti  
("cā caranti), 135  
na tē arvā regukakāṣo aśnute ("śnute),  
907  
nadayor vivratayoḥ śūra indrah, 665,  
825  
nadibhyah pauṇḍrīṣṭham ("ṣṭam), 86  
na devo vṛtaḥ śūra indrah, 665, 828  
nā dhvasmānas tanvī (tanuvī) repa ā  
dhuh, 793  
na pāpatvāya rāsiya (raśisam), 301  
nabhaḥ ca nabhasyaḥ ca vārīkāv  
("kā) rītū, 888  
nama akṣipakebhyah, 540  
nama ākḥidate ca prakḥidate (ākḥi-  
date ca prakḥidate) ca, 401, 405  
nama ādityāya divikṣite lokaspte  
("amṛte), 205  
nama ānirhatebhyah (ānṛha"), 653  
na ma idam upadamibhiṣag (udat  
bhiṣag) rṣir brahmā yad dade, 272a,  
831, 832  
nama iṣumadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaḥ  
("vibhyaḥ) ca vo namah, 247  
nama idhriyāya cātapyāya ca, 300, 787  
nama ūrvyāya ca sūrvyāya (ūrvyāya  
ca sūrmayāya) ca, 228  
namah kātyāya ca gahvareṣṭhāya  
("ṣṭhāya) ca, 321

namah kiśīlāya ca kṣayanāya (kṣeṇ-  
āya) ca, 42, 744  
namah kṛchrebhyah kṛchrapatibhyaḥ  
ca vo namah, 45, 185  
namah kṛtsāyātayā ("yatāya, kṛtsā-  
vītāya, kṛtsānavītāya), 311, 507  
namah pathyāya ca arutyāya ca, 682  
namah parṇāya (parṇyāya) ca parṇ-  
asādhāya ("ādāya, "adyāya) ca, 325,  
456  
namah puṇḍrīṣṭebhyo ("ṣṭebhyo) niṣā-  
debhyaḥ ca vo namah, 86  
namah śaṅgave (śaṅgāya) ca paśupa-  
taye ca, 250, 808  
namah śaspiṇjarāya (ṣiṣ") triṣmate  
278, 294, 580  
namah śighrāya (śighrīyāya) ca śi-  
bhyāya ca, 315, 787  
namah śibhāya ca śighrāya ca, 315, 787  
namah śuṣkyāya (śuṣyāya) ca hari-  
tyāya ca, 420  
namah śvanibhyo (śvanī") mṛgayu-  
bhyah ca vo namah, 528  
namas te astu, 910  
namas te astu rudrarūpebhyah, 817  
namas te rathanitarāya (rātham")  
. . ., 491  
namas te rudra rūpebhyo namah, 817  
namas te 'stu, 910  
namah samudrasya cakṣase (cakṣuṣe),  
608  
namah saspiṇjarāya triṣmate, 278,  
294, 580  
namah sūtiyāhantyaī ("hantyaīya,  
"hantvāya), 248  
namas sūrmayāya cormyāya ca, 228  
namah sūryāya divikṣite lokaspte,  
205  
namah ṣṛkīyibhyo ("vibhyo, ṣṛgāy-  
ibhyo) jighāṃsadbhyah, 48, 247  
namah ṣṛtyāya ca pathyāya ca, 682  
namah senābhyah senānibhyaḥ ("nī-  
bhyah) ca vo namah, 527  
namah sobhyāya ca pratiaaryāya  
("arāya) ca, 325  
namah srutyāya ca pathyāya ca, 682  
na mānsam aśi nodalam (no dalam),  
835

na māṁseṣu na snāvasu, 826  
 namucāv ('cā) āsure sacā, 888  
 na me tad upadambhiṣar dhr̥ṣir brahmā  
 yad dadau, 142, 272a, 831, 832  
 namo agnaya upadras̥tre, 910  
 namo agriyāya ('gryāya, 'griyāya) ca  
 prathamāya ca, 541, 787, 910  
 namo agrevadhāya ('gre\*) ca dūrevā-  
 dhāya ca, 910  
 namo aparasadbhyaḥ, 910  
 namo āvebhyo ('ēve\*) āvapatiḥbhyāś ca  
 vo namaḥ, 910  
 namo astu nilagrīvāya, 908  
 namo astu parīyate, 907  
 namo astu ('stu) rudrebhyo ye anta-  
 rikṣe ('ntar\*) . . ., 910  
 namo astu ('stu) rudrebhyo ye divi  
 . . ., 910  
 namo astu ('stu) rudrebhyo ye prthi-  
 vyām . . ., 910  
 namo astu ('stu) sarpebhyah, 907  
 namo girikebhyo devānām hr̥daye-  
 bhyah, 49  
 namo giriśayāya (giriśāya) . . ., 810  
 namo gr̥tsebhyo gr̥tsepatibhyāś ca vo  
 namaḥ, 45, 185  
 namo 'gnaya upadras̥tre, 910  
 namo 'gnaye pr̥thivikṣite lokas̥pte  
 (pr̥thivikṣite lokakṣite, 'vikṣite lok-  
 as̥pte), 205, 524  
 namo 'griyāya . . ., 'grevadhāya . . .,  
 'gryāya . . ., see namo ag\*  
 namo jaghanyāya ca budhnyāya  
 ('niyāya) ca, 787  
 namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya  
 (dundubhaye cāhananyāya) ca, 325,  
 786  
 namo niṣādebhyaḥ puṣ̥jīṣ̥tebhyāś  
 ('ṣ̥tebhyāś) ca vo namaḥ, 86  
 namo niveṣyāya (ni\*) ca hr̥dyāya ca,  
 248, 315, 516, 658  
 namo 'parasadbhyaḥ, 910  
 namo babhūṣāya vyādhine (vivya-  
 dhine), 810  
 namo budhnyāya ca jaghanyāya ca, 787  
 namo mahadbhyo (br̥hadbhyo) ar-  
 bhakebhyāś ('rbha\*) ca vo namaḥ,  
 910

namo mrgayubhyaḥ āvanibhyāś ca vo  
 namaḥ, 528  
 namo mauṣṭjyāyormyāya ('yaor-  
 myāya) . . ., 728  
 namo yuvabhya āśinebhyāś (āśi\*) ca  
 vo . . ., 542  
 namo yuvabhyo nama āśinebhyah, 542  
 namo rathibhyo arathebhyāś ('rath\*)  
 . . ., 910  
 namo rudrāyātatāyine ('vine), 247  
 namo lopyāya colapyāya (colapāya)  
 ca, 325  
 namo vaḥ kirikebhyo . . ., 49  
 namo vaḥ pitarah̥ śuśmāya (śoṣāya,  
 śūṣāya), 569, 713, 720  
 namo vātyāya ca reṣmyāya (reṣ-  
 miyāya) . . ., 787  
 namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite lokas̥pte  
 ('as̥pte, lokakṣite), 205  
 namo vikṣipatkebhyah (vikṣipake-  
 bhyah), 540  
 namo vīdhryāya (vīdhriyāya) cāta-  
 pyāya ca, 300, 787  
 namo vṛddhāya ca savṛdhe (savh-  
 vṛdhvane, savṛdhvane, suvṛdhvane)  
 ca, 306, 612  
 namo vo astu ('stu), 910  
 namo 'āvebhyo . . ., see namo āś\*  
 namo 'stu nila\*, 908  
 namo 'stu parīyate, 907  
 namo 'stu . . ., see namo astu . . .  
 namo hr̥dayyāya ca niveṣyāya ca, 248,  
 315, 516, 658  
 namo hr̥dayyāya (hr̥davyāya) ca  
 niveṣyyāya ('ayāya) ca, 248, 315,  
 516, 658  
 na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (alipsata),  
 583  
 na yajñasya manvate martyāśaḥ (mar-  
 tāśaḥ), 315  
 nayantam̐ gīrbhir vanā dhīyam̐ dhāḥ,  
 600  
 nayanto garbhān vanān dhīyam̐ dhuḥ,  
 600  
 na yonā (yonāv) uṣāsānaktā, 886  
 narāśānā stavīṣyate, 490  
 narāśānse somapīthas̥u ya śānūḥ (śn-  
 ānūḥ), 490



- na vā u (uv) etan mriyase na risyasi, 774  
na vai gāvo maṅgīrasya (maṅgīrasya), 144  
na vai śvetasyādhyācāre (śvetasācābhy-  
āgāre, śvetasābhyācāreṇa, śvetas-  
yābhyācāre), 128, 172, 188, 824  
na sīm adeva āpat (āpa tat), 810  
na śleṣidatāḥ (\*rīdata), 384, 525  
nāhi te nāma jāgrāha, 116  
nāhy anyān bādākaram (bālā\*), 271  
nāhy aśyā (aśyai) nāma grbhāmi, 116  
nākaḥ grbhānāḥ (grh\*) sukṛtasya  
loke, 116  
nākro makaraḥ kulipayas (kulikayas,  
pulkayas, pultrayas) te 'kūpārasya  
(kūvarasya), 149, 198, 489, 802  
nāgo rayir ā ciketa, 244, 837  
nātārīd (\*rīr) aśya samṛtiṃ vadhānām  
(ba\*), 209, 272a  
nādyā śatruḥ nanu (na nu) purā  
vivitse (yuyitse), 255, 627, 805  
nādhr̥ṣa ā dadhr̥ṣate (dadhr̥ṣa, da-  
dhr̥ṣayā), 648  
nānā hi vām devahitān sadas (śadaḥ)  
kṛtam, 964  
nāpa vṛjāte na gamāto antam, 198, 201  
nābhā samdāyi navyasā (samdāya  
navyase), 584, 695  
nābhīmṛṣe (nābhīdhṛṣe) tanvā (tanuvā)  
jarbhurāṇaḥ (jārhr̥ṣāṇaḥ), 121, 292,  
654  
nārśaṇsa stavisyate, 490  
nārśaṇsena stomena (somena), 419  
nārśaṇse somapithaḥ ya āśuḥ, 490  
nāvapṛjyāte na gamāte antam, 198, 201  
nāvas caranti svasica iyānāḥ, 170, 254,  
741  
nāvo viyanti susico na vāṇiḥ, 170, 254,  
741  
nāstyā (nā\*) bhīśajāśvinā, 952  
nāsām āmitro vyathūr ā dadhr̥ṣati, 491  
nāśikavate (\*kāvate) svāhā, 475  
nīḥ kravyādath audāmasi (nudāsa),  
967  
nigīrya tubhyam abhya āsam (tu-  
bhyam madhye), 47, 76, 255  
ni galgaliti dhārakā, 133, 595, 617, 861  
nigīrya sarvā ādhiḥ (tubhyam madh-  
vāḥ), 47, 176, 255  
nīcerur aśi nicumpuṇaḥ (nīcaṅkuṇa,  
nīcaṅkuṇaḥ), 150, 380, 605  
ni jalgaliti (jalgal\*) dhānikā, 133, 595,  
617, 861  
ni dūrasravase vaha (vahaḥ, mahaḥ),  
224, 379  
nidhanavata āgrayaṇaḥ (āgrā\*), 492  
nidhedhāsi . . . puruṣaspārham (pur-  
uṣpārham) . . ., 811  
ni nivartana vartayendra nardahuda  
(nandabala), 273, 605, 862  
ni no rayiṇ subhojasam yuvasva  
(yuveha), 842  
nindād yo asmān dīpsāc (dhīpsāc) ca,  
107  
nīnṛdo (nīmrado) 'ai, 858  
ni yan niyanty uparasya nīkṛtim, 557,  
778, 830  
niyutvān vāyav (vāya) ā gahi, 889  
niyudbhir vāyav (vāya) iṣṭaye duroṇe,  
889  
niyudbhir vāyav (vāya) iha tā vi  
muṇca (muṇcaḥ), 145, 379, 889  
nir amuḥ bhaja yo 'mitro aśya, 907  
nir arapiṇ savitā sāviṣat (\*śak) padoh,  
142  
nir aṣṭaviṣam (aṣṭha\*) asmṛtam, 86  
nirastāḥ śaṇḍaḥ (śaṇḍaḥ), 289  
nirasto aghaśaśasāḥ ('gha\*), 910  
nirṛtiṃ nirjarjalpena (nirjālmakena,  
nirjalpena) āīṣṣā (nirjālmākāśīṣā)  
496, 810  
nirṛto yaś ca nīsvanaḥ, 93, 861  
nirṛtyai svāhā, 699  
nirṛtho yaś ca nīsvaraḥ (nīsvanaḥ), 93,  
861  
nīroho 'ai, 516  
nīrdevaṇ nīrvīraṇ (\*vīryaṇ) kṛtvā  
. . ., 325  
nīrbādhyena haviṣā, 699  
nīr tuḥ muṇcāmi āpāthāṣi, 325  
nīr mā yamasya paḍvīṣat (paḍvīṣat),  
217, 302, 872  
nīr mā varuṇād uta (adhi), 325  
nīvarto yo ny avīrṣṭhaḥ (avīrṣṭat),  
97

- ni vīraṁ (vīravat) gavyam aśvyam  
(aśviyam) ca rādhaḥ, 784
- nivṛtaḥ (nivṛttaḥ) puruṣād dṛtib, 401
- niṣkartā vihrutaḥ (vihrutaḥ) punaḥ,  
650, 683
- niṣkrta vihrutaḥ punaḥ, 650, 683
- niṣkrtaḥāvam avaṣam, 164
- niṣ kravyādaḥ sediha ("dam anīśat"),  
967
- ni ṣṇanihi duritā bādhamānaḥ, 582
- niṣ taḥ bhaja yo amitro asya, 907
- niṣṣahamāṇo (niṣṣa") yamate nāyate,  
971
- niḥṣram in ni me hara (harā[h]), 431,  
446
- nīroho 'si, 516
- niḥagalamālaḥ . . ., 512, 870
- niḥaṅgoḥ ("gave) kṛmih), 608
- niḥagalaśāla, 512, 870
- nū cit sa dabbhyate janah, 126, 621
- nṛcakṣasau tvā . . . khyeṣam (kṣeṣam)  
190
- nṛcakṣāḥ soma uta suśrug (śuśrug)  
astu, 145, 283, 612
- nṛbhīr dhūtaḥ (dhau") auto aśvaib, 726
- nṛbhīr dhūto (dhauto) vicakṣaṇaḥ,  
726
- nṛbhīr yad yukto vive rapāṇi (viver  
ap"), 837
- nṛvat kṛṇuhi vītaye ("hy vītaye), 743,  
865
- nṛvadbhyo 'kṣā paprathānebhīr evaiḥ,  
684, 840, 861, 875
- nṛṣadmā śīdāp apāḥ vivarte ("vā  
śīdāp apāḥ upastib), 240
- nṛāḥ (nṛāḥ) pāhi śṛṇudhi ("hi) girah,  
122, 965
- nediya it arṇyaḥ pakvam ā yavan  
(yuvan), 603
- ned ego asmān avahāya parāyat, 924
- nen na ṛṇāḥ ṛṇava it samānaḥ, 180, 181,  
345, 694, 919
- nemim taṣṭeva sudrvam (sudrvam),  
793
- nemīś cakram ivābhavat ("bhuvat), 602
- nem na ṛṇāḥ ṛṇavān īpaamānaḥ, 180,  
181, 345, 694, 919
- neva māśe na pibasi, 211, 709, 826
- nainarṇ rakṣāṇi na piśācāḥ sahanā,  
155
- nainad devā āpauvan pūrvam arāt  
(arāt), 31, 288
- nainā amitro vyathir ā dadharṣati, 491
- nairṛtyai svāhā, 609
- nairbādhyena haviṣā, 699
- naiva māśena pīvari, 211, 709, 826
- nyag vāto 'va vāti (vāto vāti), 808
- nyaṇ ni yanty uparasya niṣkrtaḥ, 587,  
778, 830
- ny aśvinā hr̥ṣau kāmā (kāmān) ayaṇ-  
sata (araṇsata), 244
- ny abarṇ taḥ mṛdyāsaḥ yo 'emān  
(asmān) dvesti . . ., 910
- paktā sasyam, 93, 857
- pakṣmāṇi godhūmāḥ kuvalair (kva-  
lair) utāni, 782
- pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitṛyāvataḥ, 559
- pañca padāni ruṇo anv aroham, 569
- pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhāv (dadhā)  
idam . . ., 888
- pañbhīś caturbhir akramit, 166
- patāti didyun naryasya bāhvoḥ  
(bāhvoḥ), 792
- patha ānakti madhvā gṛtēna, 509
- pathā madhumatā bharaṇ (madhumad  
ābharan), 81, 840
- patho ānaktu ("ti) madhvā gṛtēna,  
509
- padā paṇīr (paṇīn) arādhasaḥ, 927
- padbhīś caturbhir akramit, 166
- panagruvaḥ samvasaneṣv (samvara-  
neṣv) akramuḥ, 857
- panthām anūvṛgbhyām (anu"), 550
- panthā sasyam, 93, 857
- payasvatih kṛṇuthāpa ("tāpa) ośadhīḥ  
. . ., 90
- payasvad vīrudhāḥ payaḥ, 200
- payasvan māmakarṇ vacaḥ (payah),  
200
- payasvān ("vān) agna āgamam, 923
- payo gṛheṣu payo aghnyāyām (aghnī-  
yāsu, 'stu tan nah), 784, 907
- payo me dāḥ (mayi dbehi), 102
- payo vatsēṣu payo astu tan mayi, 907
- paramachado varā (paramachad ava-  
rān) ā viveda, 840



- paramajyā rāṣamaḥ ('ma), 380  
 paramaḥ padam ava bhāti (bhāri  
 bhāri ('reḥ), 853  
 paramāḥ tam (tvā) parāvatam, 365  
 paramēṣa paśunā kriyase (kriyasa),  
 162  
 paramēṣṭhi tvā sādāyatu divas (divaḥ)  
 pṛṣṭhe . . . rāsmivatīm (rāsmi'), 520,  
 964  
 paraśur vedih paraśur naḥ svasti,  
 381, 755  
 paraḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi, 382, 520  
 parā duṣvapnyarā ('niyarā) suva, 784  
 parā dehi sāmulyam (śābalyam), 240,  
 807  
 parāpuro nīpuro ya bharanti (haranti),  
 117  
 parāreṣā mūradevā ('vā) chṛṇhi,  
 937  
 parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ, 382, 520  
 pari kroṣatu sarvadā ('taḥ), 68  
 pari ghraṣam omanā vāḥ (pari-  
 ghraṣa vāḥ manā vāḥ) vayo gāt  
 (gām), 804, 821, 828  
 parijmā cit kramate (cid ramate) aya  
 dharmapi, 420  
 pari naḥ śarmayantya, 950  
 pari no āsvam āsvavit, 950  
 pari no rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu, 950  
 pari no hetir rudrasya vrjyāḥ ('yāt),  
 170, 950  
 pari doṣād udarpithaḥ, 63, 96, 384, 516,  
 821  
 paridhāsyai yaśodhāsyai ('dhāsyai yaśo  
 dhāsyai), 705  
 pari naḥ śarmayantya, 950  
 pari no āsvam āsvavit, 950  
 pari no rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu, 950  
 pari no heḍo varuṇasya vrjyāḥ, 170, 950  
 pari pūṣā parastāt (pur'), 615  
 pari bhrātuh pari evaṣuḥ, 988  
 pari mātuh pari evaṣuḥ, 988  
 parimāḍhaḥ kva gamisyasi, 67  
 parimāḍho 'ay ulena, 568  
 pari lokān pari dīśaḥ pari svaḥ (svaḥ),  
 780  
 parivādah parikṣavam ('chavam), 183,  
 200, 516  
 parivṛddhi ('vṛṇddhi) . . ., 418  
 pariṣṭaḥ kṛṣyasi, 67, 829  
 pariṣṭo 'ay ulena, 568  
 pariṣṭaḥ kṛṣyasi, 67, 829  
 pari aya suvāno akṣāḥ, 794, 987  
 pari śvajato ('tai) libujeva vṛkṣam, 710  
 pari satyasya dharmagā (sakhyaaya  
 dharmapaḥ), 143  
 pari suvānaś (svānaś) cakṣuse deva-  
 mādanah, 794  
 pari suvānaś (svānaś) indavaḥ, 794  
 pari suvāno (svāno) giriṣṭhāḥ, 794  
 pari aya suvāno avyayam (svāno  
 akṣarat), 794, 987  
 pari svā°, see pari suvā°  
 paritoṣāt tad arpitha, 63, 96, 384, 516,  
 821  
 paridam vājy ajinam ('dam vājinaḥ)  
 . . ., 808  
 paridam vāso adhithāḥ (adhithāḥ, adhi  
 dhā) svastaye, 77, 705  
 parime 'gnim arṣata, 387, 648  
 parivūdah parikṣepam, 200, 516  
 paruṣaḥ-paruṣas ('suḥ; paruṣas-paru-  
 ṣas) pari, 961  
 pareyivāśam (pareyu') pravato mahir  
 anu (iti), 622  
 parainān ('nān) devaḥ savitā dadātu,  
 950  
 paro maritaḥ paraḥ (para) śvā, 980  
 parṇasādah ('śado jaritaḥ, "śado jar-  
 itaḥ), 278  
 parṇa vo vasatiḥ ('tiḥ) kṛtā, 967  
 pary agnim ahṛṣata (arṣata, ahareṣata),  
 387, 648  
 pary āgāraḥ (ākāraḥ) punaḥ-punaḥ,  
 46  
 pary āvarte duṣvapnyāt (duḥava'), 980  
 pary ā su pra dhanva ('vā) vājasātaye,  
 436, 445  
 parvata ivāvicācalih ('tat), 562  
 paraśur vedih paraśur naḥ svastih, 381,  
 755  
 pavamāna ('nā) vidharmapi, 512  
 pavamānaḥ ('na) samtanim eṣi kṛṇvat,  
 380  
 pavamānaḥ svarjanah (svaṛ°, see adya  
 nah), 159

pavamāno dāśasyati (diś<sup>o</sup>), 577  
 pavasva devāyusak (deva āyusak), 902  
 pavitravantah pari vācam (vājam)  
 āste, 51  
 paśūnām tvā hihkāreṇā<sup>o</sup> (humkā-  
 reṇā<sup>o</sup>) . . ., 625  
 paśūn (paśūna) tādā cakre vāyavyān,  
 932  
 paśūn nah śaśasyājūgupah, 548  
 paśūn me śaśasyājūgupah ("jūg"), 548  
 paśeādoṣāya (paśeādo<sup>o</sup>) glāvinam  
 (glāvam), 403  
 paśyaṇ ("yaṇ) jaumāni sūrya, 936  
 paṣṭhavāḥ ("vāc) ca . . ., 167  
 paṣṭhavād gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 631  
 paṣṭhavād ("vād) vayah, 167  
 pāṅktrah (pāṅktaḥ, pāmtra-) kaśo  
 mānthilavas (man<sup>o</sup>) to pitṛṇām  
 (pitṛ<sup>o</sup>), 77, 418, 489, 607  
 pātān mā dyāvāpṛthivi adyāhnaḥ  
 (aghān naḥ), 840, 888  
 pāti priyam ripo (rupe) agram padam  
 veb, 267, 627  
 pāty agnir vipo agram padam veb,  
 267, 627  
 pāpāt svapnyād (pāpāḥ svapnād)  
 abhūtyāḥ ("yai), 315  
 pāpmānam uta vāgham (vā agham),  
 992  
 pāra ikṣavo 'vāryebhyaḥ ('vāriye-  
 bhyaḥ) pakṣmabhyaḥ avāhā, 325, 786  
 pārāya mārḡāram, 325  
 pārāvataghnīm (pārāvadaghnīm) av-  
 ase suvṛktibhiḥ, 59  
 pāryāṇi pakṣmāṇy avāryā ikṣavaḥ, 325  
 pāryāya kaivartam, 41, 325, 708  
 pāvaka ā citayantyaḥ kṛpā, 343  
 pāvakayā yaś citayantyaḥ kṛpā, 343  
 pāvamānāḥ, "nyāḥ, "nyah, 319  
 pāśam grīvāsv avierṭyam ("eartyam),  
 649  
 pāhi gāyāndhaso (gā an<sup>o</sup>) madḥ, 343  
 pāhi no agna enase (edhaso) avāhā,  
 857  
 pāhi mām yajñanyam ("niyam), 789  
 pāhi mā didyoh (mādyā divah), 738  
 pikah (pigah) kṛvānā . . ., 21, 48  
 pitaraś ca upāste (eopāste), 995

pitā devānām janitā vibhūvasaḥ  
 (vibhāv<sup>o</sup>), 619  
 pitā no bodhi (bodhi), 584  
 pitāmāhebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ ("vi-  
 bhyaḥ) svadhā namaḥ, 247  
 pitā virājām ṛabho rayiṇām, 236, 359  
 pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam ("bhaiṣam),  
 700  
 pītṛbhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ ("vibhyaḥ)  
 svadhā namaḥ, 247  
 pītṛbhyaḥ svadhāstu ("dhā astu), 992  
 pītṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrāo  
 bahhrvanūkṣān, 628, 742  
 pitṛṇ (pitṛṇ) jinva, 930  
 piteva putram jarase mā emam (naye-  
 mam), 181, 343, 835  
 pitevaidhi sūnava ā ("ve yah) susevaḥ,  
 339  
 pitvo (pidvo) nyaṅkuḥ kakkaṭas (kak-  
 uṭhas, kaśas) to 'numatyai, 67, 69,  
 88, 401, 607  
 pinva ("vah) gā jinvārvataḥ, pinva-  
 tad gā jinvatam arvato naḥ, 852  
 pibantu madantu ("tām) vyantu (vi-  
 yantu somam), 796  
 pibāt somam mamadaḥ (somam am-  
 adann) enam iṣṭe (iṣṭayah), 381, 746  
 pitā bhāsvaty aṇūpamā (pitābhā syāt  
 tanūpamā), 170, 254, 408, 838  
 pitvi (pitvā) śipre avepayah, 508a  
 pibartān (piv<sup>o</sup>) ca prapharvyam, 211  
 pibaspṛhākam udārathīm (pivō vṛkka  
 udārathih), 211  
 puṣasavanāḥ puṣasavanam (puṣasuva-  
 nam aśi), 604  
 puṣe putrāya vettavai (vittaye, kart-  
 avai, "ve), 248, 686, 705  
 puṣṭjikasthalā (puṣṭjiga<sup>o</sup>) kṛtasthalā  
 (kratu<sup>o</sup>) cāpearassu, 48, 609, 664  
 putrah pitarāv ("ram) avṛṇta pūṣā, 237  
 putrah pitre (pitrye) lokakṛj jāta-  
 vedaḥ, 321  
 putram iva pitarāv ("rā) aśvinobhā, 889  
 putriyantāḥ (putriyanti) sudānavah,  
 534  
 punantu ṛsayah, 992  
 punantu vāvā bhūtāni (bhūtā mā),  
 849



- punar āgāḥ punarṇava ("ṇava, °ṇavaḥ)  
 380, 952  
 punar ūrjā nī vartasva (ūrjā vavṛtsva),  
 648  
 punar dattāv (dātām) asum adyeha  
 bhadram, 225  
 punar brahmāṇo (brahmā) vasunītha  
 ("nītir, °dhītam, °dhītim, °dhīte)  
 yajñaiḥ (agne), 93, 134, 339, 587, 706,  
 857  
 punar mām aītv (maītv) indriyam, 812  
 pumān enam tanuta ut kṛṇāti, 48, 925  
 pumāṇāṁ vardhatāḥ mayi, 97, 840,  
 938  
 pumāṇsam u (ā) dadhad (dadhād) iha,  
 620  
 pumān enad vasyaty udgṛṇāti, 48, 925  
 pumān garbhas tavodare, 97, 840  
 pumān sarivartatāḥ mayi, 97, 840,  
 938  
 purandaro gotrabhid ("bhṛd) vajra-  
 bāhuḥ, 39, 636  
 purandaro maghavān vajrabāhuḥ, 39,  
 636  
 purastāt (puras tvā) sarve kurmahe,  
 365, 826  
 purā gr̥dhrād araruṣaḥ pibāthaḥ ("taḥ),  
 91  
 purā cakṛbhyā ātrda, 57, 138, 353, 384,  
 681  
 purā jatrubhya (jatr̥bhya) ātrdaḥ, 57,  
 138, 353, 384, 681  
 puruṣu tvaṣṭā ("taḥ) suvīryam (suvī-  
 ram), 323  
 purutrā te manutām (vanvatāḥ, vanu-  
 tāḥ) viṣṭhitāḥ jagat, 227, 742  
 puru tvā dāśvān (dāśivān) voce, 764,  
 644  
 purudāsmo ("amavad) viṣurūpa (viṣ-  
 varūpam) indur, 291, 421, 742  
 purumedhaś ("dhmā) cit takave naram  
 dāt (dhāt), 105  
 pururāvṇo deva rīṣas pāhi, 371a, 716,  
 821  
 pururūpaḥ suretasaḥ maghonam  
 ("nim), 588  
 puru viśvānī jūrvaṇ, 717, 809  
 puruṣtutasya dhāmabhiḥ (nāma°), 855  
 purū reto dadhire sūryaśvitaḥ ("śritaḥ),  
 267  
 purodāśān ("ān) alankuru, 924  
 puro rakṣāṁsi nijūrvaṇ, 717, 809  
 purovāta ("to) jinva rāvat (rāvaḥ)  
 svāhā, 168, 837  
 purovāto varṣaḥ jinvar āvṛt svāhā,  
 168, 837  
 puṣṭapate (puṣṭi°, puṣṭipataye) . . .  
 punar dehy asmaī (dehī or dhehī  
 svāhā), 104, 557  
 puṣpavatīḥ (puṣpā°) prasūvarīḥ  
 ("sūmatīḥ, °sūvatīḥ), 239, 467  
 puṣpavatīḥ (puṣpā°) supippalāḥ, 467  
 pūtanānāḥ tvā patimānā ādhūnomī,  
 151, 720, 810  
 pūrṇān parisrutaḥ kumbhān, 682  
 pūrvo ha (hi) jātaḥ (jāne) sa u garbhe  
 antaḥ, 578  
 pūlyāṇy āvapantikā, 151, 568, 800,  
 867  
 pūṣaṇ (pūṣaṇa) tava vrate vayas, 932  
 pūṣā jātivin (jāti°, jātimān) . . .  
 239  
 pūṣādhvanas ("naḥ) pātu, 964  
 pūṣā viṣpandamāne, 725  
 pūṣa āghṛṇaye svāhā, 35, 300  
 pūṣe 'āghṛṇaye svāhā, 35, 300, 473  
 pūṣe śarase ("si) svāhā, 691  
 prkṣasya vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū sahaḥ,  
 658, 870  
 prṇakeī rodasī ubhe, 718  
 pr̥tanāśāhyāya ("śāhyāya) ca, 984  
 pr̥tsutūrṣu śravassu (śravaṇsu) ca, 971  
 pr̥thivi bhūvari (vibhūvari) sinivāly  
 urandhra (uraṇdha) ācīte . . ., 333,  
 808  
 pr̥thivīśadam (pr̥thivi°, °śadam) tvān-  
 tarikṣasādah . . ., 524, 986  
 pr̥thivīspr̥ṇ (pr̥thivi°) mā . . ., 524  
 pr̥thivi darvir akṣitāparimitānupad-  
 astā (akṣatā) . . ., 576  
 pr̥thivīśadam, see pr̥thivi°  
 pr̥thivīsamantasya te 'gnir upadrṣṭā,  
 833  
 pr̥thivi samā tasyāgnir upadrṣṭā . . .,  
 833  
 pr̥thivi suvarcā . . ., see pr̥thivi . . .

- prthivisprā, see prthivi<sup>o</sup>  
 prthivyaṁ avacūśotaitat, 336  
 prthivya<sup>o</sup> ("vyāh") sambhava, 381  
 prthivyaḥ sampras ("cah, samprasas")  
   pāhi, 195, 375, 964  
 prthvi (prthivi) suvarcā yuvatīḥ sajo-  
   sāh, 764  
 prētiṁ divaḥ pari srava, 200  
 prētibhyaḥ (prēti<sup>o</sup>) svāhā, 529  
 prēthavād gaur vayo dadhuh, 631  
 pryvābhyaḥ svāhā, 680  
 perum tuñjānā patyeva jāyā, 159, 421  
 peśasvatī tantunā samvayanti ("vy-  
   ayanti"), 346  
 peśo nā śuklaṁ (śukraṁ) asitaṁ (as<sup>o</sup>)  
   vasāte, 262, 277  
 potrāgnidhro (potā<sup>o</sup>) nihitaṁ pādani  
   ekam, 353  
 pauraṣyād daivyāt ("yān na daivāt"),  
   317  
 pausṇo viṣpandamāne, 725  
 pra ketunā bhātā yāty (bhāty) agniḥ,  
   853  
 prakṣasya vṛṣṇo aruṣasya nū mahah,  
   658, 870  
 pragāyāmay agrataḥ (pragāyāmay  
   asyāgrataḥ), 134, 840  
 pra candramās tirate (tirati, "mas  
   tirase") dīrgham āyuh, 507  
 pracyutīm jaghanacyutīm, 574  
 prajananā vai pratiṣṭhā loke sādhu  
   prajāyān (sādhu prajāvān) . . ., 250  
 prajāḥ kṛṇvan janayan virūpāḥ, 936  
 prajāṁ suvirāṁ ("ryān) kṛtvā, 323  
 prajāḥ no naryājūgupaḥ, 548  
 prajāpatir dikṣito . . . dikṣayatu (dik-  
   ṣeta) . . ., 745  
 prajāpatis tvā ("tiṣ (tvā) sādhatu . . .,  
   958  
 prajāpate viśvasṛj ("sṛj) jivadhanyaḥ,  
   132  
 prajāpates tvā ("teṣ (tvā) prāṇen<sup>o</sup> . . .,  
   958  
 prajāṁ me naryājūgupaḥ ("jūg<sup>o</sup>"), 548  
 prajāyāmay agrataḥ, 134, 840  
 prajāyai kam (kim) amṛtaṁ nāvṛṣṭa,  
   578  
 prajāyai mṛtyave tvat (tat), 365  
 prajāvatī vīrasūr devrkāmā, 633  
 prajāvatīḥ śyavasah ("śe) ruśantiḥ  
   (ris<sup>o</sup>) 627  
 prajā vikṛvaṁ (vikurvaṁ) janayan  
   virūpam ("pāh), 936  
 prajāḥ sarvā ca rājabāndhavaḥ  
   ("vyah), 490, 701  
 pra (prā) ṇa āyur jivase soma tāriḥ, 439  
 pra ṇa āyūṁṣi tāriṣaḥ (tāriṣat, tāriṣat),  
   753, 950  
 pra ṇa ludo mahe tane, 616, 830, 950  
 pra ṇaḥ pīnva vidyud abhreva rodasi,  
   950  
 pra nāmāni prayaḥyavas tiradhvam,  
   952  
 pra ṇu vocaṁ cikituṣe janāya, 719, 950  
 pra ṇo jāyantaṁ mithunāni rūpaṣaḥ,  
   950  
 pra ṇo jivātave suva, 950  
 pra ṇo naya vaayo aha, 950  
 pra ṇo navyebhis tirataṁ deṣaḥ, 950  
 pra ṇo brātād bhāgadhān ("dhām)  
   devatāsu, 105  
 pra ṇo yachatv aryamā, 950  
 pra ṇo yacha bhuvas (viśān) pate, 950  
 pra ṇo vocaṁ cikituṣe janāya, 719, 950  
 pra tad viṣṇu ("vuh, "vus) stavate  
   vīryeṇa ("ryāṁ, "ryāya), 977  
 pra tad voced amṛtasya (amṛtaṁ nu,  
   voce amṛtaṁ nu) vidvān, 849  
 pratikramāṇaṁ kuṣṭhābhyaṁ (gu<sup>o</sup>), 49  
 pratikṣiyantaṁ ("kṣiyantaṁ) bhuvā-  
   nāni viśvā, 795  
 prati grhṇāmi (grbhṇāmi) mahate  
   vīryāya (mahata indriyāya), 116  
 prati te te ajarāsaḥ tapisthāḥ, 345  
 prati tye te ajarāsaḥ tapisthāḥ 345  
 prati tvādityās tvag vettu (vetu), 392  
 prati tvā diva (divaḥ) skambhanir  
   vettu (vetu), 392, 977  
 prati tvā parvatī ("tir, pārvati) vettu,  
   490, 528  
 prati na mī surabhīḥ vyantu (viyantu),  
   796  
 prati bhāgaḥ na dādhiṁ ("mah), 379  
 pratunā asi ("māsi), 993  
 pratiravebhyaḥ (pratirebhyaḥ) svāhā,  
   747



- pratilāṁṭi ("ntti) te pitā, 181, 853  
 prati vāstor aha (ahar) dyuhhīb, 353  
 pratiśrutkīyā artanam (rtulam), 618, 651, 878  
 prati sma deva rīṣataḥ, 535, 987  
 prati sma rakṣaso dāha, 159, 987  
 prati sma deva rīṣataḥ, 535, 987  
 prati sma rakṣaso jāhi, 159, 987  
 pratikaṁ me vicakṣaṇam, 857  
 pratitah devebhyo juṣṭam ha vyavasthāt (havyam asthāt), 225  
 pratipam prātisutvanam ("satvanam), 618  
 pratāso agna rītam āsūṣāpāḥ (ās-āśnāḥ), 292, 617  
 pratno hi (pratnoṣi) kam idyo adhvar-  
 eṣu, 299, 827  
 pratyak somo atisrutah, 275  
 pratyag enam śapathā yantu tṛṣṭāḥ  
 (ṣṛṣṭāḥ), 854  
 pratyāṅk somo, see pratyāṅ . . .  
 pratyāṅ janān samcukośāntakāle, 195  
 pratyāṅ janāḥ tiṣṭhati samcukocān-  
 takāle, 195  
 pratyāṅ ("yaṅk) somo atidrutaḥ  
 ("hrutaḥ, "srutaḥ, "śrutaḥ), 275, 298, 939  
 praty ajātān ("tān, "tān) jātavedo  
 nudaeva, 936  
 pratyāṅcam arkam anayaṅ ("yaṅ)  
 chacibhīb, 937  
 praty asya vaha dyuhhīb, 353  
 pratyādāyāpara iṣvā, 105  
 praty u (uv) adarīy (adrīy) āyati, 648, 774  
 praty ūhatām aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt,  
 510, 727  
 praty eti vālmā . . . yajamāno 'grabhid  
 (agrabhid) uta pratiśhotopavaktar  
 ("kta) uta . . ., 357, 910, 991  
 praty eti sunvan . . . uta pratiśhoto-  
 pavaktar uta . . ., 357, 991  
 praty eva gr̥bhāyata, 254, 836  
 praty aḥatām aśvinā mṛtyum asmāt  
 (asmāt), 510, 727  
 pra tvava gr̥bhāyata, 254, 836  
 prathamachad avarāṇ ā viveṣa, 840  
 prathamam artim yuyotu nah, 383, 650, 825, 840  
 prathamāya januṣe bhūma neṣṭhāḥ  
 (bhūmanesṭhāḥ, bhuvanēsṭhāḥ), 240, 568, 832  
 pradakṣiṇ ("parḥ) marutām stomam  
 ṛdhyām (āyām), 596  
 pra dhārā yantu madhunaḥ (dhāra-  
 yantu madhuno gṛtasya), 833  
 pra na āyūṅṣi tāriṣat, 753, 950  
 pra na Indo mahe tu nah, 616, 830, 950  
 pra nah pinva vidyud abhveva rodast,  
 950  
 pranākāphā na ābhara, 79, 151  
 pra nāmāni prayajyavas tiradhvam,  
 952  
 pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasaḥ, 719  
 pra nu vocam cikituse janāya, 719, 950  
 pra nūnam pūrṇavandhura ("ban-  
 dhura), 213  
 pra no jāyantām mithunāni rūpaśah,  
 950  
 pra no jivātave suva, 950  
 pra no naya pratarani vasyo aha, 950  
 pra no navyebhis tiratam deṣṣaḥ,  
 950  
 pra no yachatv aryamā, 950  
 pra no yacha (rāva) viśaḥ pate (sahas-  
 rajit), 950  
 pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase, 719  
 prapitāmahebhyaḥ svadhāyibhyaḥ  
 ("vīhhyāḥ) svadhā namaḥ, 247  
 prapinam ("tam) agne sarirasya (salil-  
 asya) madhye, 264, 734, 871  
 prapunvanta upasprēata prapunvad-  
 bhya svāhā, 867  
 prapyātam agne sarirasya madhye,  
 264, 734, 871  
 pra-pra yajñapatiḥ tira (tirah), 379  
 prapharvyam ca pivarim, 211  
 pra budhnyā va irate (budhniyā irate  
 vo) mahāśi, 784  
 pra bravāma (bruvāma) śaradeḥ śētam,  
 602  
 pra bhānavāḥ sistrate (sas") nākam  
 aha, 581  
 prabhāyā agnyedham (āgnendham),  
 314, 401

prabhos te (prabhoṣ te) astah pari  
yanti ketavaḥ, 958  
pramade kumārīputram, 617  
pramā asi, 993  
pra mā brūtād bhāgadām (dhavirdā)  
devatāsu (\*tābhyaḥ), 105  
pramāsi, 993  
pramade kumārīputram, 617  
prayatiś ca me prasitiś (\*ṛtiś) ca me,  
637  
prayapayann iva sakthyan (sakthan),  
347  
pra yah satrācā (sa vācā) manasā  
yajāte (\*tai), 710, 828, 876  
prayāśya svāhā, 465  
prayugbhya (\*yudbhya) unmattam,  
145  
prayunvanta upaspr̥ṣṭa prayunvad-  
bhyaḥ svāhā, 867  
pra yo jajāne vidvān (vidvān) aya  
bandhum (\*dhuḥ), 925  
pravaṇena sajoṣasah, 465, 491  
pravayāhnāhar jinva, 493  
pra vartaya divo sāmānam (\*āmānam)  
indra, 907  
pra vaḥ (va) spaḍ akran suvitāya  
dāvane (pra vaḥ sphal akran), 977  
pra vā etindur indrasya niṣkṛtim, 587  
pra vācam (vājam) indur iṣyati, 1, 51  
pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān  
(caratu payasvān), 332  
pravāyāhne 'har jinva, 493  
pra viśṣminam āviṣuḥ, 876  
pra vedhase kavaye vedyāya (medhy-  
āya), 109, 230  
pra vo mahe mahivṛdhe (mahevṛdhe)  
bharadvam, 691  
praśīstah pra suhi (sūhi, suva, suva  
pra suhi), 559  
pra śmaśru (\*śrubhir) dodhuvad ūrdh-  
vathā bhūt (ūrdhavadhā bhuvat), 74  
pra sambr̥ṣṭinam ājiṣuḥ, 876  
pra sa mṛtyuḥ yuyotana, 383, 612, 650,  
817, 825, 840  
pra samrājo (\*jam) asurasya praśastim  
(\*tam), 586  
pra sumartyah (su mṛtyuḥ) yuyotana,  
383, 612, 650, 817, 825, 840

pra sulāmti te pitā, 181, 853  
pra svānāso bṛhaddivoṣu harayaḥ,  
686, 794  
prastotar vārṣāharan sāma gāya, 512  
pra stomā yanti (yantv) agnaye, 251  
prasthāyendragñibhyaḥ somam vocato  
yo (vocatopo) asmān . . ., 835, 867  
prasthiṭ vo madhuścutah (\*ścyutah,  
\*cyutah), 336  
pra smā mināty ajarah, 439, 512  
pra svānāso bṛhaddivoṣu harayaḥ, 686,  
794  
pra hañśāsa tṛpalah manyum (\*lā  
vagnum) aha, 235  
praharṣiṇaḥ (\*ṇo) madirasya made  
mṛśasā astv . . . (mṛśāsāv astu),  
888  
prāk (prāñ, prāñk) somo atidrutah,  
939  
prācīn jīvātum akṣitām (\*tim), 599  
prācī cojjagāhire, 387, 540, 581  
prācī agāma (prāśjo 'gāmā) nṛtaye  
hasāya, 2, 55, 443, 907  
prā ṇa āyur, see pra . . .  
prāṇah dehi (dhehi), 103  
prāṇasya tvā paraspāyai (\*pāya) cak-  
ṣusas tanuvaḥ (tanvas) pāhi, 964  
prāṇasya vidvān samare na dhīrah, 244  
prāṇaḥ sīndhūnām kalāśān acikradat,  
152  
prāṇah (prāṇa) stbah, 977  
prāṇān samkrośah, 46, 292  
prāṇāpānābhyān balaṁ āharanti (ā-  
bharanti, etc.), 117  
prāṇāśīsur mahinām, 152  
prāṇā sīndhūnām kalāśān acikradat,  
152  
prāṇo agniḥ (\*gnīḥ) . . ., 910  
prāṇo dātra edhī vayo (mayo) mahyati  
pratigrāhītre (\*grhāte), 232, 657  
prāṭah prāṭasvasya (\*sāvasya)  
śukravato . . ., 486  
prāṭah prāṭasvayendrayā (\*sāv-  
ayen\*) . . ., 486  
prāntar ṛṇaya sthāvīrīr (prāntarīkṣāt  
sthāvīrīr te) aṣṭṣata, 840, 883  
prānyā tantūne tīrate dhatte anyā, 128  
prāyāśya svāhā, 465



- prāvagebbhiḥ sajoṣasaḥ, 465, 491  
 prāvartam indraḥ śacyā dhamantam, 826, 873  
 prāvo yudhyantam vṛṣabhaḥ daś-  
 adyum, 873  
 prāsmā āśā aśṛvan, 873  
 prāsmān aya pṛtanḍau pra vīkṣu  
 (yutsu), 140, 805  
 prāsmā minoty ajarah, 439, 512  
 prāhuḥ tam atibhūyāsam (abhibhū)  
 yo asmān ('smān) dvesti . . ., 910  
 priyāṇy aṅgāni svadhītā parūṇṣi (aṅgā  
 sukṛtā purūṇi), 618, 741  
 priyā ta ā bahis ('hiḥ) āda, 152, 825,  
 971  
 priyeṇa dhāmā (nāmā, nāma) pri-  
 yam sāda āsāda (etc.), 855  
 priyo me hṛdo (hito, huto) 'ei (bhava),  
 63, 627, 640, 643  
 prustābhyas svāhā, 680  
 prusvā sārubbhiḥ, 40, 680  
 prusvābhyas svāhā, 680  
 pretā jayatā narah, 441  
 pred u hariṇas śrutasya (sutasya),  
 278, 355  
 premam vājah vājaśte avantu, 51  
 premāḥ vācam viśvām avantu viśve, 51  
 prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrveyebhiḥ  
 (pūryāṇaiḥ), 368  
 praitu brahmanas ('ṇas) patni, 964  
 praiṣṇa sāmīdheṇīr āghārāv ('rā)  
 ājyabhāgāv ('gā) āsṛutam . . ., 888  
 pro nyāśid indur indrasya niṣkṛtam, 587  
 pro śrata maruto durmadā iva, 361  
 prokṣitā ('tāḥ) atha, 977  
 prothad aśvo na yavase 'viṣyan (avi'),  
 907  
 pro 'vārata maruto durmadā iva, 361  
 pīśīr ('īr) vyaktaḥ . . ., 529  
 phalāya, 79, 401  
 phalgunibhyām vy ūhyate, 560  
 phalguniṣu vy ūhyate, 560  
 phalgūr ('gur) lobitorṇi balakṣi ('kṣi,  
 palakṣi) tāḥ sārasyatyaḥ, 69, 554  
 phallāya, 79, 401  
 bajābojopakāśini, 21, 69, 151, 381  
 balam dehi (dhatta), 103  
 balam mayi dhehi (me dāḥ svāhā), 103  
 balavijāyā ('yas, 'yah) sthaviraḥ  
 praviraḥ, 977  
 balim ichanto vitudasya (vi tu tasya,  
 vidurasya) preṣyāḥ (preṣṭhāḥ), 65,  
 272a, 832  
 balivardāya ('vandāya) svāhā, 862  
 hasto vayah, 216  
 bahiḥ te, see bahis te . . .  
 bahiṣṭhebhīr viharan yāsi tantum, 214  
 bahis te (bahiḥ te) astu bāl itī, 958  
 bahu bāhvor balam, 792  
 bahu ha vā ayam avarṣid itī śruta  
 rāvaj svāhā, 598, 648  
 bahu hāyam avṛṣād ('ṣad) itī śrutar  
 āvṛt (śruta rāvat) svāhā, 598, 648  
 bāhuvor (bāhvor) balam, 792  
 bāhuvos (bāhvos) tava hetayaḥ, 792  
 bidvo nyaṣkuḥ kaśas te 'numatyāḥ,  
 67, 69, 88, 607  
 bibheda valam (balam) bhṛgur na  
 sasāhe (sasahe), 210, 480  
 bṛhatā tvā rathantareṇa traiṣṭubhyā  
 (tristubhā) vartanya . . ., 325, 699  
 bṛhaty uṣṇihā kakup (kakut), 178  
 bṛhat sāma kṣatrabhṛd vṛddhavṛṣyam  
 ('vṛṣnam, 'ṇm, 'ṇyam), 315, 784  
 bṛhat sūro (sūryo) arocata, 318  
 bṛhat somo vāvṛdhe suvāna induh  
 (svāno adriḥ), 794  
 bṛhad ṛṣabhaḥ gām vayo dadhat, 359  
 bṛhadbhīr vājai (vājaiḥ, vājais) sthav-  
 irebhīr asme, 977  
 bṛhadrathantarayos tvā stomena triṣṭ-  
 ubho vartanya . . ., 325, 699  
 bṛhad vṛṣabhaḥ gām vayo dadhat, 359  
 bṛhanto daivāḥ (divyāḥ), 316, 699  
 bṛhann asi bṛhadravā (bṛhadgrāvā,  
 bṛhadrāyāḥ, 'rāyāḥ), 255, 420  
 bṛhaspataye mahiṣa (mahi ṣad) dyu-  
 man namah, 392, 826  
 bṛhaspataye śitpuṣaḥ (śimyuṣaḥ), 867  
 bṛhaspatinā rāyā avagākṛtaḥ, 406  
 bṛhaspatir devānām (daiyo) brahmā-  
 haḥ manuṣyāṇām (mānuṣaḥ), 316,  
 490, 707  
 bṛhaspatir brahmāhaḥ mānuṣaḥ, 316  
 bṛhaspatiḥ tvā ('tis tvā) niyunaktu  
 mahyam, 958

bṛhaspatiḥ tvā (\*tis tvā) viśvair devair  
upariṣṭād . . . , 938  
bṛhaspatiḥ tvā (\*tis tvā) sādāyatu  
prthivyaḥ . . . , 958  
bṛhaspatiḥ tvā (\*tis tvā) sumne ram-  
gātu (ragvatu), 225, 958  
bṛhaspatiḥ tvopasīdatu (\*tis tvopa\*),  
958  
bṛhaspatiautasya ( . . . ) tu indor (indo,  
inda) indriyavataḥ . . . , 357, 890  
bṛhaspati (\*tiḥ) stotram, 977  
bṛhaspate abhiśaster amuñcaḥ, 907  
bṛhaspate pari dīyā (dīya) rathena,  
446  
bṛhaspate 'bhiśaster amuñcaḥ, 907  
bṛhaspate mahiṣa dyuman namaḥ, 826  
bṛhaspate yāmyāni (\*yā) yuñgdhī  
(yuñdhi) vācam, 418  
bṛhaspates tvā (\*tes tvā) sāmraḥjyen-  
ābhi . . . , 958  
bodhanmanā id astu naḥ, 594  
bodha pratibodhāsvapuṣṇavadrāṇa  
. . . , 516  
bodhaś ca tvā (mā) pratibodhaś  
(prati\*) ca . . . , 516  
bodhinmanā id astu naḥ, 594  
bradhnaś eid atra (yaaya) vāto na  
jūtaḥ (jūtim), 586  
brahmaṇ stogyāmaḥ praśāstaḥ, 938  
brahmaṇs (brahmāṣṇa) tvam . . . , 932  
brahmanaspate auyamaṣya (sū\*) viś-  
vabā, 552  
brahma tvam aśi viśvasṛt (\*sṛk), 142  
brahma devakṛtam upahūtam, 460  
brahma devānāṃ prathamajā itasya,  
460  
brahmaṇ (\*man) tvam aśi viśvasṛt  
(\*sṛk), 142, 932  
brahman stogyāmaḥ praśāstaḥ, 938  
brahmavarcasāya pipihī (pipihī), 545  
brahmāṣṇ(s) tvam, see brahmaṇs . . . ,  
brahmāṣṇ . . .  
brahmā devakṛtopahūtā, 460  
brahmā devānāṃ prathamajā itasya,  
460  
brahmādhiguptaḥ (brahmābhi\*) svārā  
ksarāṇi (ksarakṣitaḥ svārā) svāhā,  
172, 569, 742, 802, 840

brahmāṣṇ (\*māṣṇ) tvam rājan brah-  
māsi, 932  
brahmābhiḥgūrtam svarākṣāṇaḥ (svar-  
ākṣa\*), 172, 569, 742, 802, 840  
brahmāham antaram kṛṇve (karave),  
710  
brahmaitad upāsvaitat (upāsvaitat)  
tapah, 251  
brāhmaṇam adya rdhyāśan (adyardh\*)  
. . . , 919  
brāhmaṇan rtvijo devān yajñasya  
tapasā te savāham (\*sā abam) ā  
huve, 362  
brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanuḥjātā (hy  
anu\*), 121, 828  
bhaṇsaso vi vṛhāmi te, 176, 222  
bhakṣīmahi prajām iṣam, 176, 618  
bhakṣo bhakṣyamāṇaḥ (bhakṣa\*), 332  
bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ  
(devaḥ), 507  
bhagas te hastam agrabbīt (\*hīt), 116  
bhagemāḥ dhiyam ud avā (ava) dadan  
naḥ, 446  
bhadrād abhi (adhi) śreyah prehī, 172  
bhayaṃ śītimabhyām (\*madbhyām),  
420  
bharatam uddharem anuṣīṇa (ud-  
dharema vanuṣanti), 236, 813  
bhartam agniṃ puriṣyam, 648  
bhartāras te mekhale mā riśāma, 176  
bhalāya (bhallāya) svāhā, 79, 401  
bhavā kṛṣṇām (gr\*) abhiśastipāvā  
(\*pā u), 46, 740, 824  
bhavā no dāto ajarah suvīraḥ, 826  
bhīndhīdam (bhīndhy ado) divyaṃ  
nabhaḥ, 324  
bhīḥajam na (naḥ) sarasvatīm, 384  
bhīma ā vāvṛdhe (vāvṛte) śavaḥ, 97  
bhūji (bhujyuh) suparṇo yajño gan-  
dharvaḥ, 738  
bhuvad viśvam abhy ādevam ojaś, 470  
bhuvanam aśi sahasrapoṣapūṣi (\*poṣaḥ  
puṣa), 491, 820  
bhuvanam aśi sahasram (sahasrapoṣam,  
sāhasram), 491  
bhūvas te dadāmi (tvayi dadāmi),  
104  
bhūvo viśvam abhy ādevam ojaś, 470



bhūtanāṁ brahmā prathamaha ("mota")  
 jajñe, 460  
 bhūmidrūham acyutaṁ pārayiṣṣu, 177,  
 268, 381, 857  
 bhūmidrūho 'cyutaś cyāvayīṣṣuḥ, 177,  
 268, 381, 857  
 bhūmīr iti tvābhipramanvate janāḥ,  
 860  
 bhūyasi haviṣkarana upahūtaḥ ("tā"),  
 962  
 bhūyiṣṭhadāyve sumatim āvrpānaḥ,  
 80, 335, 854  
 bhūyo vā ataḥ somo rājārhati (rājā  
 arhati), 992  
 bhūri śastam (śastram) prithuḥ svaruḥ,  
 357  
 bhūrṇim devāsa iha suśriyaṁ dadhuḥ,  
 177  
 bhūr bhuvah svas te dadāmi, 104  
 bhūr bhuvah svaḥ sarvaṁ tvayi  
 dadhāmi, 104  
 bhūḥ te dadāmi (tvayi dadhāmi), 104  
 bhrjś chandaḥ, 658  
 bhr̥tam agniṁ puriṣyam, 648  
 bhr̥miṁ (bhrumim) dhāmanto apa gā  
 avr̥nata, 40, 679  
 bheṣajam gavo 'śvāya (śvāya, 'śvāya  
 purnāśya), 909  
 bhr̥jś (bhr̥jś) chandaḥ, 456, 658  
 bhr̥tāntarikṣam abhiśatyā naḥ  
 ('śasta enaḥ), 840  
 bhrumim dhāmanto . . ., see bhr̥miṁ  
 . . .  
 makhasya te 'dya śiro rādhyāsaṁ . . .,  
 659  
 magham indrāya jabhrire, 868  
 maghavaṁ ("vaś") chagdhī tava tan na  
 ūtibhiḥ (ūtaye), 937  
 maghavan maṁṣimahi (vand?), 229  
 maṁḍākako ha vaḥ pītā, 165  
 maṁḍūkāṁ jambhyebhiḥ (jambhaiḥ),  
 315  
 maṁḍūko mūṣkā littirī ("ras") te  
 sarpānām, 589  
 maṁḍūky apu śaṁ bhuvah, 280, 839  
 maṁḍūkyā su saṁ gamah (gamaya),  
 280, 839  
 matyāi śrutāya cakṣase, 357, 713

matsarābhīḥ . . ., see atsa"  
 matsarāṇaḥ prasupaḥ (prasutaḥ)  
 sākam irate, 180  
 matsvā suśipra ("prin") hariṣas tad  
 (tam) imabe, 594  
 mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha, 78  
 madanti devīr amṛtā rtāvṛtaḥ  
 ("vṛdhaḥ), 97  
 madughānāṁ tvā patmann ādhūnami,  
 739  
 madenendram yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ, 181  
 made-made hī no dadīḥ (daduḥ, dadṛk),  
 622, 640, 642  
 mademendram yajamānāḥ svarkāḥ, 181  
 made suśipram (madeṣu śipram) an-  
 dhasaḥ, 293, 839  
 madyam indrāya jabhrire, 868  
 madhavyau stokāv ("kā") apa tau  
 rarādha, 78, 888  
 madhantamānām (madhvant") tvā pat-  
 mann ādhūnami, 739  
 madhu reto (madhur ato) mādhaveḥ  
 pātv asmāu, 716, 837  
 madhu vaśiṣṭiya (vaśa?), 277  
 madhu śaspair (madhuśa") na teja  
 indriyam, 817  
 madhuś ca mādhaveś ca vāsantīkāv  
 ("kā") rtu, 888  
 madhu havir (madhuhavir) asi, 817  
 madhu hutam indratame agnau  
 ('gnau), 910  
 madhoḥ pavanta ūrmayaḥ (pavasva  
 dhārayā), 804a  
 madhoḥ pibatam sāvīnā, 804a  
 madhoḥ pibanti gauryaḥ, 804a  
 madhor ato mādhaveḥ pātv asmān,  
 716, 837  
 madho rasaṁ sadbamāde, 368  
 madhoś cakānāś cārur madāya, 804a  
 madhye divo (divyo) nibitaḥ pr̥nir  
 asmā, 324  
 madhyo poṣasya tṛṇpatām (poṣyātām,  
 poṣasya tiṣṭhantīm), 251  
 madhvaḥ pavasva dhārayā (pavanta  
 ūrmayaḥ), 804a  
 madhvaḥ pibatam sāvīnā, 804a  
 madhvaḥ pibanti gauryaḥ, 804a  
 madhyaś cakānāś cārur madāya, 804a

madhva ("vah) śeotanty abhito virap-  
śam, 972, 977  
madhvā yajñam nakṣati (nakṣase)  
prigānah (prai?), 702  
madhvā rajāsindriyam, 421  
madhv ity ākarṣaṇi kuśair yathā, 290  
madhvo rasam sadhamāde, 368  
manasaspata inam deva yajñam (deva-  
yajñam svāhā vāci) svāhā . . ., 816  
manas tanūsu bibhrataḥ (piprataḥ),  
112  
manāsi (manā asi), 994  
manuśvad deva dhīmahi pracetasam,  
227  
manai nu babhrūpām aham, 366, 710  
mano glāyatyai ("triyai), 791  
mano jagāma dūrakam (dūragāh), 46  
mano jinva, 832  
mano jyotir (jūtir) juṣatām ājyasya  
(ājyam, ājyam me), 337, 720  
mano nv ā hūvāmabe ("hi, hvāmabe),  
798  
mano me jinva (pinva), 852  
mano yad asya guspitam (gulphitam),  
111  
manos tvā (manos tvā) grāmanyō  
. . ., 958  
mantram vadaty ukthyam (uktham),  
322  
manthākako ha vah pītā, 165  
mandadvirāyendave, 229  
mandāna id vṛṣāyase (ud vṛṣāyate), 627  
mandrābhībhitīḥ ketur yajñānām . . .,  
220, 321  
mandrā vibhūtīḥ ketur yajñiṣā . . .,  
220, 321  
manmā didhyānā utā nah sakhyā, 236,  
832  
manyāśai śam ca nas (nah) kṛdhi, 994  
manye vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau,  
251  
manyoh krodhasya nāśanī, 407, 593  
manyor mṛdhasya (mṛdhasya) nā-  
śint, 407, 593  
manve nu babhrūpām aham, 366, 710  
manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī, 251  
mama ca nāma tava ca (tava) jāta-  
vedah, 609

mama padyāya vi rāja, 820  
mama sausā śvaśurnaya praviṣṭau, 837  
mayarūdam (mayuntam) chandaḥ, 67  
mayā so annam ('nnam) atti yo vipa-  
śyati, 907  
mayi tad indriyam viryam, 345  
mayi tyad indriyam bṛhat (mahat),  
345  
mayi dakṣakratu (dakṣo mayi kratuh),  
272a  
mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājah ("jah  
kalpatām), 820  
mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ, 820  
mayi puṣṭim ("taḥ) puṣṭipatir (puṣṭa")  
dadhātu (dadātu), 101, 587  
mayi rāyo mayi rakṣah (dakṣah), 272a  
mayi rucam dhāh (dhehi), 101  
mayuri te śug cchatu (te kṣut), 145, 297  
mayobhūh śamtamā yad dhrudo  
(dhrdo) 'si, 684  
marutām pitar uta tad grāmah, 849  
marutām pitas tad aham grāmi  
(grā te), 849  
marutvantaḥ sakhyāya havāmabe  
(huvamahi), 602  
marutvān astu gaṇavān sajātavān  
(sujātaiḥ), 612  
marudbhīr ugrā ahṛṇyamāṇāḥ, 144  
marudbhīr rudrāḥ samajānatūbhi, 144  
marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo ("medhe-  
bhyo) 'nubūhi, 690  
marudbhyo grhamedhibhyo ("medhe-  
bhyo) baṣkīhān (vaṣ", baṣkān), 219,  
387, 489, 690  
maruṣṭv (maruṣṭv) agnir amṛto ni  
dhāyi, 315  
marmalābhavantīm tvā ("bhavantītyā)  
śādayāmi, 255  
mahah pituh papivān ("vān) cārv  
annā, 930  
mahāś cid yasya mīdhuṣo (mīh")  
yavyā, 386  
mahas te sato mahimā panasyate  
(paniṣṭama), 870  
mahān indrah parāś ca nu (purāś ca  
nah), 614  
mahāns te mahato mahimā, 870  
mahākaṣṭhakam ("kim), 590



mahādevam antaḥpārśvena (\*parśavy-  
ena), 326  
mahāntam gabvareṣṭhām, 368, 861  
mahāntāv (\*tā) indrāvaruṣā mahā-  
vāśā, 888  
mahān mahi astabhāyad (aska\*) vi  
jātaḥ, 137  
mahī varcaḥ kṣatriyāya dadhatīḥ (dad-  
atīḥ), 106  
mahīsam naḥ subhvaṇī (subhuvā, su-  
bhavas) taasthivāṇsam, 119, 384, 694,  
789  
mahī cid yasya mīdhuṣo yavyā, 386  
mahīnām (mahī\*) payo 'sī, 528  
mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau, 360,  
579, 831  
mahīva dyaus adha (vadha) tmanā,  
360  
mahī viśpatnī sadane (\*nī) rtaaya, 695  
mahī hy aya mīdhuṣo yavyā, 386  
maheśrotrāya cakṣase, 357, 713  
mahe vā viṣṇa (mahe viṣṇa) uror  
antarikṣāt (viṣṇav uta vāntarikṣāt),  
887  
mahnā jinoṣī (hi\*) mahinī, 196  
mahyam vātāḥ pavatāṁ (\*te) kāme  
asmin (kāmāyāmanī), 342  
mahyam dattvā vrajata (prajātum)  
brahmalokam, 200  
mā asī, 963  
māgadhaḥ puṣcali kitavaḥ klībo  
'śūdrā abrahmayāsa (puṣcali klīvāḥ  
kitavo 'śūdrābrāhmaṇāsa) . . . 219,  
819, 990  
mā chetthā . . . , 853  
mā jāmin moṣṭr amuyā śayānām, 57,  
151, 512, 824  
mā tad bhūmyām ā śriṣan (śliṣan) mā  
tṛṣṇu, 261  
mā tamo (tapo) mā yajñas tamat  
(tapat), 204  
mātā yad viraṇ dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā  
(viraṇ jajanaḥ janiṣṭham), 160  
mātūr anyo 'va padyata, 201  
mātṛk kva cana vidyate, 66  
mā te mano viśvadryag (\*driyag) vi  
cārī, 784  
mā te yuyoma subdṛṣaḥ, 805

māteva putram bibhṛtāper enat  
(bibhṛtā av enat, \*enam), 420, 826  
mā te vyoma samdṛśi (\*śaḥ, \*se), 805  
mā tvaṁ hīrṣṭhī śrutad mayi, 333  
mā tvat kṣetrāṇi arāṇāni (aranyāni)  
ganma, 325  
mā tvā ke cin nī (cid vi) yaman viṁ  
(cin nī yemur in, cin nyemur in) na  
pāśinaḥ, 300, 770  
mā tvāgnīr dhvanayīd (dhana\*, \*yid,  
\*yed) dhūmagandhīḥ, 370, 533, 697  
mā tvā nī kran pūrvacito (\*cittā,  
\*cittau) nīkāripaḥ, 399, 732  
mā tvā prāpani aghāyavaḥ, 832, 868  
mā tvā samudra ud vadhīn (ba\*) mā  
suparṇaḥ, 209  
mā tvā sūryo 'bhi (sūryaḥ pari, pari)  
tāpsin māgnīr (mo agnīr) . . . , 516  
mādṛk kva cana vidyate, 66  
mā devānām tantnī chedi mā manu-  
ṣyānām, 707  
mā daivya tantuś chedi mā manuṣyaḥ,  
707  
mā dyāvapṛthivī abhiśocīḥ (\*śūśucaḥ,  
\*śucaḥ), 715  
mā dhanur atyāśāriṇī (atīśā\*), 735  
mādhyadhināya savanāya . . . man-  
thivato (manthivato) . . . , 520  
mā na āyuh param svaruṁ mānodo-  
nāḥ, 159, 836, 861  
mā naḥ kaścit praghān (prakhān) mā  
prameṣmahi, 22, 70  
mā naḥ param adharuṁ mā rajo  
'nāḥ (param adhanuṁ mā rajo  
nāḥ), 159, 836, 861  
mā na (naa) stena śata māghaśanaḥ,  
977  
mānasya patnī śaraṇā syonā, 189, 596,  
840  
mā naḥ sapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā, 189,  
596, 840  
mānuṣād daivyaṁ (daivam) upaimi,  
317  
mā no agnīḥ nīrtir mā no āṣṭān  
(āṣṭhām), 87, 170  
mā no agne 'va (vi) ṛjo aghāya, 575  
mā no andhe tamaṣy antar ādhāt  
(ādāt), 105

mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yuṅgdhvam, 302  
 mā no nu gād aparo ardhvam etam, 77  
 mā no rudrāso adbhigur vadhe nu (nuḥ),  
 172, 209, 260, 321, 821, 824  
 mā no rudro nirṭir mā no astā, 87, 170  
 mā no vadhiḥ pitaraṁ mōta mātaram,  
 580  
 mā no vidad (vadhid) abhihā mo  
 sāsatiḥ, 579  
 mā no vidad (vṛdhad) vṛjinā (vṛjanā)  
 dveṣyā yā, 108, 593, 640  
 mā no vidhiḥ . . ., see mā no vadhiḥ  
 mā no vīrān rudra bhāminō vadhiḥ,  
 209, 871  
 mā no hārdi tviṣā vadhiḥ, 60  
 mā no hiṁsiḥ (hiṁsi) sthaviṛam mā  
 kumāram, 975, 977  
 mānta (māntaḥ) sthur no arātayaḥ, 977  
 mā brāhmaṇasya rājanya, 870  
 mā bheḥ, 712  
 mā bhetihā . . ., 853  
 mā bher mā roṣ (mo roṣ, māro) mo ca  
 naḥ (mo eṣāṁ) kim canāmamat, 712,  
 715, 729  
 mā bhah, 712  
 mā bhair mā ruṣ mo ca (mā rauṣ mā)  
 naḥ kim canāmamat, 712, 715, 729  
 mām agne bhāginam kuru, 486  
 mā mā yūnarvā hāst (yono vām hāra-  
 eiḥ), 307, 354, 723, 823  
 mā mā (mām) hiṁsiṣṭam svam (yat  
 svam) yonim āviśantau (āviśāthaḥ),  
 505  
 mā mā hiṁsiḥ svām (svam) yonim  
 āviśanti (āviśa), 505  
 mām indra bhaginam kṛou, 480  
 māniṣām kaṣ canoe chiṣaḥ, 578, 688  
 mā me dikṣām mā tapo uir vadhiṣṭa  
 (ba?), 209  
 mā me hārdi tviṣā (hārdim dviṣā)  
 vadhiḥ, 60  
 mā yajāspatis tapat (yajamānas  
 tamat), 204  
 māyādevā avataram, 401, 840  
 māyām māyāvattaraḥ, 475  
 māyobhavyāya catuṣpadi, 319, 421  
 mā rāyaspoṣa viyauṣma, 729  
 mā riṣāmā vayan tava, 224

mā rudriyāso abhi gulbadhānaḥ (gur  
 vṛdhānaḥ), 172, 209, 260, 321, 821, 824  
 māre asman maghavaṣ ('vaḥ) jyok  
 kaḥ, 936  
 mā va eno anyakṛtaṁ bhujema, 909  
 mā vayan rāyaspoṣa vi yauṣma, 729  
 mā vayan eno 'nyakṛtaṁ bhujema, 909  
 mā va (vaḥ) stena śata māghasāsaḥ,  
 977  
 mā vo 'to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata, 302  
 māśā śchyantu śamyantaḥ, 572  
 māśā śchyantu śimyantaḥ, 572  
 māśi, 993  
 mā so asmān avahāya parā gāt, 924  
 mā av asmān tamasy antarādhāḥ, 105  
 māhaṁ rāyaspoṣa vi yoṣam, 729  
 māhaṁ pautram (putryam) agham  
 rudam (uiyām, nigām, riṣam), 314,  
 724  
 mā hiṁsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam  
 (ūhyamānam), 560  
 mitajñavo ('jnavo) varimann ('vann)  
 ā prthivyā, 240  
 mitajñubhir namasyair iyānā, 953  
 mitajñavo, see mitajñavo . . .  
 miteva sadma paśumānti ('manti)  
 hotā, 501a  
 mitraḥ pānty adruhaḥ, 964  
 mitraḥ na hi śimyā goṣu gavyavat, 735  
 mitraḥ na yaṁ śimyā goṣu gavyavat,  
 735  
 mitra satyānām pate ('nām adhipate),  
 380  
 mitrasyāsi kaninikā, 235, 595, 640  
 mitraḥ saṁsṛjya ('yā) prthivīm, 457  
 mitraḥ satyānām (satyaḥ), 380  
 mitrāya kulpayān (pulikayān), 149,  
 802  
 mitrāvaruṇanetrebhyo . . . uttarāśad-  
 bhyāḥ (uttara?) . . ., 476  
 mitrāvaruṇayoṣ tvā praśāstrol praśāś  
 yunajmi (yunagmi), 131  
 mitrāvaruṇābhyām ānuṣṭubhābhyām  
 ('eṣṭubhābhyām) . . ., 319  
 mitrāvaruṇāv ('pā) nigābhyām, 888  
 mitrāvaruṇā śaradānuṁ ('bā) cik-  
 itnā (cikittam, jigatnā, cikittvam),  
 45, 56, 371, 410, 379



mitrāvaruṇau praśāstārau praśāstrāt  
(prā\*), 490  
mitrāvaruṇau śroṇibhyām (śroṇi\*), 529  
mitrāvaruṇau sa . . . diṣo 'bhīdāsati,  
910  
mitrās pāntya adruhaḥ, 904  
mitrāḥ suvānā (svānā) arepasah, 794  
mitro na ehi sumitradhaḥ (\*dhāḥ), 493  
mitro na atra varuṇo yujyamānaḥ, 341,  
617  
mitro babhūva saprathāḥ, 150, 235  
mitro yatra varuṇo ajyamānaḥ, 341, 617  
mithucarantam (mithū\*, mithuyā ca\*,  
mithuś ca\*) upayāti (abhiyāti) dōṣe-  
ayan, 551, 818  
mīśravāsaṇaḥ kauberakāḥ, 235, 267  
miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma, 360,  
579, 831  
mukham sad asya śira it satena  
(sadena), 60  
mudicantu mā śapathyāt, 325  
mudah pramoda śate, 713  
mudgāś ca me khalvāś (kharvāś) ca me,  
265  
muṣāyaś cakram avive rapāṇsi (\*ver  
apāṇsi), 837  
muṣkāv id (\*kā id, \*kau yad) asyā  
ejataḥ, 735, 888  
mrgasya śṛtam (śṛtam, śrutam) akṣe-  
syā, 278, 682  
mrgā na bhīmā taviṣṭbhīr arcinaḥ  
(taviṣṭbhīr ūrmibhīh), 695  
mrjanti vahninī sadaneṣv aha, 634  
mrjyase pavase mati, 195, 337  
mrjyase soma śātye, 195  
mrtāya jīvāḥ pariṇiyamānām, 402  
mrtike hana (hara) me pāpam, 861  
mrtyoḥ padam (padāni) yopayanto  
yad aita (aima, yopayanta eta,  
lopayante yad eta), 245, 711  
mrtyoḥ (\*roṣ) pāhi, 967  
mrśase pavase mati, 195, 337  
mekṣyāmy ūrthvaś tisthaḥ, 332  
meghyā vidyuto vācaḥ, 316, 707  
medasaḥ kulyā (kūlyā) upa tām (upai-  
nām, abhi tām) sravantu (kṣarantu),  
565  
medasaḥ (\*sa) svāhā, 980

medaso ghrtaśya kulyā abhiniṣrav-  
antu, 565  
medhām sapta ṛṇayo (saptarṇayo)  
daduḥ, 919  
medhām ta indro dadātu, 106  
medhām dhātā dadātu (dadhātu) me,  
106  
medhām agnir dadātu me (dadhātu  
te), 106  
medhām āśanta śriye, 230, 508  
medhāyai manase 'gnaye (agnaye)  
svāhā, 910  
meṣaḥ te śug rchatu (te kṣut), 145  
maighir vidyuto vācaḥ, 316, 707  
maitrāvaruṇasya camasādhvaryav  
(\*ya) ādrava (ehi), 889  
mainam hīmaṣṭam svām yonim āvi-  
antau, 593  
mainā arvā repukakāḥ pṛpak (pra-  
pak), 664  
maiṣām kam canoc chiṣaḥ, 578, 688  
maiṣām nu gād aparo artham (ardham)  
etam, 77  
maiṣām uc cheṣi kiṁ cana, 578, 688  
maiṣo asnān avahāya parāgāt, 924  
modaḥ pramoda śnandaḥ, 713  
mo śvatvam asmāntarādhit, 105  
mo śv asmāns tamsay antarādhit, 105  
ya ājagma (\*muh) savanemā (\*cedam,  
\*nam idam, ya ājagmedam sava-  
nam) juṣāḥ, 835  
ya ātroṇty (ātroṇty) avitathena (avi-  
dathena) karpau, 60, 392  
ya āntarikṣāḥ, 314, 490  
ya ābabhūva bhuvanāni viśvā, 215, 381  
ya āvabhūva bhuvanāni viśvāḥ, 215,  
381  
ya āviveśoṣadhīr (\*śauśadhīr) yo vana-  
spatiḥ, 731  
ya āvṛṇty avitathena karpau, 60  
ya āste yaś ca carati (yaś carati),  
808  
ya imam yajnaḥ svadhayā dadante  
(bhajante), 159, 741  
ya ime dyāvāpṛthivī tastabhāne, 137  
ya isavo yātudhānānām, 505, 990  
ya hī vahanta āśubhīh, 307  
ya īśa asya dvipadaś ratuṣpadaḥ, 907

- ya usriyā apyā (api yā) antar aśmanah  
("ni), 785, 824
- ya r̥te cid abhiśriṣah, 193, 353, 676, 802
- ya etaamin loka stha . . . bhūyāsta, 90
- ya eṣa avapnanaśśanaḥ ("nāśanaḥ), 300
- yah pauraṣeyena kraviṣā samāṅkte  
(samanāte), 418
- yah prāṇato nimiṣato (nime") mahitvā  
("ṇataś ca rājā), 688
- yah prāṇiti (prāṇati) ya im āṇoty  
uktam, 382
- yaśśad viśvau ny atripam, 302
- yam sam id anya indhate, 169, 302
- yam sim id anya idate, 169, 302
- yakṣate cid abhiśriṣah, 193, 353, 676,  
802
- yakṣmath āropibhyām (āropī") bhāś-  
adāt, 319, 490, 529
- yakṣmath bhāśadyam āropibhyām  
bhāśadam, 319, 490, 529
- yam krandaś avataś caskabhāne  
(avasā tastabhāne), 137
- yac ca paḍbhān ("vīśam) arvataḥ, 217
- yac ca prāṇati (prāṇiti) yac ca na,  
582
- yac chikṣasi stuvate māvate vasu, 140
- yachā naḥ (yachāśmai) śarma sapra-  
thaḥ ("thāḥ), 502
- yajamānāya jāgrta, 90, 662
- yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar namaī,  
833
- yajā no (yajāno) devo (devān) ajarah  
suviraḥ, 826
- yajur yuktaṁ (yajuryuktaṁ) sāmabhīr  
āktakhaṁ tvā (rktakhaṁ tā), 365,  
632, 817
- yaje saśrādhantm (samardham im)  
aham, 617, 806
- yajñah pratyasṭhāt (praty u ṣṭhāt  
sumatau matnām), 380, 613, 736, 832
- yajñam-yajñam prati devayadbhyaḥ  
("yadbhyaḥ), 170, 321
- yajñam devebhīr invitam (anvitam),  
577
- yajñapataye vasu vāryam śaśmekarase  
("pataye vāryam ā svas kaḥ), 833
- yajña pratītiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ,  
380, 736, 832
- yajñam praṇaya (pra suva) devāvyam  
(devāyuvam), 805
- yajñasya ghoṣad asi, 83
- yajñasya pakṣāv ("ṣā) ṛṣayo bhavanti,  
888
- yajñasya yuktau dhuryā ("yāv) abhū-  
thām ("tām), 91, 888
- yajñasya vidvān samaye na dhīraḥ, 244
- yajñasya hi stha r̥tviṣā (r̥tviyan), 192
- yajñasyāyur anu saṁ caranti (tarantu),  
155
- yajñād eta sann (yajñā ned asann,  
netar asann) apurogavānaḥ, 62, 192
- yajñāyate vā paśuso na (nu) vājān, 614
- yajñāyur anu samcarān, 155
- yajñiṣā yajñam prati devayadbhyaḥ,  
170, 321
- yajño bhūtvā . . . svān (svaḥ) yonih  
. . . sakṣaya (svak") ehi, 364, 605
- yam jivam aśnavāmahai ("he), 710
- yata āttas (ārttas) tad agan punaḥ,  
353
- yataḥ prajā akhidrā . . ., 129
- yata śentad agnāv eva tat, 336
- yata ścutad dbutam agnan tad astu,  
336
- yataś codeti sūryaḥ, 843
- yataḥ sūrya udeti, 843
- yato bhayam abhayaṁ tan (abhayat-  
vaḥ) no astu, 826
- yat kim cāṇrtam odina (ūd"), 722
- yat kusidam apratītiṁ ("tītiṁ, apra-  
dattam) mayi (mayeha), 404
- yat kṣureṇa mareyātā (vartayātā)  
sutejaśā (supesaśā), 156, 180, 195, 234
- yat ta śathitām śam u tat te astu, 280
- yat tatraino apa tat suvāmi, 201
- yat te samin ghora āsan juhomi, 935,  
936
- yat te dītsu (dikṣu) prarādhyam, 140
- yat te 'nādhṛṣṭam nāma yajñiyan  
(nāmānādhṛṣyam, dhāmānādhṛṣ-  
yam) tena tvādadhe, 855
- yat te mahe, see yat tvemahe . . .
- yat te rājān (rājān) chrtam haviḥ, 937
- yat te viriṣṭam sam u tat ta etat, 280
- yat tvemahe (te mahe) prati tan no  
(prati nas taj) juṣasva, 365, 835



- yat paśur māyum akṛta, 198, 662  
yat prthivyāṁ yad urāṁ (urā) anta-  
rikṣe, 888  
yatra ṛṣayaḥ (yatrarṣṇ) prathamajā  
... 919  
yatra (yatrā) ṛṣayo (yatrarṣṇ) jagmuḥ  
... 916, 919  
yatra gavāṁ nihitā sapta nāma  
(nāmā), 460  
yatra cābhimpśāmasi, 866  
yatra euśental (śeutad) agnāv evaitat,  
336, 885b  
yatra devā iti bruvan, 452, 602  
yatra devaḥ sadhamādāṁ madanti  
(madema), 341  
yatra naḥ pūrve pitarāḥ paretāḥ, 452  
yatra bhṛgāḥ samapatanti, 29, 218  
yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ sambabhūtha  
("bhūva"), 207  
yatra-yatra vibhṛto (bibhṛato, etc.)  
jātavedaḥ, 207, 662  
yatra yanti srotyās (srovatyas) taj  
jitam te, 749  
yatrarṣayaḥ, "yo, see yatra ṛṣ"  
yatra vāṇāḥ sampatanti, 29, 218  
yatra vābhimpśāmasi, 866  
yatra saptarṣiṇ para ekam āhuḥ, 452,  
919  
yatra subhārdaḥ sukṛto madante, 452  
yatrā ṛṣayo, see yatra ...  
yatrā devā iti bruvan, 452, 602  
yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (uditau  
vyeti), 63, 732, 743  
yatrā naḥ pūrve pitarāḥ paretāḥ  
(pareyuh), 452  
yatrā naś cakrā (cakra) jarasaṁ  
tanūnāṁ, 443  
yatrāmṛtāsa āsate (āsata), 282  
yatrā vṛkṣas tanvai yatra vāsah, 198,  
375, 831, 835  
yatrāste sukṛto yatra te yayuh (ta  
tyuh), 734  
yatrā sapta ṛṣiṇ para ekam āhuḥ, 452,  
919  
yatrā subhārdaḥ sukṛto madanti, 452  
yatrāspṛkṣat tanvo yas ca vāsasah  
(tanuvam yatra vāsah), 198, 375, 831,  
835  
yatraiṇān (yatraitān) vettha nihitān  
parāke (parācaḥ), 126  
yat āśuhat (āśāhā, āśāhat) sadane  
kaṁ cid atriṇam, 480  
yat some-soma ābhavaḥ (ābhuvah), 602  
yat somyasyāndhaso (sau") bubodhati,  
728  
yatha ṛṣaḥ sadinayāmasi, 918  
yatha ṛtava ṛtubhir yanti sādhu, 918  
yatharṣaḥ samnayanti, 918  
yathartava ṛtubhir yanti ākam  
(kjptāḥ), 918  
yathākṣitim akṣitayaḥ pibanti ("yo  
madanti), 586  
yathāgnir aksito ... 576  
yathā devaḥ sadhamādāṁ madema,  
341  
yathādhuraṁ ("dhūraṁ) dhuro (dhūro)  
dhūrbhiḥ kaipantām, 557  
yathā na indraḥ kevaliḥ (indra id  
viśah), 341  
yathā na śreyasas ("śah) karat, 964  
yathā no vasyasas ("śah, vasyasas)  
karat, 786, 964  
yathāpāḥ pravatā yanti, 60, 200  
yathāyatham dhuro dhurbhiḥ kalpan-  
tām, 557  
yathāyathan nau tanvu (tanvā, tan  
nau) jātavedaḥ, 410  
yathā yanti prapadaḥ, 60, 200  
yathā yamāya harmyam (hār"), 491  
yathā ha tyad (tad) vasavo gauryaṁ  
cit, 345  
yathāham bharata ṛṣabha (bharatarṣṇ),  
919  
yathedaṁ stripautram agasma rudri-  
yāya, 83, 719, 801, 816, 827  
yatheyam etl pautram agham na  
rodāt, 83, 719, 801, 816, 827  
yathāika ṛṣir ("karṣir) vijānate, 919,  
990  
yathainam jarase nayāt, 341, 952  
yud agne kavyavāhana, 353, 380  
yud agne pūrvam prabhṛtaḥ (prahi-  
taḥ, nihitaḥ) padam hi te, 118, 639  
yud aghriyata ("yathā) tad ghṛtam,  
147  
yud atraino ava tat suvāmi, 201

- yad adīvyann ṛṣam aham babhūva  
(kṛpomi), 702
- yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi, 936
- yad adya dugdham pṛthivīm asṛpta  
(asakta, abhakta), 152, 634, 874
- yad adya hotṛvarye (°vūrye), 621
- yad adyārādhyam vadantaḥ, 59, 70,  
272a, 836
- yad adbhriyata tad ghṛtam abhavat, 147
- yad anena haviṣṣāste tad aśyāt  
(aśyam), 287
- yad ananam agnir (admi) bahudhā  
virāddham (virājam, viruddham,  
virūpam), 144, 509, 619
- yad annenātirohati, 408
- yad anyenābhavat saha, 408
- yad apāmṛkṣas chakuniḥ, 201
- yad apsaradrūr uparasya (apsararū-  
parasya) khādati, 188, 808, 826
- yad avāmṛkṣas chakuniḥ, 201
- yad asya guspitaḥ (gulphitaḥ) hr̥di,  
111
- yad asyā aśhubhedyāḥ (aśubodbhyaḥ),  
765
- yad asavan paśava udyamānam, 278
- yadā carigṇū mithunāv (°nā) abhūtām,  
888
- yad āpo aghnyā (°niyā) iti, 784
- yad āmayati niṣ kṛtha (kṛta), 90
- yadā rāghaṣṭi varadaḥ (yadā rākhāṣṭyau  
vadataḥ), 59, 70, 272a, 836
- yad āhur aghnyā iti, 784
- yadi cin nu tvā dhanā jayantam, 68, 735
- yadi tvam atra (tvam tatra) manasā  
jagantha, 735
- yad id dyāvāpṛthivi aprathetām, 341
- yad indra citra mehanā (ma iha na),  
477, 832, 991
- yadi varuṣasyāsi . . . , yadi vāruṣy asi  
. . . , 491
- yadi somasyāsi (saumy asi) . . . , 728
- yadin ṛṣaḥ saṁgaro devatāsu, 309
- yadi vahanṭy āśavaḥ, 307
- yad uttaradrāv uparāś ca khādataḥ,  
188, 826
- yad u devī sarsavati, 740
- yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (tiṣṭhād) draviṣṭha  
dhattāt, 392
- yad ṛte cid abhīṣṛiṣaḥ, 193, 353, 676, 802
- yad ejati jagati . . . nāmno (nānyo,  
mānyo) bhāgo yan (°yah) nāmne  
(bhāgo yatnān me) svāhā, 411, 601,  
871
- yaded antā adadṛhanta (adadṛh°)  
pūrve, 341, 835
- yad eva kim ca pratijagrahāham  
(°jagrāham), 808
- yad opadhīṣv apsv ā (apsu vā) yajatra,  
776
- yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat (paryā°),  
508
- yad ditasai stuvate māvste vasu, 140
- yad didayac chavasa (°sā) ṛtaprajāta  
(chavasarta°), 916, 918
- yad dūre sann lābhavaḥ (°bhuvah),  
602
- yad devā devaheḍanam (°lanam), 271
- yad daīvyam ṛṣam aham babhūva,  
702
- yad dha sā te paṇiyasi, 345
- yad dhaatābhyām cakṛma (cakara)  
kilbiṣṇi (kilv°), 216
- yad dha syā te paṇiyasi, 345
- yad haṁhiṣṭham nātividhe (°de)  
sudānū, 107
- yad bhūtāḥ yac ca (yad vā) bhavyam  
(bhā°), 487
- yad-yat tvam atra manasānu vettha,  
735
- yady asi vāruṣi . . . , 491
- yady asi saumi . . . , 728
- yad yāmāḥ (yady āmāḥ) cakrur  
nikhananto agre, 837
- yady ṛṣaḥ saṁgaro devatāsu, 309
- yad rātriyaṭ kurute pāpam, 791
- yad rātriya (rātryā) pāpam akārṣam  
(akārṣam), 758, 791
- yad vāś mīyum akruta, 198, 602
- ynd vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma,  
865
- yad vācāntam odima (°d°), 722
- yad vāto apō (°po) aganigan (agamat),  
909
- yad vālāṣyan aṣṭjagārā janabhyah,  
45, 446, 480
- yad vā devī sarsavati, 740



- yad vādyā satyam uta yan na vidma, 868  
 yad vā me api ('pi, apa) gachati, 578, 907  
 yad vidāv (vīlāv) indra yat ethire, 271  
 yad vo devā atipādāyāni ('pātayāni), 63  
 yam te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayaḥ, 107  
 yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavaḥ, 107  
 yan me mātā pralulubhe (pramamāda, pralulobha), 715  
 yan akṣitam ("tim) akṣitayaḥ pibanti, 586  
 yam akṣitam akṣitā bhakṣayanti, 586  
 yamaḥ gāya bhaṅgyaśravaḥ (bhaṅga"), 315  
 yamaḥ bhaṅgyaśravo (bhaṅga") gāya, 315  
 yamaṣya dūtaś ca vāg vidhāvati (dūtaḥ śvapād vidhāvati), 145, 198, 830  
 yamaṣya pāṣūraḥ (pāṣoraḥ), 720  
 yamaṣya loke adhirajjur āyat (āya, loke nidhir ajarāya), 401, 618, 840  
 yam ichāmi manasā so 'yam āgāt, 700  
 yamir yamaṣya bibhryād (vivṛhād) ajāmi, 222, 266  
 yam eva vidyāḥ śucim (sucim) apramattam, 278  
 yameṣṭam asi, 339  
 yam aichāma manasā so 'yam āgāt, 700  
 yamo rājābhitiṣṭhati (rājādhi"), 172  
 yamyai pāṣūraḥ, yamyāḥ pāṣoraḥ, 720  
 yayā kṛṇoti muhu kā (muhukā) cid ravaḥ, 824  
 yayā gā ākarāmahe ("hai), 710  
 yayo rathab satyavartmarjuraśmiḥ, 918  
 yayor vāc devau deveṣv anīṣitam ("ṣitam) ojaḥ, 292  
 yavaya dveṣo nmat, 479  
 yavayārātīḥ ("tim), 479  
 yavayāmad aghā dveṣāśi, 479  
 yavayāmad dveṣaḥ, 479  
 yavā ayavā ūmā abdaḥ (āyavā ūmā evā abdas) aṅgaraḥ sumekāḥ, 376, 471, 485  
 yavānām bhāgo 'ai, 485  
 yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya ūsan, 485  
 yaśasendrābhaṣpati, 840, 870  
 yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat (riṣat, riṣak), 142, 189, 840  
 yaśo bhagasya vindatu, 189, 840  
 yaśo mendrābhaṣpati, 840, 870  
 yaśo yajṇasya dakṣiṇām, 161, 579  
 yas tad veda savituh (sa pituh) pitāsat, 198, 829, 907  
 yas tāni veda sa pituḥ (pituh) pitāsat, 198, 829, 907  
 yas tā vījānāt sa pituḥ (savituh) pitāsat, 198, 829, 907  
 yas te agne sumatiḥ marto akṣat (akḥyat), 191  
 yas te drapsa ("aḥ) akandati yas te nāśuh, 974, 977  
 yas te soma prajāvat so 'bhi so aham, 840  
 yas te atanaḥ śaśayo ("yur) yo mayo-bhūh, 719  
 ya strigāṇ jīvabhojanah, 977  
 yasmāj jātā na parā naiva kiṁ canāśa (jātāḥ na parā kiṁ canaiva), 615  
 yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo (anyo) asti, 615, 907  
 yasmāt param nāparam asti kiṁcit, 615  
 yasmād anyan nā param kiṁ canāsti, 615  
 yasmād anyo na paro asti jātāḥ, 615, 907  
 yasmād bhīṣā nyasaḍaḥ ("śaḍaḥ), 983  
 yasmād yoner udārithā ("tha) yaje (yajā) tam, 446  
 yasmān na jātāḥ paro anyo asti ('ati), 615, 907  
 yasmān adhi vitataḥ sūra eti, 63, 743  
 yasmān āstathur bhuvanāni vīśvā, 380  
 yasmān aśryā ārpitāḥ (arp") sapta sākam, 509  
 yasya te viśvamānuṣaḥ (viśvam ānu-ṣak), 832  
 yasya te akhye vayam, 340  
 yasya dvārā manuḥ (manuh) pitā, 967

- yasya yonim patireto grbhāya (prati-  
reto grbhāya), 116, 341, 354, 363, 819
- yasyā udvataḥ pravataḥ samañ bahu  
(mahat), 241
- yasyām devā abhi samviśantaḥ, 172,  
281, 340
- yasyā bahvyas tanvo vitaprsthāḥ, 793
- yasyām idam viśvam bhuvanam āvi-  
veśa, 341, 358
- yasyāsu sūro vitato mahitvā, 63, 743
- yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsañ juhomi, 936
- yasyās te ghora āsañ juhomi, 936
- yasyedam ā rajo yujah (\*dam ā rajah,  
\*dam oja ārujah), 244, 800, 808
- yasyai bahvis tanuvo vitaprsthāḥ, 793
- yah atirāṇāḥ jivabhojanah, 977
- yā akṛtann avayan yā atanvata  
(yā ca tatnre, akṛtan yā atanvan),  
850
- yā antarikṣa uta pārthivir yāḥ, 321, 850
- yā antarikṣyā uta pārthivāsaḥ (pār-  
thivir yāḥ), 321, 850
- yā ātmanvad bibhṛto (\*tho) yau ca  
rakṣataḥ (\*thah), 91, 207, 634, 888
- yā ārdroghniḥ pari tathuṣṭiḥ, 854
- yā īṣavo yātudhānānām, 505, 990
- yāḥ kṛtyās (krecchrās) tripañcāśiḥ, 28,  
185, 192, 353
- yān āvaha usato deva devān, 924
- yāns (yās) te soma prāṇās tān (tān,  
tān) juhomi, 936
- yā gr̥tṣyas tripañcāśiḥ, 28, 185, 192, 353
- yā coditā yā ca noditā (yā cānuditā)  
tasyai . . ., 719
- yūcchreṣṭhābhīr maghavañ chūra  
jinva, 937
- yā tāni rātrīm uplāmahe, 365
- yātudhānebhyaḥ kṛtjakikārim (kṛt-  
akakāram), 600
- yā te agne 'yāśayā ('yāśayā) tanūr  
. . ., 395
- yā te agne 'yāśayā rajāśayā harāśayā  
tanūr . . ., 395
- yā te agne rajāśayā (rajāśayā) tanūr  
. . ., 395
- yā te agne harāśayā (harā, harā)  
tanūr . . ., 521, 597
- vā te dhāmāny ūsmasi gamadhyai, 705
- yā dābhrāḥ parisasruṣṭiḥ, 854
- yādase śābalyām (śābulyām), 607
- yā devir antān abhito 'dadanta, 63, 92,  
924
- yā devy asistaka āyurdāḥ . . . cakaur-  
dāḥ śrotrādāḥ . . ., 980
- yā devy asistake . . . cakaurdās (\*dā)  
śrotrādā . . . dyaurdās (\*dā) swardāḥ  
. . . prapharvidāḥ (\*vidāḥ) . . ., 524,  
980
- yā daivīs catasraḥ pradīśah, 707
- yā na ūrū ūsati viśrayāte (\*ti, viś-  
rayātai), 278, 710
- yān agnayo anvastapyanta ('av) dhiṣ-  
nyāḥ, 909
- yān āvaha usato deva devān, 924
- yāni kāni ca cakṛma, 808
- yān tvā jano bhūmiriti pramandate, 869
- yām tvā rātry upāsmāhe (upāsate,  
rātri yajāmahe), 365
- yāny apāmītyāny apratitāny (apratī-  
tāny) asmi, 404, 465
- yā prathamā saṁskṛtir yajāse asmin,  
374
- yābhīr indro vāvṛdhe vīryāya (vīr-  
yāvān), 250
- yābhīr yāsi dūtyān sūryasya, 494
- yābhyān svar (suar) ajanann (aja-  
yann, yābhyām ajayan svar) agra  
eva, 853
- yām apitā upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ, 472, 871
- yām āpānām upasīdanty āpaḥ, 472,  
871
- yām indreṇa sambdhān samadhatthāḥ  
(indreṇa samadadhvam, \*dhadhvam)  
104
- yā medhāpsarīsu (medhā ap, \*rahsu,  
\*raesu), 395, 995
- yām airayaśś ('yañ) candramasi sva-  
dhābhīḥ, 930
- yā rājanye dundhubhāv (\*bhā) āya-  
tāyām, 888
- yā rājānām (\*nā) sarathah yātha  
(yāta) ugrā, 91
- yāvachreṣṭhābhīr maghavañ chūra  
jinva, 937
- yāvayārātīm, 479
- yāvayāsmad dvesam, 479



- yāvā ayāvā evā ūmāḥ sabdaḥ-sagaraḥ  
sumekah, 376, 471, 485
- yāv āimanvad viśatho (bibhrto) yau ca  
rakṣathah ("tah), 91, 207, 634, 888
- yāvānān cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āst  
485
- yāvānān bhāgo 'si, 485
- yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhito 'tatan-  
anta (tatantha), 63, 908, 924
- yāś ca devīr antān abhito 'dadanta,  
63, 92, 924
- yāś ca devā tantān (devyo antān)  
abhito tatantha ('ta"), 63, 92, 908,  
924
- yā sambhayanātm adhi yāsu vardhase,  
287, 359, 616, 840
- yāśad viśvaḥ ny atrīnam, 302
- yā sarasvatī viśobhaginā (veśa", veś-  
abhaginī) . . ., 542, 686
- yā sarasvatī vaiśambhalyā ("balyā,  
"phalyā) . . ., 79, 114
- yāśām agnīr iṣṭyā (nīṣṭyā) nāmāni  
veda, 421
- yāś te soma prajā vatao 'bhi so aham,  
840
- yāś te soma prajāś . . ., see yāś etc.
- yāśyā apūtryā ("triyā) tanūs . . ., 787
- yiyapeyata (yi") iva te manah (mu-  
kham), 519
- yuktāś tiro vimrjah (vibhr") sūry-  
asya, 57, 156, 189, 205, 234, 242
- yuktā (yuktā) harī vṛṣaṇā yāny  
arvāś (arvāk), 367
- yuje samardham im aham, 617, 806
- yuñjanti suprajānām pañca janāḥ, 192,  
339, 617
- yunajmi tiro vipreḥ sūryasya te  
(vivṛtaḥ sūryaḥ save, or savah),  
57, 156, 189, 198, 205, 234, 242, 840
- yuyuyātām ito rapo apa eridhah, 808
- yuvam hi sthah svarpatī (svahpati),  
908
- yuvam chandah, 805
- yuvā kavīḥ puruṣiṣṭha ("ṣṭhā) ṭāvā,  
493
- yūpāyocchriyamāpāyānubrūhi ("chri-  
ya"), 536
- yūyam vṛṣṭim varṣayathā puriṣiṣah, 90
- yūyātām asmaḥ rapo apa eridhah, 808
- ye agnayaḥ pūṇajanyāḥ (puriṣiṣah),  
907
- ye agnayaḥ ('gnayaḥ) samanasah ("saḥ  
sacetasah), 907
- ye agnayo divo ye pṛthivyāḥ, 907
- ye agnidagdā ye anagnidagdāḥ  
('nagni"), 907
- ye agniyāntā ye 'nagniyāntāḥ (anag-  
ni"), 907
- ye anuṣu vividhanti, 907
- ye apsu sadāśai ('psu sadāśai) cakrire,  
908, 988
- ye amī rocane divah, 907
- ye asmin ('amin) mahaty arṇave, 909
- ye ke cobhayādātah (caubha"), 732
- ye 'gnayaḥ puriṣyāḥ (puriṣiṣah), 737,  
907
- ye 'gnayaḥ samanasah, see ye agnayaḥ  
. . .
- ye 'gnayo divo ye 'otarikṣāt, 907
- ye ca ke cobhayādātah, 732
- ye ca bhūteḥ jāgrati (jāgrtha), 682
- ye cit pūrva ṛtasāpaḥ ("sātāḥ), 180
- ye cid dhi pūrva ṛtasāpa āsan, 180
- ye tāṭṭsur (tāṭṭpur) devatrā jehamā-  
nāḥ, 572
- ye te agna indavo yā u nābhayaḥ (yā  
urṇanābhayaḥ), 810
- ye te agne meḍayo (meḍavo) ya in-  
davaḥ, 248
- ye te aryaman, see ye te 'ryaman . . .
- ye te panthāno bahavo janāyanāḥ, 511
- ye te 'ryaman (ārya") bahavo deva-  
yānāḥ, 511, 908
- ye 'tra pitarah . . . bhūyāstha, 90
- ye trisaptāḥ (trisaptāḥ) pariyaṇti, 960
- ye tvā rātry (rātrīm) upāsate, 365
- ye devā agninetrāḥ puraḥsadaḥ . . .,  
615
- ye devā upariṣado (upariṣadaḥ) . . .,  
986
- ye devāḥ puraḥsado (parah") agninetrā  
('gni") . . ., 615, 910
- ye devā divibhāgā . . . ye antarik-  
ṣabhāgā ('ntari") . . . pṛthivibhāgā  
(pṛthivi") . . ., 524, 910
- ye devā devasuva ("vaḥ) stha . . ., 977

- ye devā manoḡātā (manu<sup>o</sup>) manoyujāḥ  
 (manu<sup>o</sup>, manojuṣāḥ) . . . , dakṣapit-  
 aras (<sup>o</sup>tāras) . . . , 500, 719  
 ye devā mitrāvaruṇanetrā . . . vot-  
 tarāśadas (vottara<sup>o</sup>) . . . , 476  
 ye devāḥ somanetrā upariśado (<sup>o</sup>śado)  
 . . . , 986  
 ye 'do rocane divaḥ, 907  
 yena (yenā) ṛṣayas (yenarṣa<sup>o</sup>) tapasā  
 satram (satttram) śaato (śyan), 390,  
 916, 919  
 yena turyeṇa brahmanā bṛhaspataye  
 'pavathās tena mahyaṇ pavaśva,  
 802, 910  
 yena prajā achidrā . . . , 129  
 yena bhūyaś ca rātryām (carāty ayam,  
 caraty ayam), 61, 244, 254, 354, 738,  
 840  
 yena bhūriā carā divam, 61, 244, 254,  
 354, 738, 840  
 yena mahānaghnā (<sup>o</sup>nagnā) jagha-  
 nam, 83  
 yena rūpeṇa prajāpataye 'vapathās  
 tena mahyaṇ pavaśva, 802, 910  
 yenarṣayaḥ . . . , see yena ṛṣ<sup>o</sup>  
 yena vahasī sahasram, 458  
 yena śriyam akṛputām, 237, 287, 420  
 yena sahasraṇ vahasī, 458  
 yena striyam akṛputam (striyāv akur-  
 utam), 237, 287, 420  
 yenā ṛṣayas . . . , see yena ṛṣ<sup>o</sup>  
 yenāksā (yenā kśām, yenāksān, yen-  
 āksyāv) abhyaśicyanta (abhyaśiṇ-  
 catam, <sup>o</sup>tām), 309, 330, 332, 835  
 yenā te pūrve pitarāḥ paretāḥ, 452  
 yenāpāmṣātataḥ (<sup>o</sup>mṣatam) surām,  
 201, 289  
 yenāvamṣātām surām, 201, 289  
 yenā samatau śāśnah (<sup>o</sup>hīḥ, <sup>o</sup>hi), 381,  
 584  
 yenā sahasraṇ vahasī, 458  
 yenendro abhivāvṛte (<sup>o</sup>dhe), 97  
 yenendro haviṣā kṛtvī (kṛti), 367  
 ye no dviṣanty ann tām rabhasva, 222,  
 802  
 ye 'nneṣu vividhyanti, 907  
 ye pūrvāṣo ya uparīṣa (ye aparīṣa)  
 tyub, 617  
 ye 'psu sadāḥsai, see ye apsu ṣa<sup>o</sup>  
 ye bhakṣayanto na vasūny āṇṛdhuh  
 (āṇṛhuh, āṇaḥuh), 122, 634  
 yebhīr viśvam (vy śāvam) airayaḥ,  
 738  
 yebhyo na ṛte (narte) pavate dhāma  
 kin cana, 919  
 yebhyo madhu pradhāvati (pradhāv  
 adhi), 98, 832  
 ye rātrim (<sup>o</sup>m) anutiṣṭhanti (<sup>o</sup>ṣṭhatha),  
 528  
 ye 'vateṣu śerate, 808  
 ye vanaspatinām, 808  
 ye vaneṣu śaspiṇjarāḥ, 32, 278, 294  
 ye vā nūnaḥ suvṛjanāṣu vikṣu (dikṣu),  
 869  
 ye vāvateṣu śerate, 808  
 ye vā vanaspatīr ann (<sup>o</sup>patinām), 808  
 ye vṛkṣeṣu śaspiṇjarāḥ (śaspi<sup>o</sup>), 32,  
 278, 294  
 ye śākvarā ṛṣabhā ye svarājah, 359  
 ye śāmbare harivo ye gaviṣṭau (gai-  
 ṣṭau), 889  
 yeśām apsu śadas (śadaḥ) kṛtam, 964  
 yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ, 990  
 ye saḡātāḥ samanasāḥ (su<sup>o</sup>), 612  
 ye samānāḥ samanasāḥ, 612  
 ye sarpaḥ pāṛthivā ye antarikṣyā ye  
 divyā . . . , 314, 490  
 ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti, 909, 924  
 ye 'smin mahaty . . . , see ye asmin . . .  
 yo agnīḥ kravyavāhanāḥ (kavya<sup>o</sup>),  
 353, 380  
 yo agnīḥ botāram avṛthāḥ, 908  
 yo agnau rudro ye apāv antaḥ, 909  
 yo adya senyo (saumyo) vadhaḥ, 907  
 yo antaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt (an-  
 uṣyāt), 360  
 yo asmān abhyaghāyati, 909, 924  
 yo asmān dveṣṭi, see yo 'smān : . .  
 yo asmi so asmi, 910  
 yo asya kauṣṭhya jagataḥ, 315, 907  
 yo asyāḥ pṛthivyās tvaci, 907  
 yo gā udājad apa (apī) hī valam  
 (balam) vaḥ, 210, 378  
 yo gopā api (gopāyati) tach huve, 180,  
 342  
 yo 'gnīḥ hotāram avṛthāḥ, 908



- yo 'gnan rudro yo 'pav antah, 909  
 yo devānāṁ nāmadhā (\*dha) eka eva  
 (eko nati), 493  
 yo 'dya saumyo vadhaḥ, 907  
 yo naḥ kadā cid abhidāsati druḥā, 620  
 yo naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā (vi-  
 dhartā), 350  
 yo naḥ svo (svo yo) aranaḥ (\*raṇaḥ),  
 907  
 yo no agne niṣtyo yo 'niṣtyo . . . , 808  
 yo no anti śapāti tam etena jeṣam, 910  
 yo no dveṣti tanūm rabhasva (dveṣty  
 anu tam ravaśva), 222, 802  
 yo no mitrāvaruṇā abhidāsati śapataḥ  
 (\*varuṇāv abhidāsati), 888  
 yo mā kadā cid abhidāsati druḥaḥ, 620  
 yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam etena  
 jeṣam, 910  
 yo maitasyā diāo abhidāsāt (\*sād,  
 \*sān) . . . , 910  
 yo rayivo (rayim vo) rayintamaḥ, 307,  
 824  
 yo rudro agnau yo apsu (rudro 'psu yo  
 'gnau) . . . , 909  
 yo vām ratha rjuraśmih satyadharmā,  
 918  
 yo vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyah (vaiś-  
 vadavyah), 699  
 yo 'sāv (\*sā) āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sāv  
 (\*sā) aham . . . , 888  
 yo 'smān (asmān) dveṣti yaṁ . . . , 910  
 yo 'smi as san yaḥ, 910  
 yo 'sya kauṣṭhya (kauṣṭha) jagataḥ,  
 315, 907  
 yo 'syāḥ pṛthivyā adhi tvaci, 907  
 yo 'syete dvipado yaś tatuspadaḥ,  
 907  
 yo 'ham asmi as san yaḥ, 910  
 yau te pakṣāv ajarau patatirau, 732,  
 888  
 yau viśvasya paribhū (viśvasyādhīpā)  
 babhūvathuḥ (\*tuḥ), 91  
 yau vīryair vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 323, 849,  
 866  
 rakṣahaṇau (\*ṇau vām) valagahanā  
 (\*nāv) upadadhāmi . . . , 886  
 rakṣohāmītrān (\*trān) apabādhamā-  
 naḥ, 924  
 rakṣohāmivacātanah, 386  
 rajani granther dhānām (dānam), 107,  
 401, 618  
 rajobbhūmī tvam mām (tvam ām)  
 rodasyasva . . . , 307  
 rajjuni granther dānam, 107, 401, 618  
 ratham sahaerabandhuram (\*vandhu-  
 ram, hiraṇyavan\*), 213  
 rathe akṣeṣv ṛabhasya (akṣeṣu vṛsa\*)  
 vāje, 267, 359  
 ratheṣv akṣeṣu vṛabharāḥ, 267, 359  
 ratho na vājam sanīṣyann (sanīṣann)  
 ayalāt, 334  
 radantaḥ śuddham (śudam, śucam)  
 uddharet, 286  
 ramadhvam mā bibhīta mat (bi-  
 bhītana), 827  
 ramayata (\*tā) marutaḥ āyenam āyi-  
 nam (marutaḥ pretaḥ vājinam), 193,  
 360, 442  
 rayim yena vanāmahai (\*he), 710  
 rayim devī dadhātu me, 105  
 rayim no dehi jīvasa (dhehi yajñiyam),  
 105  
 rayim me dāḥ (dhehi), 103  
 rayisthāno (\*ṣṭhāno) rayim aamāṣu  
 dhehi, 986  
 rayyā mā paśyata, 396  
 rayyā vaḥ paśyāmi, 396  
 rasena sam asṛkṣmahī (agasmahī, agan-  
 mahī, aprkṣmahī), 634, 853, 874  
 rājanye dundhubhāv āyatāyām, 888  
 rājānaḥ satyam kṛvānāḥ (gṛhānāḥ),  
 46  
 rājānaḥ samitāv (\*tā) iva, 888  
 rājā me prāgo 'mṛtam (amṛtam), 907  
 rātrim-rātrim aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ,  
 117, 528  
 rātrim jīva, 528  
 rātrim dhenum . . . , 528  
 rātrim pīvasā, 528  
 rātriyai . . . , see rātriyai . . .  
 rātri stomaḥ na jigyuse (\*ṣi), 525, 695  
 rātrim-rātrim aprayāvaṁ bharantaḥ,  
 117, 528  
 rātrim jīva, 528  
 rātrim dhenum . . . , 528  
 rātrim pīvasā, 528

- rātri stomah na jigyaṣi, 525, 695  
 rātryai (rātriya) kṛṣaṇa piṅgākṣam, 791  
 rātryai (rātriya) tvā, 791  
 rātryai (rātriya) mā pāhi, 791  
 rātryai (rātriya) evāhā, 791  
 rādhāhēti (°ai) samprcānāv (°nā) asnū° . . ., 545, 838  
 rāyas poṣaṇi yajamāne dadhātu, 105  
 rāyas poṣaṇi cikituṣe (°ṣi) dadhātu (dadātu), 105, 695  
 rāyas poṣam audbhīdam (°dyam), 319  
 rāyas poṣeṇa mā paśyata, 396  
 rāyas poṣeṇa vaḥ paśyāmi, 396  
 rāyas poṣo ni śidatu, 720  
 rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vayasvataḥ (viv-asvataḥ), 255, 579  
 rāyo devī dadātu naḥ, 105  
 rāṣtram dubhāhām iha revatibhiḥ. 01  
 rāṣyapaditū vṛṣadatiṁ, 666  
 rāṣyasyeva parīkṣam, 666  
 rocito gharmaḥ, 713  
 rudra yat te krayi (krivi, kravi, giri°) paraṁ nāma . . ., 47, 244, 255, 267, 373, 819  
 rudras tanticaro vṛṣā, 144  
 rudrasya maryā adhā (athā) avasvāḥ, 73  
 rudrāṇām uryāyām (ūrmyāyām) evā-dityā aditaye . . ., 223, 355, 584, 719  
 rudrāṇām omyāyāḥ svādityā . . ., 223, 355, 584, 719  
 rudrāḥ sahaṣṛiya (°yā, °bhṛtya) pṛthivīm, 457  
 rudro 'gnit (agnit°), 910  
 rudro 'dhipatiḥ (adhi°), 910  
 ruvad dhokṣā paprathānebhīr evaiḥ, 684, 840, 861, 875  
 revatī predhā . . ., revatī ya jamāne pri-yaṇi dhā . . ., 747, 820  
 revatī ramadhvam (°tir amedhyam), 255, 837  
 revatīr yajñapatiṁ priyadhāviśata, 747, 820  
 reśināḥ tvā patmann ādhūnomi, 363  
 reṣiṣu, 363  
 reṣmāṣaṇi stupena (stū°), 563  
 rocasva devavṛtamaḥ, 398, 853  
 rocitas traṇi dera gharma deveṣv aai, 713  
 rocito gharma ruciya, 713  
 lājān āvapantikā, 151  
 lālāyā (lāle°) dhīmahi, 696  
 lekaḥ aulekaḥ sulekaḥ te . . . viyantu, 49, 686, 796  
 lokam aśmai yajamānāya dehi (dhebi), 105  
 lokam u (id) dve upa jāmi tyatuḥ, 392, 627  
 vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi, 866  
 vakṣaḥsu (vakṣasu) rukmā upaśi-riyāpāḥ, 971  
 vagnunendram hvayata, 256, 349, 800  
 vañkrtr āsvasya āvadhitiḥ sam eti, 545  
 vajriṇ (vajriṇ) citrābhīr ūtibhiḥ, 830  
 vatso jarāyu pratidhuk piyūṣaḥ, 351  
 vatso virājo vṛṣabho matinām, 236, 339  
 vadhūr jajāna (jigāya, mīmāya) nava-gaj (navakṛj) janitri, 46, 634  
 vanakrakṣam (°prakṣam) udaprutam, 151  
 vanarṣade vaḥ, 353, 632, 650  
 vanasade veṣ (vaṣ), 353, 632, 650  
 vanasapatibhyah pary ābhṛtaḥ (āvṛ-taḥ) sahaḥ, 221  
 vanaspatīr oṣadhi rāya eṣo (rāye aśyāḥ), 292, 803  
 vanaspate raśanayā nīyūyā (°ya), 457  
 vanaspate 'va sṛjā (sṛja), 431, 446  
 vanā vananti dhṛṣatā (°dā, dṛṣadā) rujantaḥ, 60, 110  
 vaniṣṭum (°ṣṭum) aśya mā rāviṣṭa, 86  
 vaniṣṭhor hṛdayād (udarād) adhi, 244, 356, 643  
 vanuṣvad deva dhīmahi pracetaam, 227  
 vanṛṣade veṣ, 353, 632, 650  
 vaneṣu citraḥ vibhvaḥ (vibhuvah) viśe-viśe, 789  
 vandadvārā vandamānā vivagṇu, 371, 833  
 vandadvirāyendave, 229  
 vande dārum vandamāno vivakmi, 371, 833



vapayā dyāvāpṛthivī prapuvāthām,  
91, 797  
vaptā (vaptā, vaptar) vapasi (°ti)  
keśamānu (keśān), 357  
vayam rūṣṭre jāgryāma (°mā, jāgri-  
yāma) purohitāḥ, 446, 674  
vayam hi vām purutamāso (°damāso)  
savinā, 60  
vayam ghā te api āmasi (āmasi), 987  
vayo ye bhūtvī (°tvā) patayanti  
naktabhiḥ, 598a  
varapo vārayātai (°vīyate), 606  
varivas (°vaḥ) kṛvan vṛjanasya rājā,  
964  
varivasya mahāmaha (°syā mahonām),  
442  
varupa dharmāṇām pate (dharmāṇām  
adhipate), 494  
varuṇasya ṛtasadanam (°syarta°) ai,  
919  
varuṇasya ṛtasadany (°syarta°) ai,  
919  
varuṇāya rāṣṭre trayo lohitalalāmāḥ  
(rohita°), 262  
varuṇāya rāṣṭradase (vidase) . . . 267  
varupetī śapūmahe (°hāi, śayāmahe),  
289, 710, 867  
varuṇo vārayāt, 606  
varutri tvā . . ., see varūttri tvā . . .  
varutrir avayan (varūttrayas tvāva-  
yan), 562  
varutris tvā . . ., see varūttris tvā . . .  
varūttrayo janayas tvā devīr viśva-  
devyāvatīḥ pṛthivyāḥ sadhasṭhe  
'āgirasvat . . ., 467, 562, 910  
varūttrih (varūttrih, varūttrih) tvaṣṭur  
varuṇasya nābhīm, 528, 592  
varūttri (varu°) tvā devī viśvadevyā-  
vatī pṛthivyāḥ sadhasṭhe āgirasvat  
. . ., 467, 562, 910  
varūttris tvā (varutris tvā) devīr viś-  
vadevyāvatīḥ pṛthivyāḥ sadhasṭhe  
āgirasvat . . ., 467, 562, 910, 958  
varuṇyakraṭūr (°tur) aham, 272, 360,  
383, 554, 600  
varebhīr varāḥ abhi su prasidatāḥ  
(°ta), 379  
varco asmāu dhātta (dhehi), 103

varcodā agne 'si (°dā asi), 100  
varcodā varivodāḥ (°vodā dravivodāḥ)  
104  
varcodhā agne 'si (°dhā asi), 100  
varcodhā varivodhāḥ, 104  
varco mayi dhehi, 100, 103  
varco me dāḥ (dohi, dhāḥ, dhehi), 100,  
103  
vardhanam puruniṣṣidhe (°niṣṣidhe),  
971  
varma (°mā) sīvyadhvam bahulā  
pṛthunī, 460  
varṣāṇi cākṣuṣāṇi, 328  
varṣābhyas tittirā (°rān), 598  
varṣā cākṣuṣyāḥ, 328  
varṣimā . . ., see varṣmā . . .  
varṣiṣṭhe adhi (°dhi) nāke, 907  
varṣman kṣatraṇya kakubhiḥ (°bhi,  
kakubhiḥ) śīkriyāṇaḥ (śrayasva),  
381, 400  
varṣmā (varṣimā) ca me drāghimā  
(drāghuyā, drāghvā, drāghmā) ca  
me, 240, 764, 805  
varṣmā rathasya nī jihvate (jihvate,  
jihvate) divaḥ, 563  
vaśāḥ stha, 489  
vaṣaṭkārāḥ, 489  
vaṣaṭ te viṣṇav (viṣṇa) āsa ā kṛpomi,  
889  
vasantena ṛtunā (°tenartunā) devāḥ,  
919  
vasanto zsyāsid (°syāsid) ājyam, 909  
vasavaś cātīṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca,  
828  
vasavas tvā pra brhantu (vṛh°) gāya-  
trena chandasā, 212  
vasiṣṭhahanuḥ śiaglni kośyābhyām,  
293, 347, 618, 804, 816  
vasuḥ gharman divam ā rohatānu  
(tiṣṭhātānu), 360  
vasudevāya (°dheyāya) vidhate vi  
bhāti, 105  
vasupate vi ramaya, 479  
vasuraṇvo (°raṇvo) vibhūr ai, 248  
vasuvane vasudheyasya vyantu (vi-  
yantu), 796  
vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca, 828  
vasuḥ sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā, 716

- vasāni cārur (cārye, cāryo, cāryo) vi  
bhajāsi (bhājāsi, bhajā sa) jivan,  
244, 579, 632, 825
- vasoh kuvid vanāti nah, 804a
- vaso vasoh (vasor vaso) purusprah,  
368
- vasopate ni ramaya (rām?), 479
- vasoh sūnuh sahso apsu rājā, 716
- vasto vayah, 216
- vasneva (vasna iva) vikrīṇāvahni, 991
- vasyah kuvid vanāti nah, 804a
- vaha devatrā didhiṣo haviṇsi, 437,  
440, 581
- vahad divyābhir ūtibhiḥ . . . , 165, 272,  
272a, 324, 360
- vahāsi sā suktām yatra lokah, 303a,  
870
- vahā devatrā dadhiṣo (didhiṣo) haviṇsi,  
437, 440, 581
- vahāsi mā suktām yatra lokah, 303a,  
870
- vahisthebbhir viharan yāsi (pāhi) tan-  
tum, 214, 867
- vahnih samtarapo (sahpārapo) bhava,  
180, 486
- vān ma āsan (āsyān, āsyē), 328
- vānmanasakṣuḥśrotrajihvāghrānare-  
tobuddhyākūtisamkalpā ("kūtiḥ  
samkalpā) me śudhyantām, 383, 818
- vācam viṣṇuḥ sarasvatīm, 156
- vācam dhehi, 103
- vācam asne niyacha devāyuvam, 51
- vācam me jinva, 852
- vācam me dāh, 103
- vācam me pinva, 852
- vācaspatir no adya vājān svadatu, 51
- vācaspatir vācam (vājān) nah svadatu  
(vācam adya svadāti nah, "te, "svad-  
ātu nah), 51
- vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā  
juhvā divi devāvṛdham (devā  
vṛdhan) hotrām airayat ("yant,  
orayaava, airayaava) svāhā, 711, 816
- vācaspate vāco vīryeṣa sambhṛtata-  
menkyakṣase ("yakṣyase, "yachase),  
184, 332
- vācaspate hrđvidhe nāman (hinvidhe),  
840
- vācā cit prayatam (ca prayati) deva-  
hejanam, 578, 617
- vācā tvā hotrā . . . pañcabbhir daivayair  
(devayir) . . . , 324, 707
- vācā mendriyāvīṣa (vācām indriya), 693
- vācā somam avanayāmi, 383, 830
- vāce krauñcaḥ (kruñcaḥ), 724
- vāco vidhrtim ("tam) agniḥ prayujah  
svāhā, 587
- vājajityāyai ("jityai) tvā, 813
- vājān tvāgne . . . , 594
- vājam arvatsu payo aghniyāsu (aghny-  
āsu), 784
- vājam asmin nidhehi devāyuvam, 51
- vājān ca prasavaḥ . . . vasaḥ (vavaḥ)  
ca . . . , 802
- vājasya hi prasavo ("va) namnamiti  
(nanna?), 413
- vāji tvā sapatnasāham saḥ mārjmi  
(mārjti), 594
- vājinaḥ śepena, 873
- vājinaḥ tvā vājin vājayatyāyai saḥ  
mārjmi, 131, 594
- vājinaḥ tvā vājedhyāyai (sapatna-  
sāham) saḥ mārjmi (mārgmi), 131,  
594
- vājinaḥ vājo 'vatu bhakṣo asmān, 908
- vājinaḥ bhakṣo avatu vājo asmān, 908
- vājinaḥ tvā vājini vājayatyāyai saḥ  
mārjmi, 131
- vājinaḥ tvā vājedhyāyai (sapatna-  
sāham) saḥ mārjmi (mārgmi), 131
- vājino vājajito vājān saṣṣvāṇso (jigī-  
vāṇso, saṣṣvāṇso vājān jigivāṇso)  
. . . , 537
- vājo devān (devān) ṛtubhiḥ kalpayāti,  
924
- vājy aham vājinasyopahūta upahū-  
tasya bhakṣayāmi, 594
- vātān viṣṇuḥ sarasvatīm, 156
- vātajavair balavadbhir manojavaiḥ,  
268, 511, 579
- vātavān varṣan bhīma rāvaḥ svāhā, 467
- vātājirair balavadbhir manojavaiḥ,  
268, 511, 579
- vātāpe piva id bhava, 827
- vātāvad varṣam ugrar āvṛti svāhā,  
467



- vātāvān varṣann ugra rāvat svāhā, 467  
vāmaṁ piṭṭhiho ya idaṁ samerire  
(<sup>trire</sup>), 698  
vāni te saṁdṛṣi viśvaṁ reto dheṣya  
(dhi<sup>o</sup>) . . . , 888  
vāyava ārohaṇavāhāv (<sup>hā</sup>) anadvā-  
hau, 888  
vāyava (<sup>vaḥ</sup>, <sup>vas</sup>) aṭha, 977  
vāyur dīkṣito 'ntarikṣaṁ dīkṣā eṣ . . .  
dīkṣayatu (dīkṣeta) . . . , 745  
vāyur na līta . . . antarikṣyaṁ (ānta-  
rikṣaṁ) pātu, 314, 490  
vāyus tām (tām, vāyus tām) agre pra-  
mumoktu devaḥ, 924, 938  
vāyus te (vāyus te) 'dhipatiḥ, 958  
vāyus te (vāyus te) vājin yuḥ, 958  
vāyus tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ,  
314  
vāyus tvābhipātu (vāyus tvā<sup>o</sup>) mahyā  
svastyā . . . , 958  
vāyusavitṛbhyām āgomugbhyām pay-  
aḥ, 162, 244, 491, 617, 716  
vāyus t-, see vāyus t-  
vāyo ve (vīhi) stokānām (<sup>nām</sup> juṣ-  
ṭhaḥ, eṭo<sup>o</sup>), 988  
vāyosāvitra āgomugbhyām caruḥ, 162,  
244, 491, 617, 716  
vārṣāharat sāma gāya, 512  
vāśā aṭha, 489  
vāśaḥ, 489  
vāsantīkāv (<sup>kā</sup>) rto abhikālpamānāḥ,  
888  
vikirida (<sup>dra</sup>, <sup>ḍa</sup>) vilohita, 168, 333,  
675, 734  
vikhyāya (vikṣāya) cakṣuṣā tvam, 190  
vigā (vi gā) indra vicaran spāśayaśva,  
831  
vi ca naḍau na iṣo arātayaḥ, 826  
viciṣi svāhā, 806  
vi cid aśnānā iṣayo arātayaḥ, 826  
vicitāya (vicitāya) svāhā, 401  
vi jīhṣva lokam kṛou (jīhṣva lokān  
kṛdhi), 353  
vijye vivye vikṣipet, 244  
vijre vikṣipe vidhame, 244  
vijvīr yāman vavardhayan (yāmann  
avar<sup>o</sup>), 360, 544  
vi te bhīnadmi takarīm (<sup>rim</sup>, tagarīm,  
mehanam), 49, 529  
vidad gavyaṁ saramā dṛḍham ūrvam  
(<sup>urvyam</sup>), 347  
vidad yadi (yatt, yadi) saramā rugnam  
(saramāruṇam) adreḥ, 63, 516  
vidma te dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat,  
436, 440, 855  
vidma (<sup>mā</sup>) te svapna janitram, 436,  
440  
vidmā te nāma paramaṁ guhā yat,  
436, 440, 855  
vidyāṁ yām u ca (uta) vidmasi, 156,  
831  
vidyutaṁ kanīnakābhyām (kanīni<sup>o</sup>),  
595, 597  
vidyutām iva sūryaḥ, 743  
vidyutau kanīnakābhyām, 595, 597  
vidyun me aśya devāḥ, 862  
vidyur me aśya devāḥ, 862  
vidyullekheva bhāsavārā (bhāsurā), 739  
vi dhūmam agne aruṣaṁ miyedhya  
(medhya), 747  
vidhe krodhaṁ nayāmasi, 98  
vi no rājtram unattu payasā avena, 139,  
618  
vi pāśaṁ madhyamaṁ cṛta (vrta),  
866  
vipren (<sup>caḥ</sup>, <sup>cas</sup>) aṭha, 977  
viprasya dhārayā kavīḥ, 189, 824  
vipraḥ sa dhārayā sutāḥ, 189, 824  
viprāso mānuṣā yugā, 132  
vipro babhūva saprathāḥ, 189, 235  
vibhave svāhā, 604, 789  
vi bhānuḥ viśvadhātānat (viśvathā<sup>o</sup>),  
73  
vibhur aśi pravāhaṇaḥ, 554  
vibhur mātṛā prabhūḥ pitṛā, 554  
vibhur vibhāvā suśakhā (sakhā ā)  
sakhīyate, 696  
vibhūve svāhā, 604, 789  
vibhūr aśi pravāhaṇaḥ, 554  
vibhūr mātṛā prabhūḥ pitṛā, 554  
vibhrājāṁ (<sup>jaṁ</sup>) jyotiṣā evaḥ, 636  
vibhrājamānaḥ sarīrasya (salilasya)  
madhye (<sup>yāt</sup>), 264  
vibhve svāhā, 604, 789  
vimā aśi (vimāsi), 993

- vi macyadhvam aghnyā (aghnīyā)  
 devayānāḥ, 784  
 viyantu devā haviṣo me asya, 796  
 viyantu devīr ya ſtur jantuām, 796  
 viyantv ājyaaya, 796  
 viyugbhīr vāya iha tā vi muñca, 145,  
 379, 889  
 viratāḥ smaḥ (sma bhoḥ), 379  
 virājah ſruṅṭiḥ (śnu?) sabharā asan mah,  
 37, 383, 865  
 vilipṭi yā (vīlipṭyā) bṛhaspate, 791a  
 vivadhaś chandah, 516  
 vivario 'stācatvāriṇaś, 516, 910  
 vivalam chandah, 803  
 vivasvān aditir devajūtiā . . . viyantu,  
 337, 686, 720, 818  
 vivasvān no abhayam kṛnotu, 699  
 vivikṭyai kṣattāram, 139  
 vivīti (vivīṭṭyai) svāhā, 401, 866  
 vivītyai (vivīṭṭyai) kṣattāram, 139  
 vivīṭṭyai svāhā, 401, 866  
 vivṛttacakrā śatnāḥ, 139, 235, 643, 861  
 viśa ādevīr abhy aśnavāma, 470  
 viśantu tvām (tvā . . .), see viśvantu  
 . . .  
 viśalyo vāṇavān ("vān, hāṇavān, "vān)  
 uta, 218, 923  
 viśāḥ vavarjuṣāṁ, 360  
 viśām agnīm atithīm suprayasam  
 ("yāsam), 502  
 viśām avarjuṣāṁ, 360  
 viśāḥ patir abhavad vājīnīvān, 869  
 viśo ādevīr abhy ācarantīḥ, 470  
 viśo yantre ("trī) nudamāne arātim, 695  
 viśo-viśaḥ pravivīvāṇsam imahe, 808  
 viśo viśvā anu prabhuh (prabhu), 381,  
 869  
 viśrutayo yathā pathaḥ, 30, 275  
 vi śloka etu (eti, ślokā yanti) pathyeva  
 (patheva) sūreḥ (sūriḥ, sūrah,  
 sūrāḥ), 328, 596, 691  
 viśloka viśvadāyē tvā samjuhomi  
 avāhā, 151, 835  
 viśva ādityā vasavaś ca devāḥ (sarve),  
 989  
 viśvam satyam kṛnuhi viśtam astu, 291  
 viśvam hi (ha) ripraḥ pravahanti  
 ("tu) devīḥ, 378  
 viśvam hy aśvām bhuvanam āviveśa,  
 341, 386  
 viśvakarma ṛṣiḥ, 918  
 viśvakarman bhauvana mān didṛṣittha  
 (manda śaittha), 511, 579, 840  
 viśvakarmā ṛṣiḥ ("karmarṣiḥ), 918  
 viśvakarmā vimanā ād vihāyāḥ (vim-  
 anā yo vyomā, vimame yo vihāyāḥ,  
 manas yad vihāyāḥ), 339  
 viśvacarṣapīḥ sahurīḥ sahāvān (sahī-  
 yān), 248, 598  
 viśvatohasta uta viśvataspāt ("taḥ  
 syāt), 867  
 viśvantu (viśvam tu) tvām āhutayaś  
 (tvāhutayaḥ) . . . 371, 825  
 viśvaspnyā ("sniyā) viśvates pari, 791  
 viśvam id dhītam (dhītam) ānaśuḥ  
 (śāta), 545  
 viśvarūpā śabalir (śavaly) agniketuḥ,  
 219  
 viśvalopa viśvadāvasya tvāśaś juhomi,  
 151, 835  
 viśvaṛidam ("do) vācam aviśvaminvām  
 (aviśvavinnām), 236, 419  
 viśvavyacā iṣayanti subhūtiḥ ("tā), 599  
 viśvasmāt sm aghāyata uruṣya, 379  
 viśvasmād devakīlbiśāt, 216, 818  
 viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro 'ai ("dhvaro  
 astu devāḥ, bhūtāya dhravo 'stu  
 [astu] devāḥ), 802, 836, 908  
 viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇyāvataḥ  
 tavāgne vāmīr anu samdrśi viśvā  
 retāḥai dhiṣṭya, 688  
 viśvasya devī mṛcayaaya (mṛṣa?) jan-  
 manāḥ, 195  
 viśvasyām devī pravivīvāṇsam (pravi-  
 viśānam) imahe, 808  
 viśvā agne abhiyujō vihatyā ("tya), 457  
 viśvā amivāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ  
 ("sebhyaḥ), 357, 695, 783, 832  
 viśvā śāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ,  
 357, 783, 832  
 viśvā śā dākṣiṇasat ("āt, dakṣiṇataḥ,  
 dakṣiṇadhak), 499  
 viśvāḥ pinvatbaḥ ("tha) svasarasya  
 dhenāḥ, 379  
 viśvākpaḥ (viśvākhyam) viśvataśbbhu-  
 vam, 191



- viśvādityāḥ, 989  
 viśvā deva pṛtanā abhiṣya, 380  
 viśvā dveṣāśi tarati svayugyabhiḥ (sayug\*), 384  
 viśvādhiko (viśvā dhiyo) rudro maharṣiḥ (\*rṣiḥ), 918  
 viśvāny anyo bhuvanā jajāna, 862  
 viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe (\*nā vicaṣṭe), 220, 808  
 viśvāny ayo bhuvanā jajāna, 862  
 viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe, 220, 808  
 viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyāḥ (\*bhyas, daṣṭrābhyas) pāhi (pāta, paripāhi . . .), 964  
 viśvā mṛdho abhimātīr jayema, 205, 375  
 viśvāvasuḥ namaśā gṛbhīr lde (lṭṭe), 88  
 viśvāvasur abhi tan no gṛpātu, 172  
 viśvāś ca deva (devaḥ) pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ (\*syak), 380  
 viśvā eprdho abhimātīr jayema, 205, 375  
 viśve devā udicyān tu abhiṣiñcantu śreyase, 512  
 viśve devā nātividhyanti sarve (śūrāḥ, eūrāḥ), 278, 285  
 viśve devā mama śṛṇvantu yajñiyāḥ (yajñam), 321  
 viśvebhyas tvā devebhyāḥ pravṛhāmi jāgatena chandasā, 212  
 viśve śumbhantu mainasaḥ, 173  
 viśveṣām devānām priyaḥ pātho 'pīhi (apīhi), 910  
 viśvair devai rātibhiḥ saṁhrarāṇaḥ (devai ṛtibhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ), 627, 665  
 viśāne vi gya guspitam (gulphitam), 111  
 viṣe viṣam aprkthāḥ (aprāg apī), 657, 843  
 viṣkandham enaḥ viṣṭaḥ prajāsu, 986  
 viṣṭhitāḥ (\*tā) pṛthivīm anu, 381  
 viṣṇa (viṣṇav) urukram\* . . ., 887  
 viṣṇuḥ vṣaṁ saasvatīm, 150  
 viṣṇuḥ āpṛitapā āpyāyamānaḥ, 355, 628  
 viṣṇuḥ upāvahriyamāṇaḥ, 117  
 viṣṇuḥ śipivīṣṭa ūrāv (Ūrā) āsannaḥ, 888  
 viṣṇuḥ tryakṣareṇa trīṇi lokān (trīṇi imāṇi lokān, trīṇi lokān) . . ., 943  
 viṣṇuḥ saṁbhriyamāṇaḥ, 117  
 viṣṇuvaruṇā (\*nāv) abhiśastipāvā (\*pā vām), 826, 888  
 viṣṇoḥ śipre sthaḥ, 337  
 viṣṇoḥ śnaptre (śnyaptre) sthaḥ, 337  
 viṣṇo (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇo) stupo (stūpo) 'ai, 563, 977  
 viṣṇo (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇo) sthānam asi, 977  
 viśvak astatuḥ kṛṇuḥ cittaṁ eṣām, 291  
 vi sakhyaṇi sṛjāmahe (\*hai, viṣṛjā-vahai), 710  
 vi senābhir dayamāno (bhaya\*) vi rādhasā, 177  
 viṣkandham enaḥ vidhṛtaḥ prajāsu, 986  
 viṣrutayo (vi aru\*) yathā pathaḥ, 30, 275  
 viṣāyaso 'dhi bhūmyām, 699  
 viṣu (vīṣu) cid ārujatnubhiḥ, 271  
 viṣu chapathajambhaṇiḥ, 272, 381  
 viṣvīr yāman avaradhayan, 360, 544  
 viṣṇaṇakipāḥ pūrvaḥ (\*gaṇaginab purāṇaḥ) . . ., 48  
 viṣṇaṇakino (\*gaṇagino) devair . . ., 48  
 vīty arṣa caṇiṣṭhaya (paṇiṣṭaye), 86, 162  
 vīraḥ hi vīravataḥ suśevā, 123  
 vīraḥ janayisyathaḥ (\*taḥ), 91  
 vīraḥ dhatta (me datta, no datta) pitarāḥ, 103  
 vīrasūr devakāmā syonā (\*sūr devṛk-āmā, \*sūr jīvasūr devakāmā syonā, \*sūr jīvasūr jīvapatni), 633  
 vīrān naḥ pitaro dhatta, 103  
 vīrān mā no rudra bhāmito (\*mino) vadhiḥ (ba\*), 209, 671  
 vīrān me pitaro (tatāmahā, pratatā-mahā) datta, 103  
 vīruc chapathayopani, 272, 381  
 vīreṇyaḥ kratur indraḥ suśastīḥ, 272, 360, 383, 600  
 vīrebhir adhi tan no gṛhānaḥ, 172  
 vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā (bhava) naḥ, 448

- virebhīr vīratamā śaviṣṭhā, 323, 849, 886  
 vīryam kuhābhyām (gu<sup>o</sup>), 49  
 vīryebhīr vīratamā śaviṣṭhā (śaci<sup>o</sup>), 323, 849, 886  
 vīlu, see vīḍu . . .  
 vīvadhaṁ (\*dhaś) chandaḥ, 516  
 vīvarto 'śjācatvāriṣṭaḥ (aṣṭā<sup>o</sup>), 516, 910  
 vīhi śūra (sūra) puroḍāśam (\*lāśam), 271, 284  
 vīhi svām āhutam juṣāṇo manasā, 836  
 vīhi svāhāhutam juṣāṇaḥ, 836  
 vṛjite pari vṛndhi naḥ, 360  
 vṛtratūr no (no) abhayaṁ śarma yaśsat, 949  
 vṛtratūr no (no) yajñam ihopayāsat, 949  
 vṛtrasya kanīkāśi (\*nakāśi), 235, 595, 840  
 vṛtrasyāśi kanīkaśaḥ (kanīnikā), 235, 595, 840  
 vṛtrāṇi vṛtrahaṁ (\*haṁ) jahi, 936  
 vṛṣajñtir no 'vṛtaḥ ('vitā), 640  
 vṛṣaṇaṁ pṛṣu (pṛkṣu) āśaḥim, 140  
 vṛṣaṇaḥ samidhīmahi, 501  
 vṛṣabhaṁ naryāpasam, 359  
 vṛṣabhāya gavayī, 359  
 vṛṣabheṇa gāvāḥ (gāḥ), 359  
 vṛṣabheṇa tvaṣṭā, 359  
 vṛṣabho gaur vayo dadhuḥ, 359  
 vṛṣabho 'ai svargaḥ, 359  
 vṛṣaṇaḥ samidhīmahi, 501  
 vṛṣā dharmāṇi dadhiṣe (dadhrīṣe), 350  
 vṛṣā na kruddhaḥ patayad-rajasev (rajaṣev) ā, 971  
 vṛṣā pavitre adhi sāno avye (avyaye), 810  
 vṛṣā punāno āyusa (āyūṇsi), 304, 555  
 vṛṣāyamāṇo 'vṛṣita (avṛṣ<sup>o</sup>) somam, 907  
 vṛṣāva cakradad (\*do) vane, 581  
 vṛṣo acikradad vane, 581  
 vṛṣṭidyāvānam amṛtaṁ svarvidam, 803, 820  
 vṛṣṭiḥ divaḥ pari grava, 200  
 vṛṣṭiḥ devānām amṛtaṁ svarvidam, 803, 820  
 vṛṣubhāraṁ girāv (girā) iva, 888  
 vedhām āśanta śriye, 230, 508  
 veśantābhyo dāśam, 708  
 veśadrīr (\*śrīr) asi, 528  
 vairāji (\*je) puruṣi, 695, 876  
 vaivasvato no abhayaṁ kṛpota, 699  
 vaiśantābhyo baidam, 708  
 vaiśvānara uta viśvadāvyaḥ, 699  
 vaiśvānaraḥ pratnathā nākam āruhat (\*ha), 401  
 vaiśvānaraḥ kṣaitrajityāya (kṣetra<sup>o</sup>) devāḥ, 707  
 vaiśvānaram ṛta ā (ṛtāya) jātam agnim, 36, 342  
 vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī (\*se) śuciḥ, 695  
 vaiśvānaro aṅgirasām (\*ṅgirasām, aṅgi-robhyaḥ), 907  
 vaiśvānaro adabdhāḥ (no adabdhāḥ, me 'dabdhāḥ, 'dabdhāḥ) tanūpāḥ, 907  
 vaihāyaso 'dhi bhūmyām, 699  
 vausaḥ (vausaḥ), 271  
 vyaṅkṛḍa vilobita, 168, 353, 675, 724  
 vy akhyaṁ (akṣan) mahiṣo divam (mahīṣaḥ) svaḥ, 'suvaḥ), 190  
 vyacasvatīṣayanti subhūtiḥ, 599  
 vyacyamānaṁ salilasya (sarirasya) madhye, 264  
 vyantu devā haviṣo me asya, 796  
 vyantu devir ya ṛtur janinām, 796  
 vyantu vayo 'ktaṁ (ripto) rihāṇāḥ, 96, 796, 857  
 vyantv ājyaṣya, 796  
 vy amivāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣāṇām, 783, 832  
 vy asau yo asmān (\*smān) dveṣṭi yaḥ ca vayan dvigmaḥ, 910  
 vy astabhānā (aska<sup>o</sup>, aṣka<sup>o</sup>, aṣṭa<sup>o</sup>, askabhānād, aṣṭabhānād) rodasi viṣṇav (viṣṇa, viṣṇur) ote, 137, 889, 983  
 vy asya yonim prati reto grhāṇa, 116, 341, 354, 363, 819  
 vyāghraṁ māṅgīradāsa gauḥ, 49, 279, 824  
 vyāghro adhi vadyāghro, 907  
 vyāghro vadyāghre adhi ('dhi), 907  
 vy ānaḥ (ānaḥ) indraḥ pṛtanāḥ svaḥ, 271  
 vyānāṣiḥ (\*n) pavase soma . . ., 329a



vyukṣat krūram ud acantv āpaḥ, 53  
 vy uchā duhitar divaḥ, 724  
 vy usriḥo asro adrir bibheda, 618  
 vyrdhdyā (vyrdhyā) apagalbham  
 (apra<sup>a</sup>), 353  
 vyomā ("ma) saptadaśaḥ, 460  
 vy aucho duhitar divaḥ, 724  
 vrajaṁ gacha gosthānam (goṣṭhānam),  
 986  
 vratam rakṣanti viśvāḥ, 477, 511  
 vratānūḥ vratapate ("patayo) vratam  
 acāriṣam (acārṣam), 754  
 vratāni (vratā nu) bibhrad vratapā  
 adakḥhaḥ (adābhyah), 487, 627, 823  
 vratā rakṣante viśvāḥ, 511  
 vṛhiṅgām medha (medhaḥ) sumana-  
 syamānaḥ, 380  
 vṛstānūḥ tvā patmann ādhūnomi, 363  
 śam yor abhi eravantu (śra<sup>a</sup>) naḥ, 275  
 śam rātri ("tṛ, "iḥ) prati dhīyatām, 381,  
 528  
 śaṁsya paśūn me 'jugupaś tām me pāhy  
 eva, 548  
 śakalyam, 319, 490  
 śakma yat te goḥ, 47, 287  
 śakrāya sunavai ("ve) tvā, 705  
 śahgavi ("gavi, "gaye) jīradānū  
 (jīva<sup>a</sup>), 255, 266, 695  
 śacyā paśyanti sūrayaḥ, 158, 287  
 śacyā hari dhanutarāv ("rā) ataṣṭa, 888  
 śandāya tvā, 289  
 śanderathaś śandikera ulūkhaḥ, 244,  
 489, 544  
 śataḥ yasya subhvaḥ (subbhvaḥ)  
 sākam trāte, 789  
 śataḥ yo naḥ śarado ajitān (ajijṣṭ,  
 ajlyāt, jijān), 192  
 śataḥ hemantān ("tān) chatam u  
 vasantān, 937  
 śatakṣarāś chandasānuṣṭubhena, 511,  
 819  
 śataḥ jivema śaradaḥ sarvavirāḥ (savi-  
 rāḥ, su<sup>a</sup>), 612  
 śatamūlā ("lāḥ) śatānūkurā ("rāḥ), 381  
 śataḥ pavitrā vitatā hy (vitatāny)  
 āsu, 840  
 śataḥ pūrbhīr yaviṣṭha pāhy anhasaḥ  
 (yaviṣṭhya), 315

śatākṣarachandasā jāgatena, 511, 819  
 śatāpāṣṭhādya viṣā ("ṣṭhā gha viṣā)  
 pari po vṛpaktu, 86, 198, 838, 868  
 śatena pāśair abhi dhehi varuṇainam  
 (pāśair varuṇābhi dhehi), 845  
 śatodaye 'bhīmātiṣāhe (abhi<sup>a</sup>), 907  
 śatruhaṇam amitrhaṇam . . . tven-  
 draṁ vajraṁ . . ., 712  
 śatruhaṇam aśi . . . tvaindraṁ vajraṁ  
 . . ., 712  
 śam te pruṣṭvā śīyatām, 680, 876  
 śam te methi bhavatu śam yugasya  
 trīma, 529, 650  
 śam te santv anūpyāḥ, 151  
 śam te hiraṇyaḥ śam u santv (sam u  
 śantv) āpaḥ, 277, 278, 802  
 śam tokāya tanuve (tanvai) syonaḥ,  
 705, 793  
 śam naḥ (naḥ) karato asvinā, 964  
 śam naḥ santv anūpyāḥ, 151  
 śam no bhavantv āpa oṣadhayaḥ (apa  
 oṣadhāḥ) śivāḥ, 498  
 śam no bhava hṛda ā pīta indo (indro),  
 353  
 śabuli prajānām śaciṣṭhā vratam (śav-  
 iṣṭhā vrajam) anugeṣam . . ., 157, 806  
 śam agniḥ agniḥ (bhīḥ) karat, 966  
 śam adbhyaḥ, 280  
 śamibhiḥ śamyantu tvā, 528, 572  
 śam u te santv anūkyāḥ, 151  
 śam u prajāva (prajāva) śīyatām, 680,  
 876  
 śam u santv anūpyāḥ, 151  
 śam ūdho romaśam hathaḥ, 91, 276  
 śam padam maghaḥ rayiṣṭe na kāmam  
 (rayiṣṭe na somah), 545, 679  
 śambhūr ("bhūr) mayobhūr abhi mā  
 vāhi svāḥ, 554  
 śam methir bhavatu śam yugasya  
 trīma, 529, 650  
 śamyāḥ prataratām ("tā) iva (praca-  
 ratām iha), 155  
 śarad dhementaḥ svite dadhāta ("tu),  
 775  
 śarad varṣāḥ suvitaḥ (sukṛtaḥ) no  
 astu (svite no dadhāta), 775  
 śarabham te śug rohatu (te kṣut),  
 145

śarā vāṣṭād dhaviṣā vārṇaḥ, 86, 198, 838, 868

śarīraṁ yaśīśamalaṁ (yaśīṣaḥ śama-  
laḥ) kuśīdaṁ . . ., 383, 818

śarīraḥ me vicarṣaṇam (vicakṣaṇam,  
°ṇa), 857

śarau paṇṇam ivā dadhat, 378

śardhāṁsy agne aśarāṇi (aśarasya)  
dhakṣataḥ (dhakṣyase), 332

śarman (°maṣ) te syāma trivarūtha  
udbhau, 932

śarma yachātha saprathah (°thāḥ),  
460, 502

śarma varmedam ā bhara (varmaitad ā  
hara), 117

śarmā (°ma) saprathā āvr̥ṇe, 460, 502

śalmalir vṛddhyā (rddhyā), 360

śavasaḥ by asi śrutah (śritah), 629

śaviṣṭhā stha rāṣṭradāḥ, 349

śaśvatibhyaḥ samābhyaḥ, 491

śaśvat parikupitena (°pilena), 878

śaśvad viśaḥ (diśaḥ) zavitur daivyaṣya,  
869

śākṣam, 319, 490

śākvarā vṛṇabhā ye svarāḥ, 359

śāṇḍikera ulūkhalah, 244, 489, 544

śāmnā sarūpaṇkarapī, 337

śāradena ṛtunā (°nartunā) devāḥ, 919

śārgaḥ śrjayaḥ śayāṇḍakase te maitrāḥ,  
315, 489

śaśvatibhyaḥ samābhyaḥ, 491

śikṣā po (no) asmīn puruhūta yāmani,  
950

śitibhr̥vo (°bhr̥vo) vasūnām, 604

śipiviṣṭa ūrā śaśdyamānaḥ, 888

śimāḥ (śimāḥ) kṛṇvantu śimyantaḥ,  
278, 572

śimibhiḥ (śimi°) śimyantu tvā, 528, 572

śīraḥpāpīpādapāśvapr̥sthodaraśa-  
ghaśīnopaśthapāyavo (°pr̥sthodara-  
jaṅghā°) me śudhyantām, 475

śīraḥ-śīraḥ prati sūri (śīro devī prati  
sūrir) vi caṣṭe, 529

śīpā vaiśvadevīḥ (°vyaḥ), 598

śīpāś trayo vaiśvadevāḥ, 598

śiva ṛtaṣya . . ., see śivā r̥taṣya . . .

śivah prajābhyo 'hiteantaḥ (ahite°)  
pṛthivyāḥ sudhaasthād (°stha) agnīm  
(°gnīm) . . ., 910

śivān agnīm apsuṣado havāmabe, 285,  
849, 924, 927

śivā no bhavata (°tha) jtvase, 90

śivā r̥taṣya (rudraṣya, śiva ṛtaṣya)  
bhṣajī (°jā), 60, 355, 597, 684

śivā viśvāha bhṣajī (viśvāhabhṣajī,  
°hāḥ bhe°, °aha bhṣajā), 477, 511,  
598, 817

śivebhir arcibhiḥ tvam (°bhie tvam),  
958

śivo aṣya niṣaṇḡatīḥ, 77, 93, 98

śivo me saptaṛṣṇ (sapta ṛṣṇ) upa  
tiṣṭhasva (tiṣṭha), 919

śiśirāya vikakarān (vikarān, vikirān,  
vikikirān), 450, 573, 813

śiśte śṛṅge rakṣase (rakṣobhyo) vinikṣe  
(vinakṣe, vinikṣve), 370, 577

śiśub nadīnāḥ harim adribudhnam  
(°buddham), 415

śiśū kṛijantau pari yāto adhvaram  
(arṣavam, °ṛṣavam), 907

śīte vāte punann iva (punarniva), 833,  
862

śukeṣu me harimāṇam, 30, 278

śukraṁ vām anyad rajataṁ (ya)°  
vām anyat, 244

śukraṁ te anyad yajataḥ te anyat, 244

śukraṁ na jyotir amṛtaḥ dadhānā  
(°nāḥ), 381

śukraś ca ṛtapāś cātyaśhāḥ, 919

śukraś ca śuciś ca graiśmāḥ (°mā)  
ṛtā, 888

śukras te grahaḥ (grahyaḥ), 325

śukraṁ vayan̥ty asurāya nirṇijam, 579,  
828

śukrāya svāhā, 262

śukrā vi yanty asurāya nirṇije, 579, 828

śuklāya svāhā, 262

śucanto agnīm vavṛdhanta (vā°) in-  
dram, 468

śucir an̥kte (an̥te) śucibhir gobhir  
agnīḥ, 415

śucīḥ śukre ahany ojaśnā (ahann  
ojaśna, śukro ahany ojaṣye, śukre  
°hany ojaśnām), 907, 928

śutudri stomam sacatā paruspy ā  
(paruspy ā), 777

śuddhāḥ pūtā bhavata (°tha, bhav-  
antu) yajñīyāḥ, 90



śuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ (\*ya), 380  
 śunam vāhāḥ śunam naraḥ (nārāḥ), 491  
 śunam ma iṣṭam śunam śāntam (śrūn-  
 tam) śunam kṛtam bhūyāt, 287, 353  
 śunām agrasḥ suvriṇaḥ (subriṇaḥ),  
 219, 593  
 śunddhi (śundhi) śiro māsyāyuh pra  
 moṣiḥ, 173, 389, 418  
 śundhatām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ, 173  
 śundhantām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ, 173  
 śundhi śiro, see śunddhi . . .  
 śundhyur (\*yūr) asi mārjālyah, 554  
 śumbhantām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ, 173  
 śumbham mukham mā na āyuh pra  
 moṣiḥ, 173  
 śumbhānas tanvam (\*vām, tanuvam)  
 svām, 287, 420, 618  
 śūdrāryāv (\*ryā) arjīyetām, 888  
 śūrāso ye tanūtyajaḥ (tanu\*), 554  
 śūro na mitrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṣu, 284  
 śūro nṛṣātā śavasaḥ (śra\*) cakānaḥ  
 (ca kāme), 181, 349, 828  
 śrūhi (śrūhi) viśvataḥ prati (\*tas  
 pari), 598, 964  
 śrūvanty (\*tv) āpo adha ('dhaḥ) kṣar-  
 antīḥ, 382, 907  
 śrūvantv āpo dhiṣaṇāś ca devīḥ (\*śaṇā  
 ca devī), 381  
 śrtaś tvaṁ śrto 'ham, 677  
 śeṣo (śepo) vājīnena, 872  
 śaśīrāv (\*rā) rṭū abhikalpamānāḥ, 888  
 śaśīreṇa ṛtunā (\*nartunā) devāḥ, 919  
 śokāt pṛthivyā uta vā divas pari, 126  
 śocasa devavittamaḥ (\*vittamaḥ), 398,  
 553  
 śokāt pṛthivyā uta vā divas pari, 126  
 śociṣkeśam (śociḥ\*) purapriya, 962  
 śaupāṇīkeya ulūkhalāḥ, 244, 489, 544  
 śaunakam (\*kim), 590  
 śyāmā sarūpashkarapī, 337  
 śyenaśya patraḥ (pattraḥ) na plīhā  
 śacibhiḥ, 390  
 śyenasyeva dhrajato (dravato) aṅ-  
 kasaḥ pari, 109  
 śyene paritto (parito) acaras ca vāte,  
 404  
 śyene vāta uta yo 'carat parittāḥ, 404  
 śrad asmai nara vacase dadhātana, 704

śraddhe kam indra carato vitarturam  
 (vitar\*), 156  
 śrameṇa lokāna tapasā pipartī (bi-  
 bhartī), 112  
 śravaś ca me śrutis ca me, 486  
 śraviṣṭhāḥ stha, 349  
 śravo devasya sūnasim (\*sī), 421  
 śravaś ca me śrutis ca me, 486  
 śriyāḥ vasaśaś carati svarociḥ (\*cāḥ),  
 509  
 śriye (śriyā) putrāya vedhavaī (vet-  
 tavaī), 98, 705  
 śriyo vasaśaś carati svarociḥ, 509  
 śriṇānā apsu mṛṇjata (vṛṇjate), 234  
 śritas tvaṁ śrto 'ham, 677  
 śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāśv (\*nyāś  
 [abo\*]), 888  
 śruta ṛsim (\*tarṣim) ugram abhimātiṣ-  
 ṭham, 919  
 śrutakakṣo aram (\*kakṣarāḥ) gave, 836  
 śrutam me mā pra hāsiḥ, 353  
 śrutkarāya kavaye vedyāya, 109, 230  
 śrudhī śruta śraddhivam (śraddheyam)  
 te vadāmi, 248, 692  
 śruṣṭi (\*ṣe) jātāsa indavaḥ svarvidah,  
 695  
 śreṣṭho ha (hi) vedas tapaso 'dhijātah,  
 578  
 śroṇibhyām (śroṇī\*) svāhā, 529  
 śrotram dehi (dhehi), 103  
 śrotrapāḥ (\*pā) śrotram me pāhi  
 (pātu), 980  
 śrotram mayi (me) dhehi (dāḥ), 103  
 śvātrāḥ pītā bhavata yūyam āpaḥ,  
 287, 352  
 śvāvṛt tat, 277  
 śvitra ādityānām, 195, 369  
 śvitro rakṣitā, 195, 369  
 śvetāya vaitahavyāya (vaidarvyāya,  
 vaidarvāya, vaidārvāya) . . . 63, 315,  
 490  
 śad id yamā (udyamā) ṛṣayo devajā  
 itī, 627, 819  
 śandāya tvā, 289  
 śap morvīr aśhasas (\*śaḥ) pāntu . . .  
 964  
 śaṣṭiḥ (śaṣṭhiḥ) sahasrā navatib ca  
 kaurama, 87

- sa ācāryam tapasā piparti (bībharti), 112  
 sa idhāno vasuṣ (vasuḥ) kaviḥ, 693, 967  
 sa imām devaḥ pūṣā, 998  
 sa imām devo aryamā (adhvaran), 996  
 sa imām devo varuṇaḥ, 996  
 sa imān no havyadātīn juṣāpaḥ, 996  
 sa im pāhi ya rjīṣi tarutrah (tarudrah), 59  
 sa im (i) mandrā suprayasaḥ (mand-rāsu prayasaḥ, mandrā suprayasā stariman), 307, 374, 830, 839  
 sa u (uv) ekaviṁśavartanīḥ, 774  
 sa ugraḥ sa hi (i) havyo babhūva, 336  
 sa edhāno vasuṣ kaviḥ, 693, 967  
 sa eva jātah sa janīṣyamānaḥ, 829  
 sam yajñapatir (yajamāna) āśiṣā, 306  
 sam yāv apnastho (yā apnaṣtho) apaseva janān, 889  
 samhyopayanto duritāni viśvā, 113  
 samlobbhayanto duritā padāni, 113  
 samvatsara ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ (\*bhīś cākīpānaḥ, \*bhīś cākupānaḥ), 39, 645  
 samvatsarasya tejasā (dhāyasā), 98, 193  
 samvatsarāya paryāyīm (\*yāriṣīm), 244  
 samvṛd asi, 306  
 samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai (\*triyā) . . . 'bhībhūtaye (\*bhūtyai, \*bhṛtyai) avāhā, 644, 791  
 samāitam kṣatram jīṣu (kṣatram aja-ram astu jīṣuḥ, kṣatram me jīṣu), 381  
 samarṣtam ubhayan kṛtam (abhayan kṛtam), 609, 664  
 samarṣtāsu yutsv indro gageṣu, 612, 660, 826  
 samstap chandaḥ, 306, 984  
 sam sravantu dīso mahīḥ (mayi), 256  
 samśravabhāgā . . . see samśarāya  
 samśaragā sa yudha indro gageṣu, 612, 660, 826  
 samśravabhāgā (samśarava); \*bhāgāḥ, \*gāś) stbeṣā (taviṣā) brhantaḥ, 96, 375, 486, 747, 977  
 samhitāi viśvarūpā (\*pi, \*piḥ), 381, 597  
 sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (\*padā babhūva), 207  
 sakhā sakhībhyo varivaḥ (varīyaḥ) kṛpotu, 249, 541a  
 sakhā saptapadī (\*dā) bhava, 597  
 sakhāsi gāyatram chandaḥ, 70  
 sakhāsi (\*si patvā) jagacehandāḥ, 70  
 sakhā suśevo advayāḥ (\*yuh), 620  
 sa gāyatriyā (\*triyā) triṣṭubhā . . . , 791  
 sagme te goḥ, 47, 287  
 sa ghā no devaḥ savitā sahāvā (sav-āya), 250, 269, 868  
 saghāsi jagatichandaḥ, 70  
 samkāsuko vikasukaḥ, 605  
 samkusuko vikusukaḥ, 605  
 samkrośān prāṇaiḥ (\*krośaiḥ prāṇān), 46, 292  
 sam ṛbhāya purū (puru) śatā, 555  
 sam grāvabhīr nasate (vas\*) vīte adhy-aro, 853  
 samghoṣān (\*goṣān) prāṇaiḥ, 46, 292  
 sacāvahe (\*hai) yad avṛkam purā cit, 710  
 sacetasāv (\*sā) arepasau, 180, 376, 888  
 sacetasau druhvaṇo yau nudetha, 156, 305, 371, 634, 684  
 sacetasau saretasau, 180, 376  
 sacyutiḥ jaghanacyutim, 874  
 sajātānām śraīṣṭhya ā dīheḥ enam, 612  
 sajātānām madhye śraīṣṭhyā ā dīhehi mā, 612  
 sajūr abdo (abdā) ayavobhīḥ (\*yāv-abhīḥ, āyavabhīḥ, āyavobhīḥ), 471, 485, 910  
 sajūr devair vayoñādhail (vayu\*), 719  
 sajūḥ sūra (sūrya) etaśena, 318  
 sajoṣasāv (\*sā) sāvīnā dāṇsobhīḥ, 888  
 sajoṣā indra (indrah) sagoṇo mar-udbhīḥ, 380  
 sajoṣā vṛṣabham patim, 376  
 samjayan kṣetrōpi sahasāham indra, 941  
 samjñānān naḥ (na) svebhyah (sve-bhīḥ, svaiḥ), 980  
 satataḥ tu śrābhīḥ tu, 263, 306  
 satavasemaṁ yajñam divi deveṣu dhat-tām, 364



- satlāh śikyaḥ (śak\*) provācopaniṣat, 571  
 satāsati prajāpatiḥ, 347  
 sa tū (sato) dhanam kārīṣe na prayaṣat, 723, 831  
 sato vaḥ pitaro deṣma, 60  
 sattvānām pataye namaḥ, 392, 494  
 satyaḥ vadanty anu iha (anu yacha) etat, 738  
 satyaḥ vṛṣaṇ vṛṣed asi, 254, 830  
 satyam it tan na tvānāṁ anyo asti (\*sti), 909  
 satyaḥ pūrvair (\*vebhīr) ṛṣibhiḥ samvidānaḥ (\*bhīś cāk)pānaḥ, \*bhīś cāk-upānaḥ), 645  
 satyāś ca rāpāś (cartapāś) cātyāśhāḥ, 919  
 satyasati prajāpatiḥ, 347  
 satyasya dharmasas pati (pate), 695  
 satyā eśām (etā) śāṣaḥ (\*śas) santu . . . , 971  
 satyā tā (satyāś ā) dharmasas pati (dharmasā, \*śas pari), 65, 325, 837  
 satyāṁṛte avapaśyaṁ (\*yaḥ, \*yan) janānām, 936  
 satyaujasā dṛṣṭhapaḥ (durhṛṣā, dṛṣṭhā) yaḥ nudetha, 156, 305, 371, 634, 654, 684  
 satrā dadhānam apratiṣkutam śavāśi (śravāśi bhūri), 349  
 sa tvam vṛṣaṇ vṛṣed asi, 254, 830  
 sa tvam sanīm suvimucā vimuṣaṇ, 830, 871  
 satvanām pataye namaḥ, 494  
 sa tvam aśy amo 'ham, 723, 907  
 satvānām pataye namaḥ, 392, 494  
 sa tvā manmanasām karotu (\*sam kṛpotu), 494  
 sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaḥ bibhartu (pipartu), 112, 175, 639  
 sa dahan (sadanān) pradahan nv (v) agāh, 302, 829  
 sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ, 158, 287  
 sadā yācann aham girā (jyā), 134, 244  
 sa dāśuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam, 306  
 sa dundubhe saḥjūr indreṇa devaiḥ, 306  
 sado vaḥ pitaro deṣma, 60  
 sado vaneṣu dadhiṣe (dadhiṣe), 350  
 sadyaḥkṛiś chandasā eha, 491, 962  
 sadyā no devaḥ savitā savāya, 250, 269, 808  
 sa naḥ pito madhumān ā viśha (viv-ēśa), 849  
 sa naḥ pṛthu (pṛthuh) śravāyyam, 381  
 sanīm gāyatraḥ navyāśam (navi-yāśam), 786  
 sa nīrudhyā nahuṣo (nahrṣo) yahvo-agnih, 642  
 sa no jīveṣv ā yame, 394  
 sa no dadātu tanh (tāh) rayim, 505  
 sa no divā sa riṣaḥ (riṣas) pātu naktam, 964  
 sa no deveṣv ā yamat, 394  
 sa no dohatān suviryam (suviram), 323  
 sa no bodhi śrudhī (\*dhi) havam, 518  
 sa no mayobhūḥ pito āviśava (pitav āvi\*, pitav āviśha, pitur āviśa, pitevāviśava), 849, 890  
 sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhitān dadhātu, 175, 639  
 sa no rucan dhey aḥṛatyamānaḥ, 387, 665  
 sam takeṣā hanti cakri vaḥ (cakriṣaḥ), 824  
 samtatam śirābhis (śir\*) tu, 263, 306  
 sam te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā gṛtana, 139, 618  
 sam tvā ṛṇanti, 676, 992  
 sam tvā tatakṣuḥ (tatakṣuḥ), 311  
 sam tvā riṇanti, 676, 992  
 sam tvā śiṣanti (śiṣ\*), 292  
 samdhānam arvantaḥ paḍbhiṣam (\*viṣam), 217  
 sam dāśuṣe kiratu bhūri vāmam, 306  
 sam dundubhe saḥjūr indreṇa devaiḥ, 306  
 sam devī (devī) devyorvaśyā paśyasya (\*vaśyākhyāta), 525  
 sam devena (daivena, daivyena) savitā, 317, 707  
 samdhātā samdhim (\*dhir) maghavā purūvasuḥ (puro\*, puru\*), 551, 717, 721  
 samdhvānā (\*dhuvānā) vātā abhi no grāntu, 783

sāvan sāmā suvimuś vi muśca, 830, 871  
 sapatnā vācam manasa (\*sā) upāsātām, 991  
 sapatnir abhibhūvari (\*rīh), 381  
 saputrikāyām jāgratha, 90, 862  
 saptarṣayaḥ sapta dhāma priyāṇi, 919  
 saptarṣayo 'srjyanta, 919  
 saptarṣānām suktām yatra lokah, 919  
 saptarṣā jinva, 919, 936  
 sapta ca mānuṣir imāh, 701  
 sapta ca vāruṇir (vāruṇair) imāh (imāh prajāh), 701  
 sapta yonir (yonīr) āprasaḥ (\*avā) ghṛtana, 446  
 sapta rājāno ya udābhīṣiktāh, 63  
 saptarṣayaḥ sapta dhāma priyāṇi, 919  
 saptarṣayo 'srjyanta, 919  
 saptarṣā jinva, 919, 936  
 saptarṣānām suktām yatra lokah, 919  
 sa prathamah samūktir viśvakarmā, 374  
 sapratha (\*thah) sabhām me gopāya (pāhi, 'jugupaḥ), 381  
 sa bibheda valam (balam) magham (madyam), 210, 868  
 sa budhnyā (\*niyā) upamā aya vi-  
 ṣṭhāh, 784  
 sa budhnyād (\*nād) āṣṭa januṣo 'bhy (\*śābhy) agram, 325  
 sa bhakṣamāṇo (bhīkṣ\*) amṛtasya cārupah, 583  
 sa bhūmim viśvato (sarvato) vṛtvā (sarvata sprtvā), 200, 375  
 sam agnis tapasāgata, 379  
 sam adbhyaḥ, 280  
 sam arir (arīr) vidām (vidah), 529  
 sam arvanto raghudruvaḥ (\*drucaḥ), 866  
 samavayantu sarvataḥ, 63  
 samānāni keto abhisamrabhadhvam (ceto abhisamviśadhvam), 126  
 samānamūrdhīr abhi (adhi) lokam ekam, 172  
 samānā vā (va) ākūtāni, 593  
 samāni va ākūtīh, 593  
 sa mā mṛta (vṛtat), 98, 225  
 samīṅgayati sarvataḥ, 536

sam it sravanti sarito (\*tā) na dhenāh, 142, 735, 830  
 samid diśām āyā nah (āyānah) svarvit (suvr\*), 826  
 samiddhe agnāv (agnā) adhi māma-  
 hānah, 888  
 samiddho agnir vṛṣāparatir (\*pā rathi, \*pā rayir) divah, 93, 545, 877  
 samidhah-samidho 'gne-'gna (-samidho agna, \*gnā) ājyasya vyantu, 910  
 samidho agna ājyasya vyantu (vi-  
 yantu), 706, 910  
 samidhyamānah prathamānu dharmā (prathamā nu dharmah), 835  
 sam indra po (no) manasā neṣi (neṣa) gobhīh, 684, 950  
 sam iñ rebhāso asvaran, 307, 628  
 samīṅgayati sarvataḥ, 536  
 samicitāsa āsate (āsata), 282  
 samudra ivāsi gahmanā (gañh\*), 305  
 samudrañ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ, 384, 789  
 samudrañ na suhavañ (suhuvañ, subhuvā) taṣṭhivāsam, 119, 384, 604, 789  
 samudrasya tvāvakayā (tvāvā\*), 496  
 samudrād udajani vaḥ (udacano iva) sruca, 53, 383, 401, 840  
 samudrīya āsumārah, 305, 551  
 samudreṇa (samudre na) sīndhavo yādāmānāh, 826  
 sam u rebhāso asvaran, 307, 628  
 samuhyo 'si viśvabharāh, 560  
 samūḍham (samūḍham) aya pānsure (\*le), 261  
 sam ūdho romaṣam hataḥ, 91, 276  
 samūhyo 'si viśvabharāh, 560  
 samūhyo 'si viśvavedā . . ., 560  
 sam eta viśvā (\*ve) vacasā (ojasā) patim divah, 52, 804  
 sa me mukhāni pra mārkyate (vek-  
 syati), 235  
 samokasāv (\*sā) arepasau, 180, 888  
 samokasau sacetasā arepasau, 180, 888  
 sampaṣyan pañktir (pañtim) upat-  
 iṣṭhamānāh, 418  
 sam pūṣā (pūṣā sari dhātā) sam  
 brhaspatīh (dhātā), 720



samprā (°caḥ, °caś) stha . . ., 977  
 saṁ poṣā saṁ bṛhaspatih, 729  
 saṁpriyaḥ paśubhir bhava (bhuvāt),  
 602  
 saṁpriyaḥ prajāyā paśubhir bhuvāt,  
 602  
 saṁ bhūbhyaṁ dhamaṁti (bharati,  
 namati, namate, °bhyaṁ adhamat)  
 saṁ patatrah (yajatrah), 157, 176,  
 853, 867  
 saṁmā asi (saṁmāsi), 993  
 saṁmāso aruṣo bhava (bhuvāḥ), 602  
 samyak travanti sarito na dhenāḥ,  
 142, 735, 830  
 samyat te gob, 47, 287  
 samrājāḥ (°jā) aya bhuvanasya rāja-  
 thaḥ, 888  
 samrājāḥ évaśrvaḥ (évaśruvāḥ) bhava,  
 791  
 sa yajñapatir āṁṣā, 306  
 sa yathā tvam rucyā roco °sy evāham  
 . . . ruciṣya (rucyā rocasa evam  
 aham rucyā rociṣya), 715  
 sa yo vṛṣā vṛṣeyebhiḥ (°vīyebhiḥ)  
 samokāḥ, 784  
 sarasvatī tvā maghavann abhiṣpak  
 (abhiṣāt), 142, 345  
 sarasvatim āśvināḥ (°nā) indram ag-  
 nim, 888  
 sarasvatī (°tib) svapasāḥ sadantu  
 (sadantām), 381  
 sarasvatyā adhi manāv (mānā, manā,  
 vanāva) acarkṣuḥ (acark°, car-  
 kṛdhi), 170, 225, 356  
 sarasvatyām adhi maṇāv acarkṣuḥ,  
 170, 225, 356  
 sarasvatyā (°tyāḥ) supippalaḥ, 381  
 sarasvatyai pūṣe 'gnaye (agnaye)  
 svāhā, 910  
 sarasvatyai yadobhaginīyai (veśabha°)  
 svāhā, 255  
 sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye (vāco  
 yan turye turyam) dadhāmi, 840  
 sarāḥ patatrah sṭhana (sṭha), 381,  
 600  
 sarā patatrah bhūtā, 381, 600  
 sarit travanti sarito na dhenāḥ, 142,  
 735, 830

sarirati chandaḥ, 264  
 sarirāya tvā vātāya svāhā, 264  
 sarirāya svāhā, 264  
 sarire tvā sadane sādayāmi, 264  
 sarūpavarā ehi (sarūpa vṛṣann ā  
 gahi), 650, 821  
 sarau parṇam ivā dadhat, 278  
 sarūkāya tvā, 651  
 sarvadevajanebhyaḥ svāhā, 196  
 sarvataḥ śarvaśarvebhyaḥ (śarva sarv°,  
 sarva sarv°), 285  
 sarvadevajanebhyaḥ svāhā, 196  
 sarvaḥ tam bhaṁsā (maṁsāḥ)  
 kuru, 242, 294, 632  
 sarvaḥ ni svāpayā (°vāj) janam, 402  
 sarvam uktam anuvīdur vasiṣṭhāḥ, 139,  
 627  
 sarvati manīṣā, 829  
 sarvalokaḥ mā iṣā, 829  
 sarvaṁ devakilbiṣāt (°viṣāt, eva  
 kilb°), 216, 402, 818  
 sarvaḥ sarvā vi caratu prajānan, 354,  
 831  
 sarvā agnīr apsuṣo huve (huve  
 vaḥ), 283, 849, 924, 927  
 sarvā apa yajāmasi, 201, 924  
 sarvā it tān asu vidur vasiṣṭhāḥ, 139,  
 627  
 sarvāḥ tān mṛsmāḥ (maṁsāḥ) kuru,  
 242, 294, 632  
 sarvā dāmāni (dhā°) mudṇatu, 107  
 sarvān ava yajāmahe, 201, 924  
 sarvān ni maṁsāḥ karam, 242, 294, 632  
 sarvān patho anṛṇā ā kṣiyema (kṣi°),  
 536  
 sarvān an devān tapasā pipartī (bi-  
 bharti), 112  
 sarvābhyo abhayaḥ (°bhayaḥ) karat,  
 909  
 sarvā vinudya samtriyāḥ, 170  
 sarvā ca rājābādhavīḥ (°vāḥ, °vyāḥ),  
 490, 701  
 sarve rādhyāḥ sṭha (rādhyāḥ tu)  
 putrah, 96, 816  
 salilam chandaḥ, 264  
 salilāḥ saligāḥ sagaras te na ādityā  
 haviṣo juṣāṇā vyantu svāhā, 49, 686,  
 796

- salilāya tvā (tvā vātāya svāhā),  
salilāya svāhā, 264
- salile tvā sandane ādayāmi, salile sandane  
āda, 264
- sa vāḥ sarvāḥ saḥ carati prajānaḥ,  
354, 831
- sa vijāyamānaḥ sa janiṣyamānaḥ, 829
- savitā jyotir ud ayāṁ (ayān) āsaram,  
928
- savitā te hastam agrabhīt (agrabhīt  
nānu, agrabhīt), 116
- savitā bhṛtyām, 242, 634, 871
- savitā manyām, 242, 634, 871
- savitā hastam agrabhīt (agrabhīt), 116
- savitus tvā (\*tuṣ tvā) prasaṇa . . ., 958
- savitṛprasūtā bṛhaspataye (vṛh\*)  
stuta, 215
- savitṛ prasaṇitṛ . . . indreṇāśme  
(\*smāi) . . ., 704
- savitṛe tvā r̥bhumate (tvār̥bhū\*,  
tvār̥bhū\*) vibhūmate (vibhū\*) . . .,  
549, 554, 916, 918
- sa viśvācīr (\*ci) abhi caṣṭe ghṛtācīḥ  
(\*ci), 357, 381
- savṛtā savṛte savṛj jīva, 306
- savṛd asi, 306
- saṣṭup chandaḥ, 306, 984
- sasavān san (sam) stūyase jātavedaḥ,  
928
- sa supraṇte (\*ti) nṛtamaḥ svarād  
(\*rāl) asi, 695
- sa sūra ā (sūrye) janayaṁ jyotir indram  
(indrah), 318
- saha ojaḥ, 731, 990
- sahamānā sahasvatī (saras\*), 269
- sahamūrān anu dāha kravyādāḥ, 355,  
371
- sahas ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāḥ  
(\*kū) r̥tū, 888
- sahasah sūnav (sūna) āhuta, 889
- sahasraṇthah (\*nithah) padaviḥ kav-  
inām, 952
- sahasradhāra eva te sam asvaran,  
989
- sahasradhāraḥ vṛṣabham divo duhuḥ  
(divodubam), 821
- sahasradhāre 'va te sam asvaran, 959
- sahasranithah, see sahasraṇthah
- sahasrapoṣaṁ subhage (\*gā) rarāṇā,  
466
- sahasrapoṣasyeṣe, 466
- sahasravalāś (\*valāś) vi vayan  
ruhema, 760
- sahasraśīrṣā (\*śāḥ) puruṣaḥ, 381
- sahasrasamaḥ prasutena yantaḥ, 233
- sahasrasavaprasavena yantaḥ, 233
- sahasraśā (\*śāḥ) medhasātāv (\*śātā)  
iva tmanā, 888
- sahasrasthūpa āsāte (āsāte), 282
- sahasrasya pratimāśi (\*mā asi), 993
- sahasrasya pramāśi (\*mā asi), 993
- sahasrasyonmāśi (\*mā asi), 993
- sahasrākṣa medha ā (medhāya) ciya-  
mānaḥ, 342
- sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ (\*ākṣāyāmartya),  
380
- sahasrākṣo medhāya ciyamānaḥ, 342
- sahasrāpoṣaṁ subhage rarāṇā, 466
- sahasrāpoṣasyeṣe, 466
- sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāṣāḥ (\*śād) na yaj-  
ñah, 412
- sahasriyo dyotatām (dīpyatām, \*riyo  
jyotatām) aprayuchan, 24, 159, 541
- sa hi puru (purū) cid ojaś virukmatā,  
555
- sahojah, 731, 990
- saho mayi dhehi (me dāḥ svāhā), 103
- sahaujah, 731, 990
- sā tvam asy amo 'ham (amo aham,  
amūham, āpy amo 'ham), 723, 907
- sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (vācam  
asmāt), 52
- sādyasakṛtā chandasā saha, 491, 962
- sādhah (sādhu) kṛṇvantam avase, 609
- sādhyebhyaḥ kulūṅgān (kulaṅgān), 607
- sādhyebhyaś carmanam (\*manam),  
953
- sā naḥ prajāḥ paśūn pāhy araṇi-  
yamānaḥ, 387, 665
- sā naḥ priyā supratūrtir maghoni, 749
- sā naḥ śṛpvanō ūtibhiḥ āda ādvat,  
376
- sā naḥ stte payasābhyāvavṛteva, 840
- sā naḥ supratūrtiḥ priyā naḥ suhār  
ṇaḥ priyavanir maghavanir antā ehi,  
749



- sā no dohatām suvīryam (suvīram), 323
- sā prathamā saṁskṛtīr viśvavārī, 374
- sā prasūr dhenukā (\*gā) bhava, 48, 620, 829
- sā brahmajāyā vi dunoṭi rāṣṭram, 107, 569
- sā brāhmaṇasya rājanya, 870
- sā mandasānā manasā śivena, 609
- sāmāni cakruṣa tatarāṣy otave (\*oi vātave), 804
- sā me satyāśir devān . . . panyāt panyatarā (panyāt panyatarā), 165
- sā rāṣṭram ava dhūnute brahmajasya, 107, 569
- sāvītro 'si canodhāḥ (janadhāyāḥ), 54
- sā śaṁtātī (\*tā, \*ci) mayas karad apa sridhāḥ, 166, 598
- sā saṁnaddhā satuhi vājam emam (sunuhi bhāgadheyam), 52, 617
- sinanti pākam aṭi (adhi) dhīra eṭi (emi), 96
- sindhoh śiśūmārāḥ (śiśū°), 305, 551
- simāḥ kṛpantu śamyantīḥ, 278, 572
- simāḥ śamyantu śamyantīḥ, 278, 572
- sīdantu manuṣo yathā, 227, 719
- sīdantu vanuṣo yathā, 227, 719
- śīrāḥ patatrinī śhāna, 381, 600
- śleṣa ca me trapu (\*puś) ca me, 381
- śleṣa agniṁ adya hotāram avṛṇta ayaṁ sūlāsutī yajamānaḥ paṇan paktīḥ . . . , 310
- sukaritrā svopaśā, 41, 605, 731
- sukuritrā svopaśā, 41, 605, 731
- sukeṣu te harimāpam, 30, 278
- sukhaḥ ca me śayanam ca me, 82
- sukhaḥ meṣāya meṣyai, 82, 705
- sugam ca me śayanam ca me, 82
- sugam ca me supatham (\*thyam) ca me, 325
- sugantuḥ karma karaṇaḥ kariṣyan, 293, 384, 573, 609, 739, 824
- sugam tvaḥ karmaḥ karaṇaḥ karaḥ karasyuḥ, 293, 384, 573, 609, 739, 824
- sugandhiḥ pativedanam, 152, 627
- sugandhiḥ puṣṭivardhanam (rayipoṣanam), 152, 627
- sugam meṣāya meṣyai (\*ye), 82, 705
- sugavyam no vājī evaśvyam (\*viyam), 784
- sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (\*nam) akarma (kṛnomi, sadanāni santu), 741
- sugā vo devāḥ sadanedam astu, 741
- sucakṣā aham akṣībhyām (akṣi°) bhūyāsam, 528
- sucakṣāḥ soma uta sasrud astu, 145, 283, 612
- sujātānām āraṣṭhya ā dhehy enam, 612
- sutarasi tarase (sutarasiddhatarase) namaḥ, 833
- sutaḥ sudakṣa dhanva (dhanīva), 764
- sutā mayā varadā vandamānā, 419
- sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (\*pitārā), 500
- suditinādītyebhya . . . , 545
- suditir (sodtir) aṣi, 545
- sudevam indre aśvinā (indrāyāśvinā), 342
- sunāvam āruheyam, 817
- sunīti svayāśastaram (svayā°), 741
- suparṇapakṣāya dhīmahi, 200
- suparṇo avyathir (\*thi) bharaṭ, 529a
- supāṇīḥ (\*pi) svaṅguriḥ, 980
- supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartanāme (kartam aṣmai, aṣme), 704
- supippalā oṣadhīḥ (\*dhīḥ) kṛdhi, 906
- suprasūr dhenukā bhava, 48, 630, 839
- subandhuḥ pativedanam, 152, 627
- subāhuḥ svaṅguriḥ, 980
- subhṛaṇa arja-arja śunaka, 219, 380, 593
- subhagaṇikaraṇī (subhāgaṇikaraṇam) mama, 486, 820
- subhūtakṛta śiha (\*kṛtaḥ subhūtam naḥ kṛta), 119, 569, 977
- subhūtāya pīpīhi (pīpīhi), 545
- sumitraḥ soma no (sumano) bhava, 714, 826
- sumitrā (\*triā, \*tryā) na (ṇa) śpa oṣadhayaḥ santu (\*yo bhavantu), 315, 787, 950
- sumnāya nūnam imahe sakhibhyaḥ, 563
- sumnāya sumnini sumne mā dhattam, 315
- sumākyuvaḥ (\*yavaḥ) sumnyāya sumnam (\*nyam) dhatta, 315, 604
- sumne śhaḥ sumne mā dhattam, 315

suyame me adya ghr̥tācī bhūyāstam  
svāvṛtau sūpāvṛtau, 552, 910  
suyame me bhūyāstam, 552  
sur abhivyaḥyam, 190, 739  
surayā mūtrāḥ janayanti (\*ta) retah,  
507  
surayā somaḥ suta āsuto madāya, 507  
surāyā mūtrāḥ janayanta (\*ti) retah,  
507  
surāyāḥ somaḥ suta āsuto madāya, 507  
suvaḥ . . . , suvar . . . , suvarga . . . , 779  
(and see under svah etc.)  
suvargapakṣāya dhīmahi, 200  
suvargaastainyam avrātyam (av-  
ratyam), 490  
suyas . . . , 779  
suvān nabhrācī aṅghāre bambhāre 'star  
ahasta kṛśāno, 146, 405, 778, 809  
suvānā devāsa indavaḥ, 794  
suvāno arṣa pavitra ā, 794  
suvāno yāti kavikratuḥ, 794  
suvitasya manāmabe (vanā\*), 227  
suvite mā dhūh, 775  
suvirābhia tarati vājakarmabhiḥ  
(tirate vājabharmabhiḥ), 152, 582  
suviripah arja-arja, 219, 380, 593  
suṣami śamīṣva (śami\*, śamīṣva), 531  
suṣmanā somasatearu, 180, 224, 606,  
714, 874  
suṣṭam manye tad ṛtam naviyah, 661  
suṣevanā somapitearu (sumatitearu),  
180, 224, 606, 714, 874  
suṣṭam manye tad ṛtam naviyah, 661  
suṣlokyāya svastaye, 724  
suṣadam id gavām asti pra khuda, 67,  
347, 986  
suṣamiddham vareṇyam, 986  
suṣamiddho na ā vaha, 986  
suṣamiddho vareṇyah, 986  
suṣumpah (\*mnah) sūryaraśmīś caṇ-  
dramā gandharvaḥ, 954  
suṣatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi,  
67, 347, 986  
suṣamiddham vareṇyam, 986  
suṣamiddho na ā vaha, 986  
suṣamiddho vareṇyah, 986  
suṣaveha havāmabe, 299  
suṣasyāḥ (suṣaspāḥ) kṛṣṭa kṛdhī, 867

suṣaveha havāmabe, 299  
suhutakṛtaḥ stha suhutaḥ karigyaṭha  
(\*tam akārṣṭa), 119, 569, 977  
sūcibhiḥ śamyantu (śim\*, śamayantu)  
tvā, 572  
sūpasthā asi vānaspatyah, 325, 491, 737  
sūpasthā devo vānaspatih, 325, 491, 737  
sūmnāya nūnam imahe sakhibhyah, 563  
sūyame me 'dya stam svāvṛtau sūpā-  
vṛtau, 552, 910  
sūyavasini manave (manuṣe, mānuṣe)  
daśasyā (\*ye, yaśasye), 161, 490  
sūrāso na darśatāsaḥ, 318  
sūro na mitrāvaruṇā gaviṣṭiṣu, 284  
sūro na ruruḥvān (\*vāh) chatātmā, 937  
sūro na avayugvabhiḥ (sayu\*), 364  
sūro rathasya naptiyah (naptryah,  
naptriyah), 357, 791  
sūryatvacasa (\*saḥ, \*sas) stha, 977  
sūrya nāvam āruḥṣah, 715  
sūryaraśmīḥ samābhṛtam, 118, 639  
sūryasya cakṣur āruham (āroha), 715  
sūryasya tapas tapa (tapah), 379  
sūryācandramasau vṛkyābhyām (vṛk-  
kā\*), 408  
sūryān śukraḥ samābhṛtam, 118, 639  
sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (adi\*, aditer)  
upasthe, 909  
sūryāso na darśatāsaḥ, 318  
sūrye santam (śukraḥ) samāhitam  
(samābhṛtam), 118, 639  
sūryo apo vi gāhate ('vagābate), 578  
sūryo ahobhir ('hobhir) anu tvāvatu,  
907  
sūryo divo (devo) diviṣṭabhyah  
(\*bhyo . . . ), 686  
sūryo rūpaḥ kṛpate dyor (dyaur)  
upasthe, 732  
sūryo 'hobhir . . . , see sūryo aho\*  
vṛkāhastā (vṛkāvantā) niṣāṅgiṇah, 48,  
467  
vṛkāvantā niṣāṅgiṇah, 48, 467  
vṛdikāya tvā, 651  
vedam priyeṇa dhāmān priyam anda  
śida (priyeṇa nāma priye andasi  
śida), 855  
ved u rājā kṣayati (kṣeti) carṣaṇām,  
745



- semāṁ devo aryamā (pūṣā, varuṇaḥ), 996  
 semāṁ no havyadātīm juṣāṇaḥ, 996  
 so adhvarā jātavedāḥ, 907  
 so adhvarān sa rītūn kalpayāti, 907  
 so asmān (asmān) adhipatiṁ karotu, 907, 924  
 so asmān pātu sarvataḥ, 909  
 so 'dhvarā karati jātavedāḥ, 907  
 so 'dhvarān sa rītūn kalpayāti, 907  
 soma āyugmān sa oṣadhībhir (sauṣa") āyugmān, 996  
 somā u ṣvāṇaḥ (ṣvāṇaḥ) sotṛbhīḥ, 794  
 somah pati rayiṇām, 904  
 somam sa . . . ṛchatu yo maitasyni ("syā) dīśo 'bhidāsati, 919  
 somanetrebhyo devebhya upariendbhyo ("adhbhyo) . . ., 986  
 somam te kṛiṇāmy ūrjasvantam payasvantam vīryāvantam abhimātiṣṭham (vīryāvantam bahuvrgham śobhamānam), 123, 467  
 somavikrayin somam te kṛiṇāni mahāntam bahvarham bahu śobhamānam, 123  
 somaś caturakṣarayāśrīvīr ("srivīr) nakṣatrāpi, 277  
 somas pati rayiṇām, 904  
 somasya drapsam (bhakṣam) avṛtta pūṣā (śakraḥ), 153a  
 somasya rājāḥ kulūṅgaḥ, 607  
 somasyāham devayajnyā suretā (viśvaḥ) reto dhiṣṭya (dhe"), 688  
 somah sutah pūyate nīyamānah (suta ṛyate pūyamānah), 57, 634  
 somah sutasya madhvaḥ (sutah sa madhumān), 189, 824  
 somāpausṣāḥ śyāmālalāmās tūparāḥ, 728  
 somāya kulūṅgaḥ (kulaṅgaḥ), 607  
 somāya janivide (jana") svāhā, 688  
 somāya rājāe kulūṅgaḥ, 607  
 somāya rājāe paridhātavā ("dātavā) u, 105  
 somāya vaca udyatam (ucyate), 158  
 somārudrāv ("drā) iha su mṛdatam nah, 888  
 somī ghoṣeṣa yachatu (vakṣatu), 184, 255  
 somena tvṣṭanaemindrāya dadhi, 127  
 somaindrā babhruālāmās tūparāḥ, 707, 728  
 somo asmākaḥ brāhmaṇāṇāḥ rājā, 910  
 somo vaiṣṇavo rājā (somo vaiṣṇava) . . . āṅgiraso (āṅg", āṅgiraso vedo) . . ., 491  
 somo 'smākaḥ brāhmaṇāṇāḥ rājā, 910  
 so 'smān adhipatiṁ kṛnotu, 907, 924  
 so 'smān pātu, 909  
 so 'haṁ vājam saneyam (saṇāmy) agne (agneḥ), 381  
 saujānim, 28, 192  
 saumāpausṣāḥ śyāmālalāmās tūparāḥ, 728  
 saumendrā babhruālāmās tūparāḥ, 707, 728  
 saumyās trayāḥ śvitiṁgāḥ (īti"), 369  
 sauyānim, 28, 192  
 saṁlōkyāya avastaye, 724  
 stanī mandras suprayakṣuḥ, 374, 381, 830, 839, 861  
 stambhānas tanvam svām, 287, 420, 618  
 stavāno devyā kṛpā, 421, 824  
 stutah ("ta) āravayann avasopa madrik, 980  
 stutā ("to) mayā varadā vedamāiḥ, 419  
 stuto yāsi (yāhi) vaiśā snu, 299  
 stuto 'si janādibāḥ, 54, 93, 375  
 stuhī śūraḥ vajriṇam apratikam (apratitiam, "titam), 138, 404  
 stegān dātṛstrābhyaṁ, 374  
 stokā ("kāḥ, "kās) ścotanti madasah, 977  
 stotā me gośakhā (goas") syāt, 985  
 stotāram id didhiṣeya (dadhiṣe) radāvaso, 581  
 sotṛbhīyo dhṛṣṇav iyanāḥ (iyā"), 638  
 stomatrayastriṇśe bhuvanasya patnī, 525, 815  
 stomapṛstha gṛitavān supratikah, 419  
 stomas trayastriṇśe bhuvanasya patnī, 525, 818  
 stomo yajūś ca (yajūśasya) rādhyo haviṣmatā ("taḥ), 188, 826

- staumi devāv (devā) sāvinau nāthito  
 jōhaviṃi, 888  
 strīṣṭūyam anyān sv ā dadhat (anyāsv  
 ādadhat), 702  
 strīṣṭūyam anyatra dadhat, 702  
 sthirā cin namayīṣṇavaḥ, 857  
 anāṭāḥ prītā bhavata yūyam āpaḥ, 287,  
 352  
 anuṣā sapatnā (\*nāḥ) évaśuro 'yam astu  
 ('ham asmi), 256, 980  
 spardhante dhiyaḥ (divaḥ) sūrye na  
 (sūre na, sūryeṇa) viśaḥ, 100, 255,  
 318, 826  
 spārḥā yasya śriyo dr̥ce, 106, 761  
 spārḥo deva niyutvaṭā, 198, 761  
 syonam patyo (patibhyo) vahatuḥ  
 kṛṇuṣva (kṛṇu tvam), 842  
 syonā māviśatērā madah (\*terah-  
 madah), 818  
 syonā (\*nāḥ) syonena ghr̥tena mā  
 samukṣata, 978, 980  
 syone kṛṇudhvam surabhā (\*bhāv) u  
 loke, 886  
 sruṇā juhuta no (juhutanā) haviḥ, 827  
 sruṇā devaḥ ghr̥tācūtā (\*ēcyutā), 336  
 svah . . . , 779  
 svahpatir yadī vṛdhe, 307, 831, 968  
 svah yonim gacha svāhā, 505  
 svah yonim ihāsadah, 505  
 svagākārakṛto mahyam, 466  
 svagū vo devāḥ sadanam akarma  
 ('uñāi santu), 741  
 svamkṛto 'si, 505  
 svatavasemaṇi yajñam divi deveṣu  
 dhātām, 364  
 svadhā pitṛbhyah prthivīśadhhyah  
 (prthivī\*), 524  
 svadhā pitṛbhyo 'ntarikṣasadhhyah  
 (antari\*, 'ntari\*), 517, 910  
 svadhitis te (\*tis te) pitā, 938  
 svapnaḥ svapnādhikarage (svapna  
 svapnādhikaragena), 172, 980  
 evam ma (ma idam) iṣtam . . . svah  
 śrāntam (śrātam) . . . , 287, 353  
 svah mā iṣtam astu śunam śāntam  
 . . . , 353  
 svayonim gacha svāhā, 505  
 svar . . . , 779  
 svar abhivyakhyam (\*kām . . . ), 100,  
 739  
 svargāsi, 315  
 svargeṇa lokena samprorpuvāthām, 91,  
 707  
 svarge (suvarge) loke prorpuvāthām  
 (prorpu\*, \*puvātām, samprorpu\*), 91,  
 779, 797  
 svargyāsi, 315  
 svar ṇa gharmah svāhā, 949, 980  
 svar (suvar) ṇa (na) jyotiḥ (\*tiḥ  
 svāhā), 949  
 svar (suvar) ṇa (na) śukrah svāhā, 949  
 svar ṇa (suvar na) sūryah svāhā, 949  
 svar nārkaḥ (suvar nārkaḥ) svāhā, 949  
 svar devā (suvar devā) aganma  
 (agāma), 304  
 suvar na gharmah (\*ma) svāhā, 949, 980  
 suvar na . . . , see svar ṇa . . .  
 svarpatim yadī tñ vṛdhe, 307, 831, 968  
 svarmūrdhā vaiyaśano vyaśyamu śantyo  
 'ntyo bhauvanah, 725  
 svarmaurdhnyāya svāhā, 725  
 svar yaj jyotir abhayaḥ svasti, 254, 824  
 svarvaj jyotir abhayaḥ svasti, 254, 824  
 svarvido abhi gā adrim usṣan (muṣṣan,  
 iṣṣan), 401, 627  
 svarṣām (suvar\*) apaśm (apavām)  
 vṛjanasya gopām, 370, 780  
 svasāra āpo abhi gā utāsaran (udā\*),  
 60, 829  
 svastidā āghṛṇiḥ (agh\*) sarvavīrah,  
 473  
 svasti nah pathyākṛteṣu (putrakṛ-  
 theṣu) yoniḥ, 93, 618, 802  
 svasti rāye maruto dadhātana (\*tu  
 nah), 825  
 svas (suvas) te dadāmi (tvayi da-  
 dhāmi), 104  
 svasty apsu vṛjane svarvati (vrajane  
 svarvataḥ), 656  
 svāh yonim gacha svāhā, 505  
 svāh yonim ihāsadah, 505  
 svāmkr̥to 'si, 505  
 svām cāgne tanvam (tanuvam) pipra-  
 yasya (piprā\*), 480  
 svā tanūr baladeyāya mehi (baladāvā  
 na chi), 248



- svāttam sad dhavir āpo devīḥ svad-  
 antu, 371  
 svāttam cit sudevanī havyam āpo  
 devīḥ svadatainam, 371  
 svādus ("duḥ) kilāyam madhumān  
 utāyam, 967  
 svādhyam ("dhiyam) janayat sūdayas  
 ca, 789  
 svādhyo ("dhiyo) manasā devayantaḥ,  
 742, 789  
 svādhyo ("dhiyo) vidathe apsu jījanan  
 (apav ajijanan), 789  
 svāna bhṛājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta  
 suhasta kṛṣāno, 146, 405, 778, 809  
 svāna bhrāt āṅghārīr bambhārīḥ, 146,  
 405, 778, 809  
 svānā devāsa indavaḥ, 794  
 svānair yāti kavikratuḥ, 794  
 svāno aṣa pavitra ā, 794  
 svān tanvaṁ (tanuvam) varuṇo 'suṣot  
 (śśisret), 287, 355, 907  
 svān nabhrād āṅghāre bambhāre hasta  
 suhasta kṛṣāno, 146, 405, 778, 809  
 svāyām tanū (tanūn) riviye (rtvyo)  
 nādhāmānām (nātha°, bādha°), 22,  
 76, 308, 784  
 svāruhā yasya śriyo dr̥se, 198, 761  
 svāruho deva niyutvatā, 198, 761  
 svāveśo anamivo bhavā (bhuvā) naḥ,  
 602  
 svāha ṛṣabham ("hā ṛṣ°, "harṣ") in-  
 drāya . . ., 918  
 svāhākṛtasya sam u tṛpnta ṛbhavaḥ  
 (tṛpntarbh°, tṛpntarbh°), 411, 919  
 svāhākṛtibhyaḥ ("tibhyaḥ) preṣya, 529  
 svāhā tvā vātāya . . . vṛṣṭivanaye . . .,  
 857  
 svāhā tvā subhava ("vaḥ, subho)  
 sūryāya, 381, 749  
 svāhā tvā sūryasya . . . vṛṣṭivanaye,  
 . . ., 837  
 svāhā pūṣṇa śarase, 691  
 svāhā yajñam manasaḥ (yajñamana-  
 saḥ), 819  
 svāhā rājasūyāḥ ("sūyāya citānāḥ,  
 "svaḥ), 326  
 svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata (gataḥ),  
 379  
 svāheṣṭibhyaḥ ("lobhyaḥ svāhā), 690  
 svite mā dhāḥ, 775  
 svinnāḥ anātvī ("tvā, snāto) malād iva,  
 598a  
 svisṭam no 'bhi vasyo nayantu, 587,  
 786, 909  
 svisṭam agne abhi tat prābhi (prābhi,  
 tad grābhi), 153  
 svisṭim no abhi ("bhi) vasyo (vasyo)  
 nayantu, 587, 786, 909  
 hataḥ krimipām ksudrakāḥ (rājā), 96,  
 262, 386  
 hataḥ te atripā krimiḥ (kr°), 668  
 hatāḥ krimayaḥ (kr°) sśātikāḥ sanī-  
 lamakṣikāḥ, 668  
 hatāghaśaśālv ("śā) ābharadvasū, 888  
 hatāghaśaśālv ("śā) ābhāreṣām vasu  
 vāryāṇi, 888  
 hatā mātā hataḥ pitā, 96, 386  
 hato dāsāni satpati, 91  
 hato viśvā apa dviṣaḥ, 91  
 hato vṛtrāṇy āryā (apratī), 91  
 hato hatamātā krimiḥ, 96, 386  
 hathe dāsāni satpati, 91  
 hathe viśvā apa dviṣaḥ, 91  
 hathe vṛtrāṇy āryā (apratī), 91  
 hanubhyaṁ (hanū°) stenān bhagavaḥ,  
 554  
 hanubhyaṁ (hanū°) svāhā, 554  
 hayo dātra edhi vayo (mayo) mahyaṁ  
 pratigrahitre ("grhate), 232, 657  
 harikṛke ("klike) kim ichasi, 273  
 haripaśya raghusyadaḥ ("syataḥ), 64  
 harivato graham pṛthyasam ("vato . . .  
 graham pṛthyasam), 659  
 harisamāruṁ na varmaṇā dhanarcim,  
 573, 596, 825  
 harī indra prasadvasū abhi svara, 95  
 harṣamāpāso dhṛṣitā (dhṛṣatā) marut-  
 vaḥ, 122, 596  
 harṣamāpā hr̥ṣitāso marutvan, 122  
 havansāruṁ no rudreha bodhi, 488,  
 554  
 havir haviṣsu (haviḥsu) vandiyaḥ,  
 618, 971  
 haviṣ (haviḥ) kṛpvantāḥ parivatsarī-  
 ṇam ("pām, "riyam), 967  
 haviṣmān ("mān) astu sūryaḥ, 925

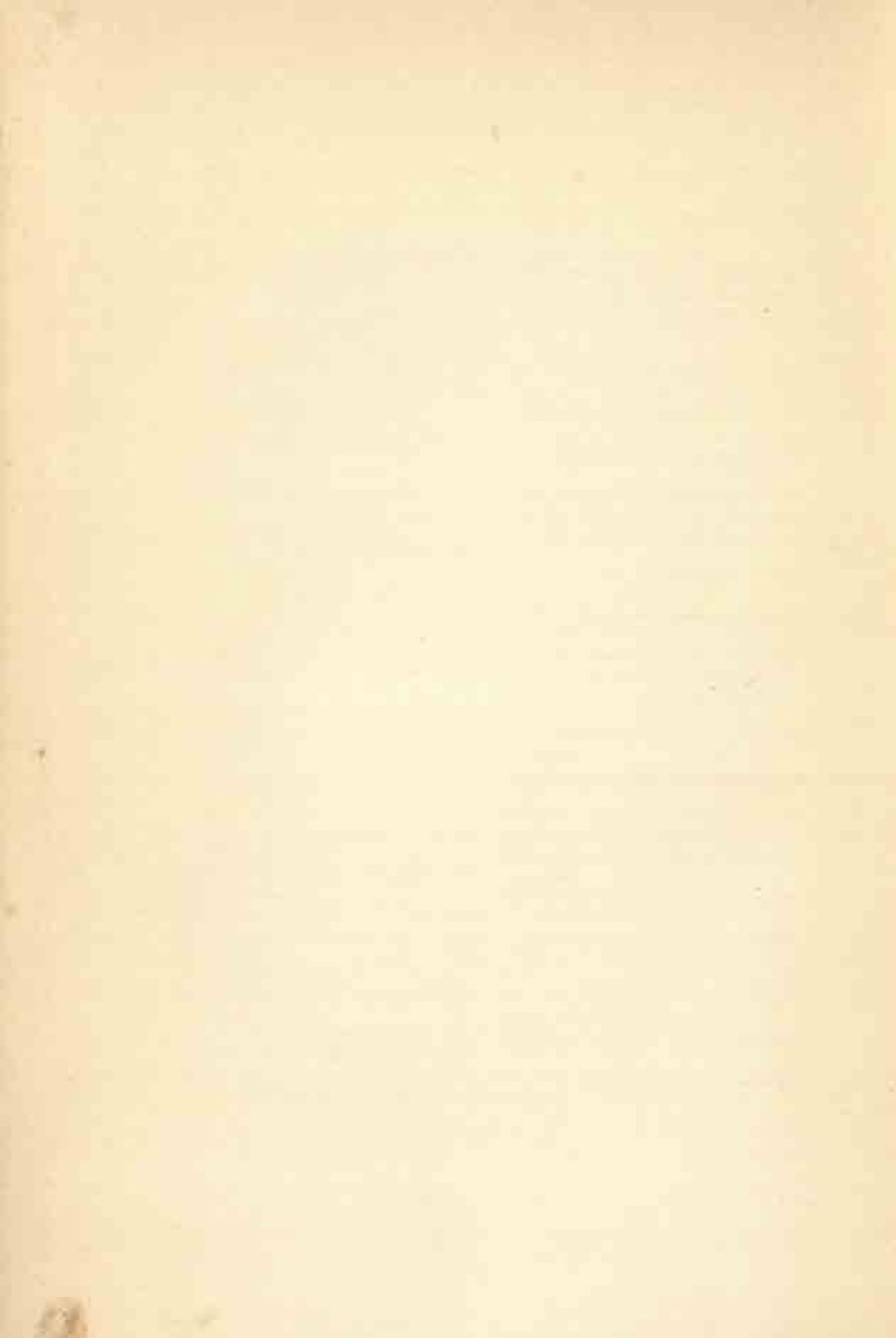
havyāyāmai voḍhave (\*vai) jāta-  
vedah, 705  
hastagrābhāya didhiṣoḥ (da\*) tave-  
dam (tvam etat), 581  
hāvanāsrūr no rudreha bodhi, 488, 554  
hīnikārīya svāhā, 386, 544  
hīnikārīya svāhā, 386, 544  
hitvā na ūrjāṁ pra patāt patiṣṭhaḥ  
(\*padāt pathi\*), 60, 96  
hitvā (hitvi) śiro jīhvayā rārapac  
(vāvadac) carat, 267, 598a  
hinva (hinvā) me gātrā (\*trāṇi) hari-  
vaḥ, 436, 440  
hinvāno mānuṣā yugā (yujā), 132  
hinvāno hotṛbhir yataḥ (hitah), 256,  
579  
hiraṇyanābhaḥ kausalyaḥ, 609  
hiraṇyapakeṣaḥ śakuniḥ (\*parqa śak-  
une), 198, 350, 588, 691  
hiraṇyapāvāḥ paśum āsu (apsu) grbh-  
pate (grh\*), 116  
hiraṇyam astṛtaḥ (asrutam) bhava,  
682  
hiraṇyayāt pari yoner niṣadyā (\*ya),  
457  
hiraṇyayāḥ (\*yā) śucayo dhārapūtāḥ,  
381  
hiraṇyavad annavad dbehi (annam  
adhyehi, annamad dbehi) mahyam,  
239, 347, 840  
hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ, 198, 350, 588  
hiraṇyavāḥ īśiraṇaḥ svarāḥ (suvar\*),  
780  
hiraṇye 'smin samāhitāḥ (\*bhṛtāḥ,  
\*hṛtāḥ), 118, 639  
hiraṇyavāḥ nārvāṇaḥ dhanarcam, 373,  
590, 835  
hutaḥ havir madhu havir indratame  
'gnau (madhuhavir asindra\*) 'gnau  
svāhā, 910  
hutaḥ (hutas, huta) stokaḥ, 977  
hute nu śakraḥ puruhūtam indram,  
849  
hṛtas kratum varuṇam (\*ṇo) vikṣv  
(apṣv, dikṣv) agnim, 153a, 300, 579,  
869  
hṛtaḥ na hi tvā nyrṣanty ūrmayaḥ, 658

hṛdisprk kratuprg vareodāḥ (\*dihā  
asi), 103  
hṛdo astv antaram taj juṣoṣt (tad  
yuyota), 103  
hetayas tava bāhvoḥ, 702  
hemantaśīrāv (\*rā) rṭu (rṭūnam), 888  
hemantāya kakarān (kakārān), 489  
hemantena rṭunā (\*nartunā) devāḥ,  
919  
he 'lavo he 'lavo, 712  
haimahāḥ haimahāḥ, 124  
haimahāḥ (\*hā) idam . . ., 124  
hairaṇyanābhaḥ kausalyaḥ, 609  
hailo-hailo, 712  
hotā yakṣat tvaṣṭāram acīṣtum (\*tam  
. . .), 618  
hotā yakṣat sarasvatīm meṣasya (yak-  
ṣad indram ṣabhasya, yakṣad brhas-  
patiḥ chāḥasya) . . . āroṣitaḥ (āro-  
ṣitaḥ) . . ., 353  
hotā yakṣad uṣṣānaktā . . . nṛṇaḥ  
(nṛh) patibhyo . . ., 905  
hotā yakṣan narāśaśam nṛāstam  
nṛṇapṛaṇetram (nṛh\*), 905  
hotāram agnim antarā vicṛtāḥ, 866  
hotārāv (\*rā) indram āvinā, 888  
hotārāv (\*rā) indram prathamā suvā-  
eā, 888  
hotā viṣṭimena (viṣṭvi me) jaritar,  
307, 835  
hotā vedīṣad atithir dūroṇasat (dū\*),  
368  
hotṛśadanam haritām hiraṇyayam, 200  
hotṛśadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ, 200  
hotrakāpām (hotṛkāpām) camasādibva-  
ryavaḥ . . ., 663  
hotrāvidāḥ (\*vida, \*vṛdha) stomat-  
aṣṭāso arkaiḥ, 108, 640, 972, 977  
hradaḥ na hi tvā nyrṣanty ūrmayaḥ,  
658  
hrādunibhyaḥ (\*nibhyaḥ) svāhā, 528  
hrādunir dūṣikābhīḥ, 488, 528, 543  
hriyā śalpakāḥ (śalpakāḥ), 867  
hlādike hlādikāvati (hlādike hlādu\*),  
622  
hvayāmi śakraḥ puruhūtam indram,  
849













Cell  
N 412/76



Central Archaeological Library,  
NEW DELHI.

Call No. 30773  
S2V/Blo/Edg

Author Bloomfield, M  
Edgerton, F

Title—Vedic Variants

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY  
GOVT. OF INDIA  
Department of Archaeology  
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book  
clean and moving.